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28 September 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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HUNGARIAN ORIGIN OF TERM 'ARDEAL' DISPUTED BY ROMANIANS

Cluj-Napoca STEAUA in Romanian Jun 84 pp 21, 22

[Article by Virgiliu Stefanescu-Draganesti]

[Text] The article below was accompanied by a letter dated 10 April 1984. The author brought to our attention that "in a much more reduced form and with the title of 'Ardeal, An Old Romanian Word,' the subject was published in CINTAREA ROMANIEI No 2/1984, after which comes the following: '...this" (this article--editor) "is 50 percent more expanded than the initial one, with additional evidence supporting what has been shown in order to counter any eventual criticism better.

"At the same time I think it is necessary to state that the presentation of the etymology of the word Ardeal, with its historical implications, has not been done by anyone else until now like I the undersigned" (Virgiliu Stefanescu-Draganesti--editor) "am doing, not here in Romania or anywhere else..."

Clearly, the author had not learned of the research by Adrian Riza, "Ardealul," published in a series by the magazine TRANSILVANIA. In No 11/1983, Adrian Riza shows with complete scientific objectivity the underlying origin of the word Ardeal, the Indo-European root "ard-" and its dissemination and age in the derived idioms and, thus, finally the Romanian origin of the toponym Ardeal.

Adrian Riza's steps again show us how necessary it is to carefully reconsider all the data and facts connected with the history of the language, culture and civilization of our people in a spirit of scientific strictness.

We are publishing this article, although it follows the one by Adrian Riza which we mentioned, precisely because it fits into the direction of reexamining the problem from a personal viewpoint, of course, but just as justifiable a one, with interesting suggestions--editor.

In two preceding articles (see STEAUA No 7/1981 and No 5/1983) I showed how a number of linguistic elements--existing in the languages of populations with which the Dacian-Romans came into contact in what was Dacia in the first centuries A.D. and then the Proto-Romans in the coming centuries--are proof of the continuity of the Romanians in the regions belonging to Romania today.

Besides the mutual linguistic exchanges between the Dacian-Roman population's language and the Gothic language in the 3d and 4th centuries A.D., there are a number of terms in other languages, too, representing names referring to the Romanian people and Romanian territories, in turn being clear proof of the uninterrupted existence of the Romanian people in the country where they lived, from the Dacian-Roman era until the present. One of these names is also Ardeal, a word used on a daily basis by all Romanians. Sometimes Ardeal has been compared with the name Erdely in Hungarian, wrongly being considered by some as a term borrowed by the Romanians from the abovementioned language. However, the linguistic reality is completely otherwise and conclusively shows that the Hungarian term was borrowed from Romanian.

As has been said before, linguistics, like archeology, substantially aids history innumerable times in cases where historical writing from ancient times does not exist or when documents from the distant past contain only a little information, often unclear. As we know, this also is the case of historical information on the territories and populations from the northern Danube, all along the length of this river, including Dacia and Pannonia, both in the period before the conquest of these provinces by the Romans as well as in the first 10-12 centuries A.D. and even later. Mistaken interpretations often have been made of the little data transmitted through the centuries, favoring hypotheses which contradict and distort historical truths. In this circumstance it is necessary to also use the data offered by other areas where indirect information on the past may be found, among others the facts of language, which contain valuable reflections of the realities from the people's historical past.

In light of the above, a linguistic investigation of the name Ardeal appears to have special importance for the history of the Romanian people. The origin of the name goes back to the Celtic-Thracian times.

As has been well established historically, in the second half of the first millennium prior to our era, many Celtic tribes began to become established in the Thracian area at that time, which included today's territory of Romania and Hungary. These tribes, coming from the west, in particular occupied the region between the Danube and Tisa, where they reached the height of their power in the 3d and 2d centuries B. C. and from where a portion of them later also headed toward the east, penetrating into Ardeal and Moldavia, reaching the region of Galati.

From what has been able to be established of Celtic origin in our language are several toponyms and patronyms; for example, the name Iron Gates, which is a linguistic loan word of the Celtic word "isarnodori" (Iasarno=iron; dori=gates), having the same meaning and met as a geographic term in the mountain regions in various regions which were inhabited by the Celts in Europe (for example, in central France).

The name of the city Galati in turn is linked with the name given the Celts by other peoples. Outside Moldavia, we meet three locations of Galati in Ardeal, also (in Alba, Bistrita-Nasaud and Hunedoara counties). The name is met in old Greek texts, where the term "galatai" appears (Gauls; Celts) and "Galatia" (=country of the Gauls, Celts), words closely associated with the name of the old "Galata" neighborhood in Istanbul--names left from the period of the big

expansion of the Celts, when they had founded the state of "galats" in Asia Minor, broken up in the year 241 B. C. after a rather short existence.

We also meet the patronyms of "Galata," "Galatos" and so forth in Greek texts, too.

Here is another example: In the region of Tirnava Mare there is a commune named Gogan (Mures County) and, of course, closely connected with this is also the last name of Gogan, rather widespread in Romania. This name is now encountered frequently in Ireland, too, a Celtic country for about 2,500 years, where the population has preserved its identity and its old Celtic language, with its natural evolution, up until today.

The Illyrian-Thracian and Dacian takeover of certain Celtic names, transmitted by them after the Dacian-Romans, was favored by the fact that, as historians assert, the Celts did not do away with the native sites in their expansion toward the east and the Balkan Peninsula. What is more, a close living together took place between the Celts and the native populations and in a short time this led to the assimilation of the tribes, both in Dacia and Pannonia, by the Dacians and the Illyrians-Thracians.

Despite the difficulties resulting from the lack of more precise information left from the ancient era, from what we know of the ancient Celtic language—through the modern Celtic languages existing today: Irish in Ireland, Gaelic in the mountains of Scotland and Welsh in Wales (the country of the Gauls in western England), as well as from geographic names preserved through the ages in the regions inhabited by the Celts—in the past and, in many cases, also at the present we may draw graphic conclusions on the etymology of the word Ardeal.

Celtic etymological and bilingual dictionaries published in various foreign countries use the ancient Celtic term "ard" to mean height or high forest region and it appears as the root in a large number of geographic names in the Rhine Valley, France, Belgium, England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, that is, former Celtic territories in the centuries B. C. or those inhabited by Celtic peoples even today.

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz in his Celtic-German etymological dictionary (1717) uses the Celtic geographic term "ardal" in the sense of region.

Leo Weisberger (in the Germanic-Celtic Rhineland, 1969) mentions the mountains of Ardennen in Rhineland and also met in the work by Iuliu Cezar, under the Latinized name of Arduenna Silva.

In France, former Gaul in the Roman era, we meet many names containing the Celtic root "ard-" meaning high forest places or designating a river in high regions. In this regard we see the name Ardecse (pronounced ardes), belonging to a tributary of the Rhone and a department in the same southeastern part of France. The name of the Arges River in Romania where, instead of the occlusive dental "d" in the French word, we meet the occlusive guttural "g" (later palatalized) in the case of the name of the Romanian river.

Other French geographic names of Celtic origin are Ardres in the Calais region, Ardentes and Ardes in central France and Ardoise on the Rhone.

Wilhelm Obermuller (in his Celtic-German dictionary, 1972), also pointing out that "ard" and "airda" mean heights, explains the name of Ardennen in German as coming from the Celtic "ard" (in some words also found as "ar"), in the above case meaning mountain, to which was added the Celtic word "don" (which also appears in the forms of "ton" and "ten") having the meaning of forest of fir trees. As a result, Ardennen means mountains with forests of fir trees.

In the second part of the name of the Ardeche River in France (mentioned above), the same author identifies the Celtic word "oiche" as meaning water, with the name of the river, as a result, being mountain water. The explanation seems even more conclusive regarding our Arges and, at the same time, is just as valid for the etymology of the name of the Aries River ("ar" + "oiche") which may be compared to the name of the Ariege River in France, a tributary of the Garonne coming from Pyrenees. Along this same line of thought, W. Obermuller also gives the name of the Ardei River orthographically and Ardey in Westfalia (FGR).

Also here we should mention the name of the Ardenne Mountains (plural=Ardennes), divided between France, Belgium and Luxembourg, and also designating the particular region. To the east of the Paris region is the region of forest hills called Argonne (there are more examples).

In England, the country of the Britons (a Celtic population) for more than 1,000 years until the country's conquest by the Anglo-Saxons, we also meet a rather large number of Celtic toponyms. Among those containing the root "ard" we mention the following: Arden (the name of a forest region in central England), Ardee, Arduin, Ardwick, Ardlamont, to which we can add others, also.

In Scotland the word "ard" appears, among other places, in the following names: Ardentinny and Ardatinny, both meaning height (mountain) of the fox.

William Watson, in his "History of Celtic Toponyms in Scotland" (1926) explains the term "artda" which appears in the name Artda Nuirchol as a form of the plural of the noun "ardd," in Gaelic meaning heights, while the name of the Ard-dobhar River means water of the heights (mountain).

In dictionaries in Welsh a language spoken even today in Wales (see the bibliography) we find the words "ardal" (=region, district) and "ard" (=high, height, hill, mountain), as well as some other geographic terms derived from the word "ard."

In the case of Irish, Alfred Holder, in his dictionary on the vocabulary of the ancient Celtic language (1896), shows that the Celtic term "ardu," meaning height, appears in ancient Irish as "ard," "ardd," or "art" in a large number of words. J. Vendryes (1959) shows that "ard" in Irish also means high, while the expression "lucu arda" means high places.

In modern Irish the word "ardan" means height, platform and, by extension, plateau.

The term "ardal" attested to by Leibnitz (see above) and even now met in Wales, meaning region, district, forest heights, with time extended in the entire area of Transylvania, including hills and forests, situated in the interior of the

Carpathian ring and being a geographic unit fully corresponding to its name as "country of the forest heights" in the ancient times when the forests were much more spread out than today.

The second part of the term "-dal " could have been influenced by the word "deal," considered to be of Slavic origin, existing in ancient Slavic as "delu," although it is not to be excluded that this word also could have existed in the language of the Thracian/Dacians, since both Slavic and Illyrian-Thracian are Indo-European languages.

In any case, the Dacian-Romans and later the Romanians in Transylvania preserved throughout time this name, inherited from their Thracian and Dacian forefathers as the name for the region where they lived and the Hungarians knew them as Ardal, the country when they became neighbors, starting in the 10th Century.

Along another line of thought it is not to be excluded that the Celtic-Dacian name of Ardal also offers the explanation for the name of Muntenia as being a loan word from the name Ardal (country of mountains) in the Dacian-Roman language following Romanization: c. f. Campania, Oltenia and so forth.

Now we shall examine what the linguistic relationship is between the Romanian word and its corresponding Hungarian word, Erdely.

As I already have said, the word in Hungarian is borrowed from Romanian, a very normal matter since there were more than 1,000 years between the disappearance of the Celts from Dacia and Pannonia and the arrival of the Hungarians in the Pannonic plains.

Besides the word Erdely meaning Ardeal, the Hungarian language also has the word "erdo," meaning forest, woods, with the name of the province being considered a derivative of the second word. The most important and graphic fact, however, is that the Hungarian etymological dictionaries do not list the word "erdo" among the words of Fino-Ugrian origin; the abovementioned term is borrowed from another language. In Estonian and Finnish, which are part of the same family of languages as Hungarian, we find the existence of two words for forest, completely different from the Hungarian word but related among themselves. These are "mets" in Estonian and "metsa" in Finnish.

Their corresponding word in Hungarian was taken over by the new word "erdo."

A consistent proof of the fact that the name Erdely comes from the Romanian Ardal/Ardeal is confirmed by the Hungarian etymological dictionary of Zoltan Gombocz (1914-193), which cites more than 40 different spellings for the above name found in ancient texts starting with the 11th Century.

The lack of certainty and the instability of the orthography and pronunciation of the particular word in Hungarian, as given by various authors of documents, show that they are transcribing the pronunciations heard as being different from one another, from one speaker to another. The phenomenon is a general one in the case of borrowing from a foreign language until one of the forms of the borrowed word succeeds in becoming generalized, particularly due to writing. We cannot find anything similar, however, regarding the name Ardeal in Romanian.

Also very important is the fact that with regard to the forms in the most ancient documents as mentioned by Zoltan Gombocz, we find only the spellings of Erdeuelu, Erdewelu, Erdelw, Erdel, Erdeel, Erdel, Erdelorszaga (=country of Ardeal), proving that they have been taken from the Romanian word. The form Erdely obtained by adding the final -y appears much later, under the influence either of words ending in -ly or being merely an orthographic rendition of making the consonant -l feminine.

From the viewpoint of phonetic changes in the borrowed word, we find that the initial a- (and even the medial one) changes into -e in a large number of patronymic and toponymic names and other words borrowed from other languages by Hungarian.

So the proper name Andrei (lat. Andreas) appears as Endre in Hungarian, while the Latin sanctus becomes szent, from which we have the Latin name sanctus Andre-as becoming Szentendre, according to Zoltan Gombocz.

Similarly, Lajos Kiss in his etymological dictionary (1978), notes the patronym Endroc in Hungarian as corresponding to the names of Andrievici in Serbo-Croatian and Andrejici in Slovak. Other examples, as a result, support the above.

Lajos Kiss also shows that the name Marii egee, taken from Latin in the form of Agaeum Mare in Hungarian became Egei-tenger. As we know, Latin in the Hungary of the Middle Ages was both the church as well as royal language and, as we see, its change from a- to e- also applies to the words which did not circulate in the language of the masses. All the more, as a result, we understand how the Latin word "agria" became "eger" (=ogor [field]) in Hungarian, as the same dictionary mentioned above shows us.

Also added to the phonetic arguments on the change of Ardal into Erdel are a number of grammatical arguments.

The Hungarian word Erdel cannot be a noun derived from the noun "erdo" with the help of the suffix -l because the Hungarian grammars do not list the suffix -l among those derived from nouns. Neither is the suffix -ly; as a matter of fact, derivatives of other nouns are not included in such suffixes. On the other hand, in order to derive adjectives, Hungarian uses the suffix -i so that, for example, in order to form the adjective meaning Ardelean, Ardelenesc, Erdely adds the ending -i, becoming Erdelyi.

Erdel in time changed into Erdely--the newer form in later documents--as the chronological order in Zoltan Gombocz's dictionary undoubtedly shows through analogy with several other nouns ending in -ly, in which -ly is not the suffix as, for example, kiraly (=king, emperor) which also has an evolution paralleling Erdely. A phenomenon of palatalization of the -l (final) in Hungarian is a plausible explanation in both cases.

As a result, Ardeal is a particularly important linguistic proof of the continuity of the Romanian people in former Dacia since the ancient Thracian-Dacian times, while the names of Ardeal and Ardelean were deeply rooted in the Romanians' consciousness.

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COMMITTEE FOR CULTURE PLENUM APPROVES PROGRAM, FUTURE OBJECTIVES

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 20 Jul 84 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed article: "Quality Is the Other Name of Culture; The Sixth Plenum of the Committee for Culture"]

[Text] The basic aims and tasks of Bulgarian socialist culture for steadily increasing its social beneficialness can be achieved solely by decisively improving the quality and effectiveness of the artistic creative process and cultural indoctrination activities. Spiritual culture more and more is being turned into an objective need and an important factor in our national development with direct bearing on all areas of the socialist way of life.

In carrying out the decisions of the National Party Conference for improving quality, the Fourth Enlarged Plenum of the Committee for Culture which was held on 13 July 1984 at the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture, approved a program for the further establishing and dissemination of cultural values and for raising the social role of culture. The program outlined the basic areas for the activities of the National Complex "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activities and Mass Information Media," and defined the specific measures and actions up to the Fifth Congress on Culture.

In opening the plenum, Comrade Georgi Yordanov, the candidate member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture, emphasized:

"The collective body of the National Complex "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activities and Mass Information Media" is meeting in order to examine one of the most crucial questions of our days. The Plenum of the Committee for Culture must outline the tasks of our national complex as stemming from the National Party Conference on Quality. This establishes its important place and significance in our diverse activities to consistently carry out the decisions of the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture.

"The appeal of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to quality everywhere and in everything has evoked a lively response also among the figures and creators of the spiritual might of the fatherland. Fruitful initiatives are already arising and developing. The comprehensive program which our plenum will discuss, and I believe will prove, is aimed at systematizing the efforts of the cultural front

and is working toward new vivid creations and high results in the field of socialist culture.

"Who does not know that quality is the heart, the essential feature of culture? Quality is the other name of culture.

"Creations of literature and art with their lasting high ideological and artistic merits, culture in production, our everyday life, vivid human qualities of the creators of a developed socialist society, not numerous but strongly effective manifestations of the noble activities of the aesthetic indoctrination of all the people--these are our direct goals and tasks.

"As we can see, everything that is done and created in the spiritual area makes sense and is of real social value if this is on a high level, if this is of high quality. To contribute to this is the purpose of our responsible forum.

"There are many demands and there are great expectations by the party and people for the artistic culture of the motherland. Above all stands the imperative of the high regard and uniqueness of Bulgarian culture and its constantly growing international prestige.

"The aim and purpose of life is creation for the sake of the future.

"It is well known that the times judge any spiritual creation not by what is done but rather from how the demands of duty are carried out. Even more, times and life are interested only in the truly new which is born and flourishes in the spiritual realm. Time and life carry into the future only the major creations which Bulgaria contributes to the world treasurehouse. Creations with high ideological-artistic qualities, creations which enrich our socialist classics.

"Hence the resistance to nonprofessionalism, traditionalism, monotony, ideological and artistic impotence, against the Sisyphean efforts of mediocrity which gives rise to ephemeral things--this is our constant concern. And our great responsibility.

"Quality is the key to creative success. There is every reason for us to believe that the comprehensive program which we will discuss will make a humble contribution to the universal efforts to create this magical wand. From this stems the demands that the activities for its complete fulfillment permeate the life from beginning to end in the National Complex 'Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activities and Mass Information Media.' This is truly noble work. In this noble work and struggle let us be inspired by the example of the beautiful and moving dedication of Lyudmila Zhivkova.

"Let the bright fruits of creative labor be our contribution to the labor of all the people to carry out the plans of the historic 12th BCP Congress, the National Party Conference and of the noteworthy theoretical studies and practical approaches of the first party and state leader of flourishing Bulgaria, Comrade Todor Zhivkov."

The introductory speech on the subject "The Struggle for High Quality--The Basic Ideological and Aesthetic Essence and Function of Culture" was given by the first deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture, Lyubomir Pavlov. In his speech he said:

"The Fourth Plenum of the Committee for Culture is being held several months after the National Party Conference on the Questions of Quality and on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the 9 September Socialist Revolution. The worthiest response of the creators and workers of Bulgarian culture to the conference's decisions and the worthiest greeting to the revolution's jubilee are the work, deeds, creative and organizational work to enrich our socialist cultural treasurehouse.

"The main thing which presently characterizes the theoretical and practical activities of the party, the social and state bodies is the struggle to decisively change our thinking and work, for revolutionary thinking, for a revolutionary reorganization of the work, for reorganizing the personnel and all of us. Anyone who does not recognize the need for a decisive change in his thinking and activities dooms himself to social and creative backwardness.

"The artistic and creative intelligentsia completely accepts the judgments and ideas of the party congresses, the new ideas of Comrade Zhivkov and the decisions of the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture for recreating the image of the positive hero, for the richness of the art of socialist realism, for consistently applying a class-party approach and criterion in creativity and cultural activities and for recreating and establishing a socialist way of life in its complexity, contradictions and diversity, with leading, active heroes who are creators of social and scientific-technical progress.

"The development of artistic creativity since the 12th BCP Congress and the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture shows indisputable ideological and artistic growth. Real measures were undertaken to surmount the shortcomings designated by the 12th Congress, that is: the inability to sift the grain from the chaff; the miring of certain creators and critics in ephemeral preoccupations and their losing sight of the main and most important things in the life of the people; the presence at times of a conscious or unconscious deheroization and blackening of reality. Certainly such shortcomings are not to be overcome quickly. But the start of a change is apparent. The recently held Sixth National Review of Bulgarian Drama and Theater clearly showed that an aware focusing on the artistic recreation of modern life produces positive results. In a comparatively short period of time a number of plays dealing with a modern positive hero were created by the writers and put on the stage. The notion was artistically defended that this hero is really present and more and more predominates both quantitatively and qualitatively in life; that precisely inherent to him are rich spirituality and high morality; that the struggle for higher culture, higher morality and for a purity of ideals is inseparable from his life. The review also showed that the people, the laboring people of Bulgaria, the creators of the economic progress of the motherland--these people were in the audiences of the theaters, they were demanding, objective and competent critics of everything shown on the stage. Certainly this was the main, determining thing in the review. I do not want to idealize things. There have also been weak plays, weak performances and disputable images, plays and performances.

"The 12th Party Congress, the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture and the National Party Conference have posed high demands. For this reason we cannot help but be embarrassed by the fact that various arts still produce invented, composite heroes and works, the spiritual qualities of the heroes from different periods are mixed together, there is not enough understanding of the rich morality and culture of modern times, and the images and works are created out of preset schemes, the outgrowth of the ivory-tower isolation of their authors. Individual creators and critics, editors and other groups which realize or evaluate such creations do not always go sufficiently deeply into their ideological and aesthetic qualities and continue allowing the weaknesses designated by the 12th Congress.

"We would like to reemphasize that the Committee for Culture is in favor of the development of all true talents, for a diversity of styles and scripts, in favor of experiments in the artistic growth of the creators. But it is a pity that some creators are in a rush to show society their every line, stroke, sketch, every detail in creating their future work. The future generations will certainly return to the creative laboratory of the major, great predecessors, but precisely the great ones! True art does not tolerate cheap show and conceit. True talent does not need condescension, a condescending tapping on the shoulder, or an overlooking or overpraising of the ideological-aesthetic or purely professional mistakes and errors. Concern for the discovery and development of talents, trust, principledness and high exactingness for them-- this is the basis and the condition for the true flourishing of talent and of artistic culture as a whole. Any hushing up of creative failures of so-called disputed works for ideological-artistic or professional terms, any attempt at putting abstract formal creativity into opposition to the content of a creation or social judgment lead to the confusion of criteria and hence to the confusion of talent.

✓ "In his fourth lecture 'On the Place and Role of the Spiritual Sphere in Erecting a Developed Socialist Society in Bulgaria,' Comrade T. Zhivkov emphasized: 'The main thing which presently concerns the workers and personnel in the area of culture is the problem of further raising the role of the cultural sphere in building a mature socialism, in indoctrinating the communist personality, in establishing the socialist way of life and our communist truth.' The practical implementation of this main task is possible only on the basis of further democratization and decentralization in creating and disseminating spiritual values, on a basis of the inseparability of the processes of democratization from high mastery, from a high ideological-artistic level of the cultural values and from high quality.

"The Fourth Congress of Culture emphasized that in applying a comprehensive approach in carrying out the April cultural policy of the party, great importance has been assumed by the intensifying of cultural life, as one of the basic factors for shaping the socialist personality. In recent years, under the initiative and leadership of the unforgettable Lyudmila Zhivkova, enormous work was done in the aesthetic indoctrination of the people and the youth. From a philosophical-theoretical concept the task of a nation-wide aesthetic indoctrination has been turned into an immediate scientific-theoretical and practical cultural activity, it has been turned into party and state policy and activity on all levels.

"The long-term program of the party for improving quality and the draft program of the plenum demand that further democratization and decentralization of cultural life be aimed at decisively raising the quality and effectiveness of the cultural services for the public in the conurbation systems, in the labor collectives and particularly among the youth.

"Special attention is being paid to integrated aesthetization of the world around us, to a synthesis and interaction of architecture with the other arts in order to achieve greater harmony and beauty in the places of the recreation, labor and life of the people. An irreconcilable struggle is being waged against all manifestations of bad taste, against the violators of the aesthetic and moral standards of our society. The draft program of our plenum envisages numerous specific initiatives to fulfill these requirements. More initiative and tenacity must be shown by the leadership of our cultural institutes to more actively and more interestingly involve the state and economic bodies in successfully carrying out these tasks.

"A great and exceptionally responsible role must be played by the professional cultural institutes and creative unions, by television, radio and the press, by the public organizations and state agencies, by the cultural-educational institutions and amateur artistic activities, by everyone who is engaged in cultural activities, each time, at each place and each minute offering true, highly ideological and highly professional art and culture. From the Committee for Culture, the cultural unions, ideological and cultural institutions down to the obshtina councils for culture, to the reading rooms, the youth and trade union houses of culture, to the museum, library and amateur collective--all are responsible for harmoniously satisfying the actually growing cultural interests, needs and criteria of the workers and the youth; they are responsible for developing an ever-higher Marxist-Leninist taste and criteria and for their satisfying.

"The long-term party program for improving quality directs particular attention 'to improving the quality and effectiveness of the Bulgarian contribution to modern world cultural processes.' In strengthening and broadening the Bulgarian national socialist repertoire and the nature of all cultural activities, we are against closing ourselves off in a national shell. Bulgaria has been and is open for and to world culture, it is in favor of active international cultural collaboration and for an exchange of true artistic values.

"The creators and workers of Bulgarian culture are profoundly aware of the international nature of socialist culture. Improving the quality of Bulgarian artistic creativity and performing arts is of importance both for the spiritual life of the nation as well as for deepening the interaction and mutual enrichment with the culture of the socialist countries and primarily with Soviet art and culture. The achievements of Bulgarian art give us grounds to compare ourselves with the best models of modern world art.

"It is a fundamental truth that art is a part and active factor in international collaboration, in the rapprochement and understanding between peoples, particularly in the present-day aggravated international situation and under the conditions of the acute ideological and political struggle. We do not have the right to be calmly indifferent when confronted by the anticommunist crusades

carried out by the Reagan administration and the reactionary NATO circles against Bulgaria, against the Soviet Union and against the countries of the socialist commonwealth. Nor can we justify the excessive quietness of certain comrades or their fear of being accused that they are politicizing the most delicate human activity, art. At present, with ever-greater right and duty we are turning to our sacred Blagoev-Dimitrov and April traditions and the experience of steadily applying a class-party approach to artistic facts, phenomena and trends. The question of creative and civil conscience is a clear and categorical position against the danger of nuclear catastrophe and in defense of the peace-loving Leninist policy of the fraternal socialist countries. The vivid manifestations of these positions of the Bulgarian creators are: the general artistic exhibit 'The Artist and Peace,' Varna '84, which was widely acclaimed among the artists and given strong public support, as well as the forthcoming Fifth International Writers' Meeting on the question 'Peace--The Hope of the Planet,' Sofia, October 1984; the coming days of Soviet culture, for the culture of the RSFSR in October-November 1984, in the entire country; the international children's ensemble 'Banner of Peace,' Sofia, July 1985 and others which will reaffirm the ideas and activities of Lyudmila Zhivkova on international cultural collaboration in the world and will affirm that socialism and peace, socialist culture and peace are inseparable.

"The long-term party program for improving quality substantially enriches a number of ideas on continuing the intensification and integration of science, education, artistic culture and the mass information media, and for improving the management of processes in spiritual life by a further unleashing and full utilization of the rich opportunities for the social-state approach.

"Each of us is confronted with the difficult task of working out a new method before the end of the Eighth Five-Year Plan and from the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan to actually realize unified socioeconomic and cultural planning on the territorial and production principle. The Bureau of the Committee for Culture believes that the initiative, activeness and efforts of the leading bodies and the economic planning elements in culture will find the necessary understanding and full support from the state planning and financial bodies so that the problems of culture, aesthetic indoctrination and the cultural-technical level of the workers will become a truly inseparable part of the unified plan for the socioeconomic development of the nation and of the counter-plans of the enterprises, economic organizations, conurbation systems and okrugs.

"It is essential that the National Culture Complex together with the okrug people's councils and state planning and financial bodies during the Ninth Five-Year Plan ensure the construction and modernization of the physical plant for spiritual activities in Sofia, in the okrug centers and other large towns; they must introduce new technical devices for disseminating cultural values, for modernizing the instrumentarium for professional and amateur art, for movie distribution, book publishing, book distribution, library work and reading room activities; develop, produce and disseminate video equipment, video cassettes and video programs for the needs of the population, the amusement institutes and cultural institutions. It is extremely essential to pay special attention to the content and technical quality of the radio and TV programs, in considering the expected changes which will occur with direct television broadcasts via

satellite systems. The draft program provides for the introduction of new printing equipment and particularly phototypesetting and roller color offset printing.

"For carrying out the program which today will be approved for fulfilling the decisions of the National Party Conference, a crucial role is played by the personnel, the creators and workers of Bulgarian socialist culture. For this there are plans to make the necessary quantitative and qualitative changes in the training of the personnel involved in art and culture, in the work concerning ideological and political indoctrination and the professional advanced training of creative persons of all generations and particularly the young artistic-creative intelligentsia. At the same time measures will be taken to overcome the disproportions which have arisen in the personnel available for certain cultural spheres as well as in the territorial distribution of the personnel. Special attention must be paid to the long-range, professional, institutional and territorial planning of the real needs for personnel for cultural activities.

"The main conclusion and the tasks directly confronting the plenum are the following: the creative unions, the state trusts and creative-production organizations, all the units of the Committee for Culture and the National Cultural Complex, the Scientific Research Institute for Culture, the scientific and cultural institutes, the mass information media, the public organizations and state agencies which develop cultural activities, the territorial culture complexes on all levels in a short period of time are to outline a system of practical measures to carry out the decisions of the National Party Conference. The main thing which we expect are results: for a new, high-quality rise in the ideological and artistic level of creativity; for a rise in the aesthetic-indoctrinational and social role and functions of culture in shaping active socialist personalities; for further developing the 'Banner of Peace' Movement and activities of the Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation and international cultural collaboration; increasing the role of the social-state principle in the direction and management of the artistic-creative and cultural processes; for further unifying the artistic-creative intelligentsia in carrying out the BCP April cultural policy.

"Practical measures are also required for more tangible results in improving designing activities, in the aesthetization of production, the world around us, as well as interpersonal relationships, for a more active influence of culture on economic development, and for a closer linking of scientific research with theoretical and practical activities which are planned in the cultural area, for effectively studying the need for personnel and its more precise planning as well as better ideological, theoretical and professional training.

"I wish success to all in this difficult and responsible matter."

In his speech Lyubomir Pavlov also spoke about the sometimes appearing ideological and aesthetic indulgence in the showing and approving of individual works, an indulgence which is manifested in a generous material assessment, certainly, at the expense of the state and society. Attention was also drawn to the slow growth in the activity and responsibility of certain elements in the National Culture Complex. "Still," he said, "they are not utilizing and fully employing

the supradepartmental rights, functions and responsibilities of the leading elements in the Committee for Culture to the various arts and artistic culture as a whole."

The speaker emphasized that wider use must be made of the possibilities of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation, in constantly enriching the ideas and content of the international children's ensemble and the Banner of Peace Movement.

Speaking at the plenum were: Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, Stoyan Iliev, chairman of the Pleven Okrug Council for Culture, Dobrolyub Peshin, secretary of the Design Section Under the Union of Bulgarian Artists, Georgi Stoilov, chairman of the Union of Architects in Bulgaria, Dimitur Manolov, deputy chairman of the Union of Musicians and Valentina Shalamanova, member of the Plovdiv Okrug Council for Culture. They all supported the problems brought up in the program. They shared their views and proposals related to a further rise in the ideological and aesthetic demands. They emphasized the important significance to be found in establishing a new type of relationship between culture, labor and production. Particular attention was also given to further democratization and decentralization of spiritual life in the nation as well as to the role of the economic mechanism for encouraging artistic creativity.

The plenum endorsed the improvement of quality in all areas and elements of artistic culture and this shows that the creators and workers in our culture have accepted the notion of the quality of culture as its inherent trait.

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NEED FOR TV SERIALS ON CONTEMPORARY THEMES STRESSED

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 20 Jul 84 pp 1, 5

[Article by Aleksandur Angelov: "Television Sagas: Why Do We Not Have Film Series on Contemporary Subjects?"]

[Text] A few might recall that one of the authors of the Czech comedy "Pig Tails" which played successfully for a time at the Satirical Theater was Jaroslav Dittle. And they need not remember. More than 22 years (March 1962) have passed since the premier. And if this was the only appearance of Dittle in our cultural life, his name might have passed by silently as so many others have.

However, at present the name of Jaroslav Dittle is popular in the true sense of the word. He is popular for his television films. He is one of the modern chroniclers of the times for whom the birth of television has created excellent conditions. But I do not intend to write about Dittle. I have taken him as an example since his series (particularly "Hospital on the Edge of the Town") are well known by our public and are a pleasure for us and everywhere they are shown to great and merited success. I consciously am not speaking here about the director or the performances, as at present I would like to raise the question of this type of film particularly from the sociocultural viewpoint.

Any self-respecting television creates its own television sagas. Nor do I want to rediscover America and talk about the direct dependence already known to everyone between the nature of a television program and a series. The authorship of this notion has been buried by an infinity of wise repetitions. But why then has our television since "The Kalinkov Family" been unable to produce anything comparatively worthy for the level of the modern capacities of TV films for today. Not that "The Kalinkov Family" was any high point. In no instance. I remember how, whether merited or not, this title for a long time was used ironically by many. But still it was an attempt to make a television chronicle of daily life with all its simple and complex aspects. Television has made its greatest achievements in the area of film series on historical subjects ("At Each Kilometer," "On the Trail of Those Who Disappeared Without a Trace," "Alone Among the Wolves" and others). But also in this area there were prominent failures (the films about Jingibi and King Simeon). The audience accepted as an historical discovery the historical series on Captain Petko Voivoda and the response was equal to that of the best world examples shown on our television. Certainly, it was greater because there was the dominant

happiness and pride that the film which so "caught" and stirred everyone was our own Bulgarian one. The dispute between the critics and the difference which developed between public opinion and a portion of the critics can continue to be argued and analyzed, but the social phenomenon of the unquestioned acceptance by the broadest television public must certainly be recognized.

However, why do we not have our own modern television films? With a cinematography which has successfully handled modern subjects and which is capable of disclosing the complexity of the modern hero richly and diversely. With a literature and theater which have shown their capabilities in the same area. In a situation that we are the contemporaries of writers and playwrights who are recognized for their diverse talents.

We will accept that the reasons can be numerous and diverse. Probably one of them is rooted in television itself as an institution which does not sufficiently organize and encourage in any sufficiently tangible way the efforts of the creators to come forth with modern films that are rich in content and stir the public at large and which would talentedly investigate the truth and problems of our ordinary and complex day. Certainly this is the case. But in my opinion there is something more essential. And this, it appears, has not been understood in all its profundity either by television as an institution or by the creators who could create such works with sufficient success with definite understanding and secure conditions. This is the fully objective and real awareness of the importance of the television phenomenon. Its real power, its place in the modern cultural hierarchy for all of us (even for those who consciously set themselves apart from television and make as though it did not influence them). The means of communication which is the strongest in influence and capabilities--television--destroys many cultural monopolies which, although maintaining their specific positions, are far from being as unchallenged as they once were.... Particularly for the youth who have been termed quietly the television or audiovisual generation. The proof of what I am writing can be found in an infinity of sociological research (Bulgarian and foreign). The situating of television in the system of the mass media of the arts has long been a subject for sociology of the mass communications media, of the sociology of art, the study of culture and so forth. Here between the specialists everything is seemingly clear. At present there is underway or approaching a new sociocultural phenomenon related to the spread of home computers and the further development of the most diverse electronic audiovisual games.

In our practice, sharp concern and debate have again focused chiefly and solely on literature and the theater, movies, music and so forth. Chiefly in the traditional spheres. No one disputes the necessity of this. But with all concern and seriousness we must raise a question concerning a modern subject--as quantitatively saturated and qualitatively achieved--in the just viewed home movie, in what comes from the electronic box which each day some of the households plug into the electric network! Why very often are the energies sufficient merely for a short story or for not a particularly successful two- or three-installment crude copy of our daily life?

Precisely television with its documentary-artistic essence, by the fact that it keeps us daily in touch with the problems of the world, by its proximity and presence in the home, must be able to show us by the means of art and from

within, touch certain common cords, longings and joys, and stir and unite us for our next common day. Television art is without fail contemporary and it must bear the stamp of today due to the nature of the very mass communications medium.

I am convinced that I have touched a question for all our culture. For some reason we have been tardy in perceiving television as an equal (and in more and more instances a leading!) factor in the cultural growth of the individual, his taste and in aesthetic indoctrination. And this is not a question for one or two columns in one or two newspapers (someone even tried recently to calculate whether there were three or three and a half television critics...). I was struck by the thought of Atanas Svilenov voiced on the pages of the newspaper PULS that there are phenomena which must equally concern the dramatic critic, the movie critic or literary critic and others (I would say generally modern cultured persons of socialist Bulgaria who have something to say) and these are common phenomena in our culture. One of these questions, it seems to me, is the one raised here of television sagas on modern subjects with the line "Made in Bulgaria." The strong involvement with the heroes of Jaroslav Dittle evokes many different thoughts. This is proof of how much there already is in common in the life of our socialist societies, how many common problems there are which stir us and how similar are the social, psychological and moral processes which are occurring. Nothing can justify the absence of such works on our television. Moreover, nothing can justify the lack of concern that such is the case now.

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ACCOMMODATION: YOUNG INTELLECTUALS LACK COMMITMENT

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[Review by Christel Berger of book "Das Windhahnsyndrom" [The Weathervane Syndrome] by Winfried Voellger, VEB Hinstorff Verlag, Rostock, 1983]

[Text] In theory, it is clear and easy to understand that each generation arrives at socialism in its own way, which also means that with the development of socialism for each generation different problems in this social and historic process become significant and formative. Literary criticism, the kin of this theory that bustles about in topical relevance, initially is wary and suspicious of the appearance of new generations of authors with their unusual stories and heroes. Meanwhile great efforts are being made toward understanding, explanation and dialogue. Juriy Brezan said at the last writers congress: "It is understood that someone in his forties will, from an identical understanding, write a novel that differs from one written by someone in his seventies. Let us accept it as such. Being different for the same reason becomes continuity." Behind that thesis stands the offer of a senior person to accept even the unusual as a continuation of his own work. That prior to that, however, came a critical examination of one's own and of what was novel--attested to not only by Brezan--points to a sense of responsibility on the part of established authors, but also to already perceptible qualities in innovations.

You gradually take cognizance of names like Uwe Saeger, Wolfgang Kroeber, Christoph Hein, Daniela Dahn, Juergen Hoepfner, Uwe Kolbe, Gabriele Eckart, Juergen Gross, Dorothea Iser, Maria Seidemann, Beate Morgenstern, Steffen Mensching and others--all still infants in 1945 or born later; with all the great differences among them, their books yet shape certain common conceptions and attitudes, based on the experiences of a generation. Conspicuous is the great moral demand made that goes together with an implacable criticism of the heroes' lack of character and personality traits and with showing their irresponsibility and deficiency in dealing with one another. Detailed accounts of smug or dissatisfied, frustrated or adjusted characters are mostly indirect appeals for individual character traits, courage and responsibility. The stress on character often goes together, it seems to me, with a lack of social and historical precision. Seeking gains, one had to settle for some losses.

The appearance of Winfried Voellger's book "Das Windhahnsyndrom" [The Weathervane Syndrom] informs our pondering the problems of new authors. Without wishing to measure all authors of his generation with the same yardstick, he (who was born in 1947) seems in many ways a spokesman for his self-confident and unheroic, critical and willful authors' generation, while he also offers much that is new, risky and still unfinished. Much like Wolfgang Kroeber, he is at home in the circles of young intellectuals who set greater store by the private sociability of like-minded persons than by strenuous social commitment, let alone professional careers. Like Uwe Saeger, he knows of the symptoms of character inadequacy, even if he does not pursue them as exclusively as Saeger does. He lacks the cohesiveness of style that distinguishes Christoph Hein's "Der fremde Freund" [The Unfamiliar Friend], but he also assigns a great role to the individual's lack of ties and irresponsibility, and unfamiliarity also marks his presentation of the relations among persons close to one another. More than the others, Voellger works with suffusive stories interpreting the social and the historical. When I read the book for the first time, I was amazed how well Voellger can enliven his story with plausible experiences of his generation that is bound to have a different relationship with society than previous generations and had to and could opt deliberately for what evolved after 1945. When I read it a second time, I found my enthusiasm toned down because then I knew the stories and the points they made, and stylistic infractions, perplexities and indicisiveness now became more conspicuous, let alone the end of the whole thing that seems like appended and is perhaps the beginning of something new.

"Das Windhahnsyndrom" is the story of ethnologist Dr Claudia M., born in 1948, recorded by her sometime lover and now the physician who treats her, attempting to diagnose her sudden nervous disorder as an "attempted anamnesis." Both grew up well cared for and normally in a suburban street of a GDR city. Yet Voellger does not describe the minutiae of ordinary life but works with seemingly unbelievable stories that, in a model fashion and at times in an exaggerated way, make certain generational experiences problematical, so that now, when personal intersects with historic development, the difficulties many young adults--mainly intellectuals--have become perceptible and understandable. This generation was born into the early years of the new order, and immaturity and uncertainties, rapidly changing certitudes, that had seemed fundamental, of the new society and its representatives, at times hiding the contention of indubitable theses and dogmatic behavioral prescriptions, even rudiments of an entirely different world-view, was something the young people would take in as their ordinary experiences. To them, the sudden absence of schoolmates and teachers who had gone West was nothing sensational though it did not induce them to reexamine their own standpoint and take sides. The issue-taking and changes in the ideological field or in politics they mainly experienced as school doctrines replacing one another but always appearing as definitive, the pupils seldom placed in the position where they could doubt their validity. It was simpler just to listen to things without accepting them as valid for oneself, especially since a comparison with history and with a totally different world came but "filtered" in a general way or only halfway and never assumed any sensuous concreteness. Accommodating to social habit turned into imitation and into ritual where no genuine issue-taking with the givens ensued. Many thus accommodated themselves in accepting rather what was wanted than what was necessary or correct as most beneficial to them.

That also applies in practical respects. Methods were soon found for being smart in dealing with defects and haphazard in taking care of duties and examinations. How to trick landlords and housing bureaus when looking for a room or an apartment was quickly learned by those who would muddle along with the situation and accommodate themselves within the system. Through strictly abiding by what the teachers expected one could secure one's placement for studies. Similarly, relations with others remained as friendly as they remained casual. The pill would more rapidly and superficially regulate sexual relations than the fluctuation between shouting to the skies with delight and being mortally grieved might have done. When then actually did they come to understand their own responsibility for their own lives?

Looking for the answer to that question in the book one readily comes to see: late only and most vaguely some of Voellger's heroes begin to surmise what is necessary for being human. Only in their private sphere Claudia and the narrator are new and changed in the end in the way they behave. That are only nuances, however, and they are not the more conspicuous but rather the weaker passages. More important in this book is the analysis and accounting of the causes, symptoms and development of a parasitical or less committed concept of life by young intellectuals in our society. Without genuine issue-taking with the world, things become superficial; to me, one of the key sentences in this book reads: "Superficial partnership relations always conform with a superficial attitude toward the world." Exactly, only through such a superficial relationship with the world can one bear the tensions, contradictions and absurdities Voellger loads onto his heroes. What the more senior authors, for example, sense as conflicts in literary portrayals in GDR history of the 1950's and 1960's, attacking the substance of their heroes, demolishing them or having them grow in pain, is what affects the adolescents much less deeply. Grown up meanwhile, and exposed to enormous gulfs, contradictions and conflicts, Voellger's heroes do survive, even if after their mental illness, yet they do survive, without having altered their areas of friction, however. That does not in this case attest to strength of character but rather to a special ability to alleviate and repress tension and live in cleavage.

Voellger's decision to tell the story of a young medical psychologist has some advantages. It makes possible describing this character in greater detail in what he thinks and how he acts than all others. Moreover, his profession holds him responsible in a special way which, in turn, is part of his development. Yet here again there are the most conspicuous inconsistencies and absurdities. The young physician tells the story after his girlfriend Claudia has been cured, at a time, that is, when he should at least have understood a bit of the responsibility one has for someone else and for the condition the world is in. In spite of that, the account, mainly on the advanced childhood and youth, in tone and judgment, reflects the mental attitude of precisely that time. Is that the narrator's own way of coming to grips with it? Or is it simply the indecisiveness of the author loading his own tensions on the chest of his hero?

Pondering his school sweetheart and patient, the narrator recapitulates his own development. Impudently, not without irony or even sarcasm, he comments on events in his and her life, when superficially following preset behavior patterns would replace a personal issue-taking and development: such as Claudia's and

her parents' reaction to her brother's defection, Claudia's joining the party after the school controversy over David Kornmann, all their dealing with each other altogether in a fashion that couples intimate closeness with permanent distance--"a conglomerate of friendship, sex and fellowship over the years." When the old landlady dies as expected, the roomer is shaken. When Claudia becomes a patient in his clinic, the physician and lover feels responsibility and is ready to help, which suggests personality development. The practice of living forces him into it.

The young man, it seems to me, is the central figure in the book while the "case," Claudia M. as a human being, remains a medium for author Voellger. Despite all the information about her life, Claudia M. becomes no palatable figure. Her diligence and integrity, the experiences with her feminist girlfriends, her adapting to school, studies and the university, her party membership and the role in her life of David Kornmann--all that together forms no complete whole, nor is it likely supposed to do that. Her realizing her inner strife having to do with the external circumstances of a complicated and contradictory reality to me as the reader triggers the strange disease Voellger invents for his heroine: During her first trip to the places around the Himalayas, on which she had already done theoretical work for years, Claudia is overwhelmed by strange laughing fits, convulsions mostly occurring whenever ideas diverge from reality. The realization that "everything is entirely different," according to the clever author, provides Claudia's recovery. And here I am not so sure that the author has dug deeply enough.

I doubt that for tracing the experiences of this generation, revising the way certain ideas were seen suffices and a calming, even if somehow generally dialectical, explanation that "everything is entirely different" could help. Voellger wants to give no simplistic answer to the complicated question when and how these people can succeed in more than just living in this society into which they were born as subtenants and looking at it indifferently, but in assuming and bearing responsibility for it. Voellger and his narrator confine themselves to conveying preliminaries having to do with the "disease" and thereby make difficulties in communication and generational differences more understandable and sensible to me than other authors in this age-group do, even if in reflecting on symptoms they are at times more precise. What connects many of these books is the intention to show in many variations the contrast between the magnitude of the demand made and the lack of willingness to face it, playing it through to the hilt. Solutions are not being offered. That accentuates the difficulty and seriousness of the matter dealt with.

Still I venture to doubt whether indecisiveness should go so far that one will not withdraw from something understood to be wrong. Such irritations beset the figure and problems of the young movie maker Dommy. This figure to me is the personified principle that unconscionably exploits all prerogatives, always is around when something happens, a master of superficial and formal relations, clever and ruthless in assuming his own interests and advantages. Precisely his conception of movies is what resembles the way this book is written: "All life is a gigantic film, and all I do is I cut out the visually attractive, articulate or irretrievable sequences in conserving elusive moments and illusions on celluloid to recompose them later at the cutting board, contrasts, analogies, rhythmical sequences and such. Human existence is organized in a division of labor, and I

am a cameraman. What actually happens in the world cannot and must not shake me. I am looking through the viewer and mark things down. That is my job." Here we have come to the type of stories the author prefers and to the method in which he lines them up and relates to them. Along with the poetry of the childhood stories (the Arctic expedition, the steam engine) and the weathervane tale, there is much that smacks of the cabaret, impudent hyperboles, which still are unusually striking. The last intention of a meritorious fellow-resident and gardener to preserve greeneries democratically, even dogmatically, is twisted into the wish to lay concrete in the only green spot the neighborhood has for a parking lot. The chance shots the young movie maker Dommy takes of an industrial breakdown and his rapid renouncing such explosive movie material gain him the trust of the government. Difficulties, even intolerance in the dispute over faith and scientific world-outlook are dealt with along Lessing's Ring Parable, of all things, and the author shows himself most given to details and imaginative when describing feminists parties. Voellger can tell tall tales and invent mad stories, but might it not be precisely this sort of hyperbole and audacity that would at times exceed the proper measure of what one may impose on the hero and the readers alike? (That even can go toward tastlessness, when he talks, for example, about the clothing Claudia wears at Professor Gruen's funeral.) "Contrasts, analogies, rhythmic sequences and such," narrator Winfried Voellger works with them too, but in contrast to Dommy he is appalled by what deserves criticism. What he, as an accurate observer, recommends to his readers in terms of insights, suggestions and designs, apart from the moral and rigorous "You must change your life" and "Everything is entirely different," he, wisely or helplessly, keeps to himself.

Impressive is the old Professor Gruen, his nocturnal experience during the Soviet republic in the Erdinger Moor, when his fingers already looked like those of a corpse and his hair had lost all color. To Claudia and the narrator, Gruen is a moral authority. Why actually are there no similarly impressive personalities in the works of the 1950's and 1960's? As the author has it, teachers and parents preach but obedient behavior and hair-splitting. No one is free of selfishness. Everybody wants to get something out of things for himself. All are terribly helpless in situations where personal commitment and energy would be needed. I do not know whether the author, consciously or unconsciously, meant to overlook or forget other experiences and whether the immaturity of social circumstances that much affected the character and conduct of those with responsibility. Yet this is, after all, not a matter of an image of society or history demanding justice toward all efforts. It wanted to trace the specific experiences of a new generation and the problems and demands arising from it. Voellger has named some of them with intelligence, inventive stories and the right to audacious exaggeration. This anamnesis of a generation should be taken seriously, not only for literary reasons, but also in a sociological interest.

5885

CS0: 2300/638

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LITERARY PREFERENCES, BOOK PUBLISHING REVIEWED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 97, 21 Aug 84 suppl.

["Literary Policy and Development in 35 Years of the Republic"]

[Text] Authors and publishers, editors, manufacturers and printers, book salesmen and librarians are doing what they can to once again underscore the honorific, "the GDR a Land of Readers," in its 35th year, as coined by the 10th SED Congress. For publishing and the book trade that means using as efficiently as possible the available paper and polygraphic services in order to offer buyers and readers more books and books of a higher quality.

A historic accomplishment is stated in the GDR anniversary appeal saying that in the 35th year of the GDR the per capita book production comes to nearly nine books. In 1949 it had been two per capita. The successful trend in book production shows that in a developed socialist country like the GDR, the book is among the mass media.

In the publishing field and that of the institutions that disseminate literature, Hitler fascism left behind a desert of ruins and a spiritual chaos. To start anew called for great material and intellectual efforts. Writers found their guideline in the 11 June 1945 KPD appeal which, among other things, said: "Purging the entire system of education and culture of fascist and reactionary rubbish. A truly democratic, progressive and libertarian spirit to be fostered in all schools and teaching institutions. Systematic explanations of the barbaric character of the Nazi race theory, the mendacity of the "lebensraum" doctrine and of the disastrous consequences Hitler's policy brought to the German people. Freedom for scientific research and artistic creation."

It meant, among other things, banning all fascist books and removing them from the libraries; an expropriation of Nazi publishing houses and those of war criminals and converting them into public property; and building up a network of the book trade that conformed to the needs of the broad popular masses. To give a massively effective visibility of that new beginning, 10 May each year was turned into the "day of the free book" and always festively celebrated. It later became the upbeat for the "Book Week," one of the great literature and propaganda highlights of the GDR. On 10 May 1933, as one knows, at Berlin's Opera Square (today August Bebel Platz) the fascists had committed that barbaric action against the progressive and libertarian spirit that gained its notoriety as the book burning.

Already in May 1945 the first newspapers and magazines came out. A little later, the first publishing houses like Dietz Verlag and Aufbau Verlag also could resume their activities. That would have been impossible without the help from the Soviet Military Administration in Germany and its officers for culture, such as Col Tulpanov, Lt Col Dymshits, or Maj Fradkin. Aware of the great power of the word and the role of literature in the spiritual reeducation of the German people, they dedicated themselves also to restarting the publishing houses, the book trade and the libraries. The activity of the publishing house of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany was a trend setter then, which brought out the works of Maxim Gorki, Nikilai Ostrovski, Leo Tolstoi and others and thereby gave the German reading audience access to cultural treasures from which it had been cut off for years by the fascist anti-Sovietism. It can be said without exaggeration that especially Soviet literature, along with the most important writings of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism that Dietz Verlag published by and by, had a great share in the ideological confrontation with fascism and its antihuman and antidemocratic spirit.

Today Soviet literature is among the cardinal pillars of the GDR's publication policy. Circa 40 percent of translated titles in our own literature are books from the USSR. Authors like Mikhail Sholokhov, Konstantine Simonov, Daniil Granin, Chingis Aitmatov, Vassil Bykau, Vladimir Tendryakov, Yevgeni Yevtushenko and others are among the authors with the largest editions in the GDR.

Another big and cardinal pillar in the GDR's publication policy also became evident in those years when, after having been banned and maligned by the fascists, books by Lessing, Heine, Buechner and others--of the wide field of the German humanistic heritage--came out again. The Goethe year of 1949 and the Schiller year of 1955 were among other tributes setting down cornerstones and providing orientations for longtime development. The broadest population strata thus for the first time got in touch with the cultural treasures of our people, for instance through "Volkslesebuecher" [Popular Books for Reading] as started by Walther Victor and published by Aufbau Verlag to this day. That the international cultural legacy was gradually added to that, goes without saying.

Today a reader in the GDR has it easy to gain a picture of the literary development around the globe, from the works of antiquity to the most important great humanistic achievements of world literature.

It is among the glorious deeds of those men who got our cultural and literary life going again after 8 May 1945 that they promoted antifascism as their program with all their strength and thus laid the foundation-stone for making GDR literature known all over the world as an antifascist literature. They were assisted by those authors who had emigrated or had been thrown into penitentiaries or camps but who then, after our liberation, found their true home in what was then the Soviet Zone of Occupation, such as Johannes R. Becher, Bertolt Brecht or Anna Seghers.

Friedrich Wolf staged "Professor Mamlock," Ludwig Renn told of the struggle of the International Brigades in Spain, Willi Bredel reviewed the history of the German workers movement, in the trilogy "Verwandte und Bekannte." The list could be extended to our own times. Let us only recall Stephan Hermlin's "Die Kommandeuse," Dieter Noll's "Werner Holt," Max Walter Schulz' "Wir sind nicht Staub im Wind," Bruno Apitz' "Nackt unter Woelfen," Hermann Kant's "Der Aufenthalt" or Christa Wolf's "Kindheitsmuster." Works by the important antifascist

authors like Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Hermann Hesse and Arnold Zweig, F.C. Weiskopf and Erich Weinert, Kurt Tucholsky and Carl von Ossietzky, Leonhard Frank and Erich Maria Remarque, Bernhard Kellermann, Hans Fallada, Lion Feuchtwanger and Guenter Weisenborn decisively contributed to the spiritual reorientation of the antifascist-democratic order. Many of the authors referred to would soon turn to socialist construction, the shaping of new social circumstances and thus establish what we call contemporary socialist literature today. Other names must be added such as Kuba, Eduard Claudius, Maria Langner, Otto Gotsche, Erwin Strittmatter, Hans Marchwitza, Benno Voelkner, Helmut Sadowski and many others.

In children's and youth literature, which first had to find a political stance, important impulses came from Arkadi Gaidar and other Soviet authors, which were then picked up by Alex Wedding, Auguste Lazar and Max Zimmering to establish an antifascist and socialist children's and youth literature.

One of Every Seven Books--A Translation

In 1949, the year the GDR was founded, 1,998 titles came out at a circulation of 33.4 million copies. In 1983, there were 6,338 titles at a circulation of 141.1 million copies. In toto, between 1949 and 1983 the GDR published 185,000 titles at a total circulation of circa 3.6 billion copies.

The breadth and variety of the literature offered is shown by that 2,179 titles in fiction, children's and youth literature in 1983 reached a circulation of some 54 million copies, 1,516 titles in social sciences, some 47 million copies, and another 2,693 titles of the remaining groups of literature, some 40.4 million copies. And one out of every seven books published in the GDR is a translation. In fiction, even one out of every three. GDR publishing houses are bringing out translations from circa 40 different countries. The annual average between 1981 and 1983 gave us 922 translated titles, 344 of them from the USSR.

More than 600,000 Visitors per Day

Thanks to what the working class party has done, more than 250 people's bookstores evolved between 1945 and 1949; by 1955 the number had grown to 563. At present, those interested in books have access to 695 people's bookstores, among them 14 "houses of books," 248 kreis and 307 municipal bookstores. In addition there are 74 specialized bookstores meeting particular needs by selling sheet music, records, art reproductions, foreign language literature internationally available and second-hand books, as well as 52 enterprise bookstores.

More than 150 people's bookstores engage in buying and selling modern second-hand books, a form of multiple use of literature increasingly gaining in importance. Current second-hand book sales in these people's bookstores tripled between 1980 and 1983.

Visiting people's bookstores and purchasing books has become regular procedure for some 65 percent of the adult population in the GDR, which means that every day more than 600,000 persons go to bookstores and find out about what is available.

Cooperation relations in the people's book trade were extended in recent years, and public literature distribution was further developed. In 1983, as many as 6,809 distributors were involved in it, 2,783 in industrial enterprises and 603 in the facilities of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry and in rural residential areas. And then there are 319 book sales outlets and 2,472 state and cooperative trade agencies, which help offer good books in places that have no people's bookshops of their own.

In 1983, the people's book trade sponsored 6,737 book sales exhibits in industrial and agricultural enterprises and other facilities. Publication dates for books, the inscribing of signatures and book bazaars are being sponsored together with the authors in our country. In 1982, a GDR citizen would spend an average of M 45 for books, compared with only one mark in the year the GDR was founded.

The GDR's good experiences with the people's book trade are more and more conveyed also to countries without a developed book trade network thus far, such as Vietnam, the MPR and Cuba.

Children and Adolescents as the Most Eager Readers

That almost all enterprises, towns and villages have their libraries is taken for granted. The GDR's 32,000 libraries have an inventory of roughly 110 million volumes. In 1983, 113 million loans were recorded. More than one third of the GDR population makes constant use of libraries.

Since the founding of the GDR, the 18,800 general public and trade union libraries, which are most massively effective, were able to expand their services more and more in working class centers and in the countryside. In 1983, 4.8 million inhabitants, 28.7 percent of the GDR population, read library books.

Already late in 1945, assisted by the Soviet Military Administration in Germany, the public libraries that had survived were made accessible again to the public. With the first newly established ones we had 3,935 libraries by the end of 1947. Having an inventory of 3.6 million volumes, they were used by 680,000 citizens. The number of public general libraries doubled between 1950 and 1984. Today there is a library in 95 percent of all communities. Between 1950 and 1960/61, libraries developed into massively effective socialist cultural institutions: 2.3 million users loaned out 36.9 million volumes in 1960. The newly attracted readers by 1960 were to 75 percent workers and LPG members.

The children and adolescents are the most eager readers in libraries. Seventy percent of children between 6 and 14, 62 percent of the adolescents between 14 and 18, and 30 percent of those between 18 and 25 are users of libraries. Starting in 1970, youth clubs, under volunteer direction, were set up in the public general libraries. The youth clubs, guided tours and briefings on how to use the libraries--especially for pupils and apprentices--make sure that the proportion of children and adolescents in the readership will grow and their contact with libraries becomes still closer.

Vivid Attendance at Fairs and Exhibitions

The GDR participates actively in commercial and noncommercial international book exchange. That gives the International Book Fair in Leipzig, held every spring, its great importance. Circa 1,000 publishing houses attended it in 1983 of 22 countries, West Berlin and UN organizations. The books offered by GDR publishing houses, circa 6,000 titles, reflect the desire to enrich our country's intellectual potential in science, technology, education and culture through new publishing accomplishments.

GDR publishing houses and the state-owned foreign trade enterprise BUCHEXPORT, among others, attend international book fairs in Moscow, Warsaw, Sofia, Havana, Belgrade and Frankfurt/Main. The foreign trade enterprise BUCHEXPORT maintains business contacts with circa 100 countries to advertise and disseminate GDR books.

The GDR's skill in book design enjoys great international respect. That is shown by the considerable resonance of the book design exhibit "iba" in Leipzig that is held every 5 to 6 years. More than 80 countries took part in the 1982 iba with national exhibits or in one of the six special exhibits devoted, e.g., to book illustration and book design.

With many new publications and internationally esteemed editions, the publishing field in the 35th year of the republic is represented at book fairs and exhibitions on all continents. Editions for the 35th GDR anniversary, the coming Bach-Handel-Schuetz tribute in 1985, Friedrich Schiller's 225th birthday, and the new volumes in the complete Marx-Engels edition (MEGA) encounter special interest. In the second half of the year, more than 30,000 books from the GDR provide information at fairs and exhibitions about our cultivating our legacy, the contemporary publications and the contribution by the 78 GDR publishing houses to international understanding and to the struggle for the preservation of peace. Right now, several exhibitions are in preparation, intended for Moscow, Rostov and Volgograd and the 10-day annual GDR book exhibit in the USSR.

5885

CSO: 23//633

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ATTACKS AGAINST FRG TO CREATE BLOC UNITY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by V. Meier: "The Warsaw Pact Must Be Renewed in 1985"]

[Text] Vienna, 19 Aug--The three socialist countries which took part in the Olympic Games in Los Angeles--Romania, Yugoslavia, and China--have celebrated their victories. All three scored successes as never before in Olympic Games. Many other smaller countries of the Third World are overjoyed as well. The absence of the Soviet Union and its closest allies has enabled these other countries to make their marks in international sports. Inasmuch as one Bulgarian newspaper is already speaking about a possible boycotting of the next summer games in Seoul, here and there the thought has surfaced that such a boycott could also be regarded as a positive development, since it would again give to many small and medium-sized countries the opportunity to distinguish themselves on an equal basis and with sympathetic support.

In any case, the boycott decision by Moscow is showing its painful consequences in the Eastern Bloc and is adding other elements to the unrest which can be ascertained there already. If it is true that in May the Soviet ambassador to Bucharest sought unsuccessfully to force Romania to accede to the boycott decision during three unfriendly talks with Ceausescu, from this it is possible to infer the tone which was adopted on this question vis-a-vis the other Eastern European allies. All the same, it turns out that Romania's attitude has not had any consequences. It is understood in the Eastern Bloc that the GDR and possibly also Bulgaria wanted to give precedence to their own interests over those of Moscow; seemingly less understandable is the attitude of Hungary, whose spokesmen react with particular indignation when the subject is the use of the word "satellites" in connection with relations within the Eastern Bloc.

In any case, one hears that the topic of the Olympic Games no longer played any role already when Ceausescu arrived in Moscow for a visit at the beginning of June. Romania's position with respect to the Soviet Union is by no means strong here, because without Soviet deliveries of raw materials and sources of energy Romania will soon sink even lower economically. It is clear that Romania is under pressure militarily as well. The Soviet leadership, which is nervous anyway and does not seem to have much taste for niceties in dealings with others, does not like Romania's "special

role" in the Warsaw Pact; in turn the Romanians seem to think little of certain manners displayed by the top Russian brass.

In May 1985, the Warsaw Pact must be renewed. On 14 May 1955 this pact was concluded for a period of 20 years. Unless the member states decide otherwise sooner than 1 year before the expiration of the 20 years, the pact is supposed to be prolonged automatically. This is what happened in 1975. No further extension is provided for in the agreement, so it must be freshly negotiated.

There are observers who think that the Soviet Union will probably get through such "formalism" with its allies without any difficulties, especially since at all events bilateral mutual assistance pacts would already guarantee the continued existence of the Eastern system of agreements. But on the other hand, perhaps one of the allies could declare that the Warsaw Pact is an alliance of sovereign states with equal rights, and that a few things need changing in the text of the agreement. Somebody could mention that according to its preamble, the pact was concluded in opposition to the "Western European union, involving the participation of a remilitarized West Germany and its incorporation in the North Atlantic Pact." Does this qualification really still make it necessary to have a pact of this sort, following the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Helsinki? With such arguments, a dispute would be inevitable. It is possible that Moscow's campaign against "German revisionism" is also partly determined by such considerations.

From the Eastern Bloc one hears voices deploring the almost resigned way in which the anti-German campaign recently fomented by Moscow and its allies is being received in Bonn's foreign ministry. When even the worst invectives are always answered only with the thesis of the "creation of a basis of trust," this makes it all too easy for Moscow and the dogmatic circles in the Eastern Bloc to operate with the aid of the German scapegoat. The position of elements in the Eastern Bloc which are interested in dialogue is not strengthened by this German attitude, it is said. One even hears the opinion that in contrast to other Western states, the FRG is making too little use of its strong position in certain international bodies which are also important to Eastern states, such as in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, or the European Community. Hungary even feels obliged already to at least give signals of its "perception" that Moscow is showing an "irritability" with the ostensible German revisionism. In Poland, the cardinal primate plays the anti-German card when he wants to signal a national consensus. Obviously the current leadership in Moscow finds it best, according to the old formula, to shift certain internal problems within its bloc to the outside.

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MOTIVATION BEHIND UNITED EUROPE QUESTIONED

East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE in German No 34, 21 Aug 84 pp 1074-1076

[Article by W. Neubert: "The Reasonableness of the Continent"]

[Text] The beautiful and high-sounding continental Europe concept has not always served noble goals. It occurs to a particular researcher as an (evil) example how German fascism in the second half of its amok run would utter the term Europe, becoming ever more short-winded and shrill. While German-speaking barbarians devastated Leo Tolstoy's dacha, the gas chambers of Auschwitz went into high gear, the so-called Reich Marshal Goering had almost all European galleries looted for himself, and the most dreadful cruelties in human memory were being committed in the occupied countries, those mainly responsible for it all were clamoring for Europe whose thousand years (of course!) of culture and civilization they alone had presumably come to save. Their clamor was meant for diverse ears, mainly also for those of the "plutocratic" enemy, as the Western allies were still officially being referred to in 1943 and 1944. They were supposed to realize that the Soviet Union was that dreadful "Asia"--the antipode of Europe.

Even today the clamor by certain circles for a united Europe owes nothing to some pretty continental family rumination. If it did, then today's policy would not be determined by class interests, but by lofty thoughts of good people. Anyone who believes that is more than naive. The clearest position on the secular Europe propaganda by the bourgeoisie was announced by Lenin as long ago as in 1915: "From the standpoint of the economic conditions of imperialism, i.e. of capital export and the division of the world between the 'progressive' and the 'civilized' colonial powers, the United States of Europe under capitalist conditions are either impossible or reactionary." And Lenin goes on to say: "In this sense the United States of Europe are also possible through a consensus among the European capitalists. Consensus on what? Merely on suppressing socialism in Europe through joint efforts."

Now "European culture" is slated to do the trick, a concept that is vague, to be sure, yet suggests, for all that, spiritual and material values that potentially are not without some mobilizing strength. Under the banner of the anti-communist crusade, rightist and ultra right-wing circles are coming up ever more noisily as executors of a cultural inheritance declared to be European, out of which are being then distilled such exalted concepts as human rights, freedom, self-determination, morality, virtue, enlightenment and reason.

And not last, in the time perimeter of 1989, the bicentennial of the French Revolution is being invoked--partly by the most frenetic anti-revolutionaries and enemies of progress! And they are also drawing on ancient and medieval-feudal (Christian-Catholic) testimonies from Aristotle all the way to Thomas Aquinas and other church fathers. In addition then comes the concrete and the material, the visual arts!

No doubt, they strenuously seek to bring to bear as effectively as possible this spiritual, cultural potential in the decades ahead (for the time being, up to the start of the coming millenium), through combining political with economic factors, on their anticommunist strategic objective. Not last it may well be political clericalism that looks for a new chance in it to regain a greater power influence once again. They are after a reactionary, emphatically anti-revolutionary, anticommunist, anti-Soviet "European consciousness" for as many inhabitants as possible of the region arrogantly referred to as Europe, though territorially that region does not even cover half of the continent. The centers and switchboards of this forcible project evidently here also intend to offer as broad a scale as possible--proceeding from the most diverse interests, needs and intellectual absorption capabilities. The material base and infrastructure for it undoubtedly is in place, in the form of the highly developed media technology and other means of dissemination, and they are being built up further more and more intensively.

Ideological activities of this sort are certainly nothing new, as if they only now made their appearance in this speeded up construction of a reactionary "European" consciousness. New it is only in its dimension and combination and its intention to pump a "positive" content ("ideals") into a longtime negatively couched anticommunism. One needs myths for that, and one main piece of it is that the capitalist order or the so-called "free market economy" presumably offers an individual the greatest chance for his "self-realization," and that "freedom" could only be guaranteed by willingly knuckling under the commandments of aggressive militarism.

For all that: many a reactionary Europe propagandist has reckoned without his host since 1789, and the name of this host is: the real course of history, the struggle by the best forces of real Europe for peace and progress on our beautiful continent, as part of the whole world. The hysterical clamor for Europe is countered by the growing call of millions of Europeans for prosperous, fruitful cooperation in the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

It will be seen that Europe inclines, not toward suicidal insanity, but toward reason which, after all, also had one of its great philosophic cradles here.

5885

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PHILOSOPHER ARGUES IN FAVOR OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German No 7 (signed to press 2 May 84) pp 601-614

[Article by H. Hoerz: "Information and Ideology"]

[Text] There is much talk now about the importance of information for the individual and for society. Problems range from genetic information via information technology to the robotization of industry, the computerization of administrative work and the mathematization of the sciences. Philosophically shored up research programs in various disciplines raise interesting problems for the materialist dialectic and epistemology, such as the genesis and development of concepts and their verbalization, the relation between measuring and evaluating, between structure and function, and between genetic material and information, which all call for special deliberations.¹ They are not dealt with in this contribution. This article deals with the ideological dispute on information in its importance to men in connection with the tremendous development of information technologies. Ideological standpoints are being challenged but can be worked out only through interdisciplinary debate. And experience is teaching us here that ideological obstacles to introducing new technologies are more readily erected than taken down. And that also applies to information technologies.

1. New Aspects

Hans Fruehauf, discussing the nature of information 20 years ago before the plenum of the Academy, said: "We are now on the threshold of revolutionary developments."² The development of information technologies has confirmed that. Integrated circuits came in the early 1960's. They led to microprocessors containing their central computer units in a tiny chip. For example, today's generation, with silicon chips, is 300,000 times smaller than the transistorized computer generation but 10,000 times faster, more economical in its power consumption and much more reliable. About that it is being said: "The trend will continue until practically everybody can afford a home computer."³

In 1969 the CEMA countries introduced their streamlined electronic computer system (ESER). The sixth SED Central Committee session in 1977 demanded that microelectronics be coped with as one of the fundamental aspects of the scientific-technical revolution. The 10th SED Congress with its economic strategy called for new base technologies for most highly integrated circuits and the development of flexible automation solutions through using robots.

The new quality in the development of information technologies, i. e. of the technically founded methods for generating, processing, transmitting and utilizing information, has broadened the ideological-philosophic debate. Whereas 20 years ago the nature of information and the relation between information and the basic problem of philosophy still played a role, when information as a whole was conceived in terms of its physical carrier and a semantic,⁴ today we are mainly concerned with the importance of such novel information technologies for the individual and for society. That importance can hardly be overrated.

To us it is an accepted fact that expert decisions and target-directed action demand knowledge of objective laws and objective requirements, conditions and social forces, leeways for action and legal norms, economic possibilities and social values. That sort of knowledge, acquired through the practical and theoretical confrontation with reality and transmitted through social communication, is what we call information. Information as a self-evident element of human existence has become an ideological problem. Although information can also be formulated more broadly because of the results of cybernetics, molecular biology and other sciences, we will stay for the time being with information as conveying knowledge of events, as reporting on the relations between the natural and the social environment. What is it then that turns this sort of information into a social problem?

2. Information as a Social Problem

Anyone who saw Bernhard Heisig's picture "Ende des Abendprogramms" [End of the Evening Program] at the Ninth Art Exhibition of the GDR must have found in the posture and expression of the television viewer fed with conflicting information confusion, indecision, even signs of mental deformation. That brings out one aspect of significance to the individual, and that is the wealth of information. Information is selected and evaluated, processed and stored. Information manipulation, used as an essential method by mass media serving the enemies of détente, leads to psychological environmental pollution, a danger for personality development, that must be recognized and fought against. Socialist information policy asks for objectivity, a reasonable selection, sound evaluations and, hence, for informing the people on essential interconnections that concern social development and individual action.

Lenin pointed to the importance of information in the class conflict. He emphasized that for socialism "knowledge and the sciences stop belonging to the privileged and stop providing the material that solidifies the positions of the wealthy and the exploiters, becoming instead a tool for liberating the working people and exploited."⁵ For the peace policy he demanded "conducting all negotiations quite frankly in front of all the people."⁶ This was his position: "Everyone should find out what his government is thinking. We want no secrets. We want a government always to be under the control of its country's public opinion."⁷ Lenin pointed to the importance of agitprop and to the needed information about political strategies, economic requirements and ideological issues. He was much interested in radio engineering development and in the radio. To him it was of "colossal importance to get a newspaper without paper or wire."⁸ Time and time again he would inquire about the development of these means of mass communication, as we would call them today, and assert their importance for propaganda. In a letter to the people's commissar for post and

telecommunications, he remarked: "I am much afraid this matter has fallen asleep again (following the cursed habit of the Russian Oblomovs to put all, everything and everyone asleep)."9 He says the drag and negligence in this field is a downright crime. Even before that, after a report on an invention "that would allow a secret transmission of telegrams," he had pointed to the importance of wireless telephone and telegraph transmission in military affairs.10 The importance Lenin attributed to extensive information on economic, political and ideological issues picks up what Marx knew when he said: "Yet theory becomes a material force when it captures the masses."11 Information thus can release ideological impulses.

Information enlightens us; at times it also bombards and shocks us. We get it from science and technology, the surface and the inside of the earth, from space and the immediate environment on which we may have an impact. And more than that! Being so abundant, it has made possible introducing information on the existence of information. That sometimes tells us that something exists, but not how, where and when. As a fact in a field in which we are not ourselves practically or theoretically engaged something exists for us when we are informed about it. This information mechanism can bring it about that from a positive or negative report on an event the positiveness or negativeness of the event is inferred. Often one makes no difference any longer between information and the subject matter of information.

To assume that he who knows everything could make better decisions is an illusion. There is no complete knowledge at any given time because matter is inexhaustible and the human horizon of knowledge has its historical limits. Recall Engels' remark that turned down Helmholtz' notion of the defectiveness of seeing: "An eye that would see all rays, therefore would see precisely nothing."12 Engels stressed the need to understand the objective laws for the sake of freedom. "Freedom thus lies in the control over ourselves and over external nature, based on the realization of natural necessities."13 Thus, expert decisions that determine free action are wanted because "the freer human judgment is relative to any given point in question, the more necessarily will the content of such judgment be determined; whereas uncertainty due to ignorance, which selects, as it seems capriciously, among many different and contradictory decision opportunities, proves its unfreedom simply by being controlled by the very subject matter that it should be controlling."14 That also counters the notion that every decision would have to take into account many different decision variables. Decision preparation must be brought to the point where the variables that lead to the goal are known with their different optimum criteria. Sensible variables are wanted that conform to the field of objective possibilities and were subjected to an analysis of the conditions. Information on that has to be sought and used purposefully. The materialist dialectic opposes prematurely favoring a decision variant without a thorough examination of other essential possibilities as much as an arbitrary listing of possible ways without an adequate conditioning analysis. That requires essential information including some information that would account for the character of a phenomenon in its inevitabilities and conditioning and its typical sides and tendencies in terms of further development.

Expertise here calls for information of different sorts. That may be differentiated as target information, substance information, program information and control information.¹⁵ Syntactical, semantic and pragmatic aspects may differentiate it as well.¹⁶ That definition and a differentiated quantitative and qualitative determination of information is a problem the debate should carry on and clarify. A differentiated treatment of various types of information, mind you, cannot substitute for an attitude on principle on man's relation to information. Man needs information to guide his actions. He has to control its genesis, processing, storage, transmission and interpretation, lest it controls him.

This leads to the cardinal ideological problem in the development of information technology made possible by the scientific-technical revolution: Are we as men who think creatively and act responsibly now being dominated by the information technologies we ourselves have created? That is no simple extension of the question whether the robot dominates man. The robot has a program a man has fed into it. The robot is fed information it will process in accordance with that program. Information technology, however, is more than all the information techniques, computers, programmed machines, industrial robots and pocket computers in existence. It is, for all intents and purposes, a consciousness technology, i.e., it serves as a means of human control while using the insights into nature, society and consciousness and information technology based on micro-electronics to influence consciousness. That may lead, depending on the humane or anti-humane character of social relations, either to enlightenment or dysinformation, to psychological influence on behalf of personality development or to a manipulation of individuals for the purposes of the ruling exploiter classes. So this is no longer merely a matter of either a humane or an anti-humane utilization of technical means created by man, through which he shapes his conditions of existence, but it pertains to the existence of man himself, acting in a sense of responsibility. He must ward off a possible manipulation of his humane posture and distinguish between pseudo-needs and real needs. It is necessary to explore the stimulation of needs through ideals and models in order to test the possibilities for giving deliberate human shape to them by means of information technologies.

So it is not primarily the wealth of information that turns information into a social problem, but rather its socially determined utilization in the interest of ruling classes. So we find as a matter of principle opposed to each other objective information for releasing ideological impulses to enhance the freedom of personality through social progress in peace and the opinion manipulation in the interest of enemies of detente and other forces that threaten social progress and peace.

3. Information in the Ideological Conflict

Ideological attitudes on information are affected by the diverse socioeconomic effects of the social use of information technology in capitalism and socialism. In capitalism, the introduction of information technology brings unemployment, harsher exploitation and the deformation of personality. From that comes the fear of technology and, together with the political criticism of capitalism, a search for alternatives in sectors scarcely linked with scientific-technical progress. The "self-realization" of personality is propagated too in the drug

scene, religious sects are flourishing, and exclaves of scientific-technical progress are set up with primitive technology. Data protection is being demanded to prevent the anti-humane use of data by management against individual interests. Anyone thinking about capitalist efficiency must by that token not forget its thrust against humanity. That is not the result of the scientific-technical revolution, but it results from the fundamental contradiction in capitalism, that between the social character of production and the private capitalist appropriation of the products and the subordination resulting therefrom of personality development to the personality skills and abilities as a productive force manufacturing profits.

N. Wiener thought "that each organism is held together in its function by possessing means for learning, using, retaining and transmitting information. In a society too large for direct contacts among its members these means are the press--i.e. books and newspapers-- and the radio, the telephone system, teletype, the post office, theaters, movies, schools and the church."¹⁷ Along with their importance as means of communication, they also serve other functions, according to Wiener, such as promotion, profit and power. Therefore he finds in capitalist society a "threefold curbing of the means of communication: by eliminating the less profitable in favor of the more profitable means; by that these means are in the hands of the narrowly confined class of the wealthy, so that they naturally express the opinions of that class; and finally in that they, as one of the main roads to political and personal power, mainly attract those who are seeking such power."¹⁸ So he regrets that the information system, that could actually help provide a social balance, fell into the hands precisely of those "who are most involved in the power and money game."¹⁹ Information in capitalism is merchandise that is used as a means of power by the ruling class seeking to consolidate the capitalist order, to split the peace movement, and, by means of disinformation, for anticommunism.

The ideological debate on the development of information technologies embraces many questions: Do means of mass communication become blocks to communication in the family and the circle of friends? Are we preparing the children through appropriate constructive-creative toys for coping with the new technologies? What will be the role of the home computer in the future? How can training and model jobs provide new skills and abilities? Which fields of science with what kinds of research programs are most suitable for an intensive use of information technologies and, hence, for promoting efficiency and creativeness? Where are there illusions about solving problems merely by means of new technologies? What are the different kinds of knowledge needed by a researcher and designer, a pupil and student, a general and a specific user? What effects on the modes of human thinking and conduct come out of the development of information technologies under any concrete social conditions? Answers have to be found because it has to be clarified how the development of such technologies can be made effective and humane.

The ideological debate on how technical possibilities are used on behalf of men entails substance problems, prognoses on tendencies and shifts in tendencies, and problem awareness of difficulties and conflicts; not all the flowering dreams will thrive. Information as a social problem refers us yet to what is in principle the character of ideological controversies. It is expressed in socially determined contrasts between capitalist and socialist development such

as unemployment versus social security; fear of the new technology versus an insight into the importance of scientific-technical progress for fulfilling social programs; information as merchandise for making profits versus information as a cultural benefit; dysinformation versus enhancing educational efficiency; and anti-humane data processing by management versus personality interests and social aid to personality development through extensive knowledge. Democratic forces in capitalist countries are fighting against the anti-human effects of information technology. Developing countries need aids for decision-making to realize what consequences may arise from taking on technologies.

This debate of principle is the ideological framework within which socialism has to solve its problems. It must be cautiously examined how efficiency increases and gains in humanity can be achieved through information technology. It surely does not do us much good when through the use of industrial robots the requisite efficiency parameters, including the release of live labor, fail to be attained. That is a reminder that labor organization problems call for complex solutions. We must also work out variables for the use of information technologies that are less expensive. And we have to see how we can better correlate the information systems produced and operated through creative achievements and with a high investment of energy and material, and how they can be made more accessible to users. Science research needs information systems. However, they may become also ends in themselves.

What with all advances made in the development of information technology, we must not overlook that many theoretical problems are waiting to be resolved. That mainly pertains to how man relates to information, the man-machine dialogue. It includes the social effects of information technology and the modes of thinking and conduct individuals need, as they must be accommodated to the new technical opportunities. Philosophy as a world-outlook poses the question about the meaning of scientific-technical progress for man as such. It inquires into how information is generated, into its users and its use, that is, into its value for personalities. Efficiency increase is not the whole story.

To us, social values are relations of the significance of circumstances with respect to man embracing utility, ethics and beauty. The Marxist-Leninist hierarchy of values is topped by the humane task to secure the personality's gain of freedom through social progress in peace. Aspirations opposing that have to be combatted as being anti-humane. In this, the Marxist-Leninist philosophy rejects conceptions in the sense of technological determinism that ignores man as an influential factor and beneficiary of information, and of irrationalism, which regards the role of information and its importance for the individual and for society as being rationally inconceivable. Socialist humanism as the theoretical and practical control over the natural and social environment and over one's own conduct for expanding the freedom by means of the developed productive forces is a target function, rating criterion and requirement strategy for developing information technologies.

4. Information Technologies and Personality Development

Socialism accomplishes the historic achievement of ensuring the free development of personality as a productive force and as a creative shaper of its environment through training, labor and leisure. It puts an end to the capitalist manner of seeing productive forces development as an antithesis to personality development.

Besides, the scientific-technical revolution alters the nature of work in many sectors. Industrial robots replace manpower. Data processing compels new thought because customary activities are no longer needed but new facets are generated in activities. The pocket computer facilitates arithmetic and can also be used to solve complicated tasks that call not only for correct operations but also for correctly posing the tasks. Thus the results of the scientific-technical revolution range from the development of information technologies all the way to the personal attitude taken toward the new character of activities.

To infer from that an imminent general replacement of traditional technologies would be a mistake, however. A few science collectives are creating solutions of principle for basic processes in the scientific-technical revolution, more collectives are becoming familiar with the results of industrial robots, programming and so forth, and all members of society are drawn into the effects of more efficient production through public funds. Job reorganization and abolishing hazardous, heavy physical and monotonous labor is a lengthy process that is possible only under specific economic prerequisites and when certain technological possibilities exist. Humanism is no abstract category that could determine the gain in individual freedom irrespective of the development of the productive forces. Account can be taken of humanistic demands only relative to efficiency boosts.

The development of information technologies based on microelectronics and information theory is part and parcel of the scientific-technical revolution. Information is important for our creative activities, for an efficient manufacture of material goods and the shaping of social relations, for expert decisions in all fields and for differentiating personal modes of thinking and conduct.

At IBM, M. P. Wahl, in charge of data processing for the FRG at that time, wrote in 1969: "Whereas the first industrial revolution relied on the function of the machine as an energy amplifier, the second industrial revolution relies on the computer as intelligence amplifier."²⁰ Today too there often is talk about electronics having initiated a second industrial revolution. That is found in the "household microelectronics," the "automated factory," the "automated office," and its ramifications in the economy and the society. "The vision of a world free from poverty and largely relieved of the burdens of physical work is not a new dream," it is pointed out, "already the fathers of the first industrial revolution two centuries ago had that in mind." Through the "microelectronic revolution" this dream has become "at least technically feasible, even if its becoming a reality still is rather uncertain."²⁴

These remarks call attention to the connection between the scientific-technical revolution and the social relations that either conform with it or gainsay it. The term "second industrial revolution" focuses solely on industrial changes; it does not disclose the nature of the scientific-technical revolution. The changes in the character of labor are essential. The revolution in thinking tools together with the development of information technologies, supplementing the revolution in working tools, certainly plays a decisive role here. But all this is by no means merely an industrial revolution. Through the scientific-technical revolution under socialist and communist social relations, man becomes increasingly the creative shaper and controller of the production processes and

and of the working life and the lifestyle; social communication expands; the revolutionizing of thinking tools brings it about that decisions become more solid through data gathering, storage and processing, routine work is taken care of by computers, and creative work is facilitated by data processing, mathematic modeling and the automation of experiments.

They are talking about the development of information technologies as being in tendency opposed to the humanization of labor and the sciences because, so they claim, through mathematization man is removed from all consideration. Yet only through the use of modern mathematical methods and sets of tools, with robots and computers, can efficiency be achieved. So the mathematization tendency must be supplemented by the humanization tendency. The demand is to turn science data into the basis for guidelines for action. Personal integrity is a factor science has to take account of. At all that, the scientific-technical revolution bolsters the self-confidence of the socialist personality. While man in the past thought of himself as a cog in the wheel, a functional element in the organism, he now can liken himself to the head operator of a central switchboard where strategic decisions are programmed and made. The program demand to combine the results of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism calls for the use of information technology for increasing the efficiency of human action on behalf of humanism, i.e., to improve the people's material and cultural standard of living.

5. Epistemological Problems

Data processing is done by man and the machine. In the euphoric developmental phase of cybernetics, the analogy between these processes was expanded into an identity. Illusory ideas arose about information technology development. They would point to the shortcomings of the human brain, "because it cannot absorb enough facts, it cannot arrange, sort and process the facts fast enough, it cannot store, i.e. remember, facts long enough, it is subject to emotional and semantic noise, and it is not indefatigable."²² Such "errors" in man were supposed to be corrected by a thinking machine "attempting to have the cybernetic machine, the semantic machine, put out more than the human brain can. For the electronic aggregate had none of the errors indigenous to the human brain."²³ Being thus regarded as replaceable by the machine, man disappeared entirely from cybernetic deliberations. Organizational structures were developed in which man functions as an interference factor. The account of efficient economic structures paid no attention to the political organization of society.

There has been no dearth of references to epistemological problems. L. Brillouin pointed out that the development of information theory while elaborating a quantitative measure for information in news transmission and in man by means of bits ignored the importance of information for man. "Right now we can introduce no element into our theory that might say anything about the value of information for man. The bracketing of the human element is a most serious limitation but is the price we have had to pay thus far for being able to construct this system of scientific knowledge. The limitations we introduced made it possible for us to provide a quantitative definition for the term 'information' and treat 'information' as a physically measurable quantity. This definition cannot distinguish between some exceedingly important information and any other kind of news that is fairly immaterial to the recipient."²⁴

M. Taube criticized the analogy-identity equation in terms of the man-machine relation. He counted the notion that artificial human brains could be made among the false scientific doctrines. His argument was that if a machine was supposed to simulate the functions of human brains, the designer of such a machine should accurately have to know the function to be simulated. Since in many projects that could not be taken into account, the outcome was a logical fallacy, a vicious circle, in that one "'discovered' only what one had previously postulated."²⁵ To Taube the essential question was "how the machine could expand the brain function by processing and converting information the brain cannot absorb in such a way that the brain eventually can."²⁶ But this did not only inquire into the data processing in the machine, it also made the problem of the utilization of information in the living organism relevant.²⁷ Artificial intelligence research, widely engaged in today for its scientific, economic and military significance, must not philosophically be identified with an attempt at an industrial manufacture of human consciousness. It would be wrong to erect ideological blocks in that research direction.

Misinterpretations do play quite a role in the philosophic interpretation of cybernetics. N. Wiener's criticism of mechanical materialism was interpreted as if he had turned against materialism per se. Wiener had asserted: "Information is information, neither matter nor energy. No materialism that ignores that can survive today."²⁸

That way Wiener underscored the new quality of information, not to be conceived solely in its substantive form nor in its energetic quiddity. From them it also differs in that information, though recorded, yet remains in the carrier. Lenin had pointed out that sensing "the immediate link of consciousness to the outside world is the transformation of the energy of the external stimulus into facts of consciousness."²⁹ Such facts of consciousness are neither matter nor energy. They are ideational copies of objective realities. And copy does not mean here mirror-image. The term "copy" only emphasizes that there is no copy without an original. To dialectical materialists, the source of our knowledge, following Lenin, is objective reality existing outside and irrespective of our consciousness that can and is being apprehended. Copies supply us with reliable information on objective reality accessible to practical verification.

Critical voices remind us of the theory deficit that has arisen by neglecting the human relation to information and the role of information for the individual and for society. H. Voelz observed: "The term information as well as the use of information that was, essentially, established by Shannon in 1948, today are so multiform and multiplex and contradictory that a unified concept actually no longer exists. In a way one can even talk of a crisis in information theory since the mid-1960's."³⁰ K. Steinbuch says there is a gap between philosophy and information technology because the theoretical background of information and communication has scarcely been illuminated as yet, however much the effect of it is growing in practical life.³¹ That calls for more philosophic analysis of information. Epistemologically relevant are to the new role of man in the man-machine dialogue for data processing as the basis for decisions: the problems of data reduction; the possibilities for mathematically modeling natural, social, technical-technological and intellectual processes.

While information problems have always been under discussion, qualitatively new is the information density due to information technology, the space-time reduction in communication, the rationalization of data processing, the programming of complex processes, the substantiation of management decisions and the changes in the modes of conduct and thinking because of the computers.

6. The Essence and Functions of Information

What is meant by information has changed. Information theory got new impulses from examining information transmission in living beings and machines. The specific character of information with respect to material and energy processes has already been stressed. The discovery of the genetic code expanded the information concept, which now also embraces certain chemically structured molecules for biotic evolution.³² The connection between information and reflection had to be established.³³ Lenin already pointed out it was a reasonable assumption that "all matter has a property that is essentially akin to perception, the property of reflection."³⁴ Reflection entails the specific structures evolving with specific functions through the interaction, the imprint internal and external factors make on a system, which are formed by the type of imprint and affect the system's behavior. These structure-function complexes contain information.

This is potential information for man because by examining the objective-real structures he can deduce the type of imprint. Every structure is congealed development. Thus developmental interconnections can be inferred from structural connections. Spatial juxtaposition is apprehended as temporal sequence. Thus the potential information on information processes in nature can become relevant research information. This does, however, not suspend the objective-real existence of such information processes. The discovery of the genetic code demonstrates that certain structures affect biotic behavior in specific ways.

The information concept is still controversial today. All we can generally maintain is that information is a specific form of reflection, determined by its functions, as a general property of matter. That provides an ideological-philosophic orientation. To comprehend information, a differentiated view about it is required, which then again can and must be synthesized. As its concept developed in substance, a polarization took place as between a narrow and a broad concept of information. Information in the broader sense is any structure evolved through objective-real interaction which, as a structure within a system, fulfils functions with respect to the system elements and the mode of behavior in the system and in more complete systems. The character of information is linked with the fulfilment of the functions. Information in the narrower sense is the specifically human form of reflecting matters of fact, communicated through language. In this sense information is understood as communication among partners for exchanging insights about existential structures and questions of meaning, and opinions about modes of behavior and action targets, as the foundation for decisions oriented to specific values.

About information in the broader sense information in the narrower sense exists. The basic question of philosophy, that of the relation between matter and consciousness, receives an unequivocally materialist answer still after the information processes are explored. A materialist recognizes the existence of

objective reality, i.e., of what exists outside and irrespective of our consciousness and can be apprehended. The category of matter, another name for objective reality, here embraces material, energy and information processes (in the broader sense of information). Results of cognition, put down in concepts as summarizations of experiences, and in theories as explanations through regulative statements, contain information (in the narrower sense) on information processes.

Essential for understanding information is the function of the existing structures. Here one has to pay attention to the complexity of the information process. It embraces the subject matter, that on which information exists; the informing and the informed system, always man, in the social information processes, as the subject of information, even if he has machines store or process the information; the form, which may consist of physical or chemical structures or of oral or written speech; the information content, which can be quantified in bits but must also be evaluated qualitatively; and the benefit, which indicates the use of the information. The information process embraces the following aspects of information: generation, processing, transmission, stimulation, evaluation and utilization. These various elements of the information process conform with various relations among its elements.

Information generation is a process of reflection. In it there evolve, relative to the information in the broader sense, structures with specific functions. The specific human form of reflection, in its unity of copy and design, presentation and heuristics, and empirical-inductive generalization and logical-deductive construction, leads to concepts and theories which, reflecting the subject matter of cognition, apperceive the conditions, relations and laws of nature, society and consciousness.

Information processing depends on storage. Man expands storage possibilities by using information technology. These storage capacities, however, lead to a problem that calls for further discussion. Data are collected copiously. It is not always known which essential processes are comprehended through them. So we have to have data reduction, i.e., from complex data simple data can be derived, which eases the storage capacity. Furthermore one has to find out what the absolutely necessary data are. So, for the storage one has to inquire into the form, content and use of the information. Only when they are theoretically explained and interpreted data mean something.

Information transmission is communication as information exchange. That harbors many problems. Faultless transmission of information is needed. And objective chance has to be accounted for. The receptivity of the one to be informed is important. For evaluating information by man, the credibility of the informant plays a role. As already mentioned, everyone must know what it is that puts him in the position where he can think creatively and act responsibly. To be insufficiently informed is most harmful. Having too much information can more readily be compensated for because man has the ability to forget. But he can hardly work up the information he has not got. Too much information harbors the danger that the wealth of information no longer admits any thoughts of his own.

Information stimulation is enforced through the steering and regulating of a system's mode of behavior. It is linked directly with information evaluation because steering and regulating implies an evaluation of information received. Essential information is that which qualitatively alters the system behavior. Insignificant information can be ignored. One must distinguish here the curiosity of eclectics from that of creative people. An eclectic collects both essential and insignificant information, whereas a creative person makes information evaluation dependent on information utilization, relative to his expert decisions as the basis for pertinent action. This makes clear that practical relevance must always be taken into account in making use of information.

The various functions show information in its specifics. As a reflection it is structure-forming through the reflected system with an adequacy relation between structure and the reflected. As stored information, it has to be on call and useable. It must be measured against how accessible it is to users. As a means of communication it depends on the content (the significance) of the signals transmitted, with an adequacy relation in the information as between the transmitter and the receiver. In being steering and regulating, it is a conduct regulator with a feasibility relation as between the program and its realization. As an evaluative foundation it ascertains the meaning of the signification relations of utility, ethics and beauty, with an adequacy relation to social values. As a basis for decision-making it embraces the unity of cognition and evaluation and the prognosis for practical relevance, with an adequacy relation between objective requirements and the norms as value criteria and conduct regulators. It finds its practical relevance in its effect on society and on the individual, in its effectiveness.

7. On the Development of Information Technologies

In essence, the humane manner of dealing with the scientific-technical progress sets the trend for the development of information technologies in socialism. Therein lies the foundation for the gain in personal freedom. We must increase our scientific efforts of exploring the objective information processes in organisms, technical systems and in society. The latter also relates to the specific information evaluation by types of individualities in concrete situations. These objective processes, including spontaneous information generation and processing, must be distinguished from malleable processes. That includes the development of creativeness for discovering new working principles and also the use of extant technologies. Technological development and information systems have to be shaped consciously, in line with humane requirements. In this, the ideological attitude toward developing information technologies has to take account of a number of aspects:

- Data processing does not replace decisions. It is an aid that calls for extensive basic theoretical investigations, however, and for evaluating the information and social and personal goals as selection criteria.
- Information density demands coupling the question of "what about" with that of "what for." The criteria for data storage and transmission have to be checked relative to goals. The reflection aspect of information must not lag behind the communication aspect. Communication is meaningful when essential, true and evaluated information is available that renders sound decisions possible.
- The development of information technologies must facilitate labor, release material and intellectual potentials for creative work, and make effective education possible. Here we must analyze such trends as the coupling of labor, testing and control techniques, optimum miniaturization, an effective substitution for human activities, and the use of information technologies in education.

--Modes of human thinking and conduct must be geared to future developments. Apprehending the essence is imperative for coping with the wealth of information; that way alone can we filter out information that is essential for action guidelines and human conduct. The manpower reassignment that goes hand in hand with the further development of information technology calls for flexibility and mobility on the part of the working people. Appropriate training measures have to be introduced in good time. Manpower release provides economic efficacy only if an effective reassignment of released manpower is guaranteed. That ranges all the way to the motivations and, hence, the moral demands made on personality.

8. The Consequences

Marxist-Leninist philosophy has to analyze the revolutionary process that coincides with the development of information technologies in the scientific-technical revolution, which has still not come to the end.³⁵ It must know the ideological problems in mass consciousness and offer theoretical solutions for them. Just to talk about an information explosion is not enough. That is merely a quantitative characterization and is devoid of all qualitative evaluation. In science development there are times of extensive data collection, hypothetical starts and trying various solutions. A new qualitative step in theory development confines this stock of information. Then one starts testing the new solutions of principle and makes public use of them in technical commodities. That can in turn get us more data, now different in character.

Philosophy has to help reduce ideological blocks against information technology. They have to do with the fear of new technology and with reservations by scientists who are used to work individually and descriptively against methods for mathematical modeling. An education lead can achieve a new attitude toward the revolutionizing of the thinking tools.

Deeper thought has to be given to two complex problems. For one thing, one must carefully examine what the strategy for developing information technologies should look like. The question to be posed is: Is all that which is possible and, technically and technologically, feasible in this field truly desirable socially, can it be enforced, is it practicable economically and humanly acceptable? The development of computer technology, quite apart from testing techniques, was replaced by device measuring units. The miniaturization of working units is not directly tied to individual demands made on devices. So we have to take into account tendencies that interlink functions and the future social and individual needs. That calls for thinking ahead, not for trailing behind.

Secondly, the effects information technologies have on modes of thinking and conduct have to be analyzed in all domains. We need adequate educational strategies, properly timed training, and the corresponding personality traits like flexibility, eagerness to learn, and courage for new tasks. We have but the slightest indications for the effects of the constantly developing information technologies on individuals and on society. A deliberate problem analysis and future-oriented thinking will give us the basis on which we may later say: We did not miss the chance for deliberately fashioning scientific-technical progress in this field in humane terms. Philosophy furnishes focused knowledge for it

as a foundation for decisions on action motivation and cognition stimulation, if we succeed, through cooperation with natural, technical and social scientists, in exploring the potentials, ramifications and requirements of a scientific-technical data control.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Informatik," NOVA ACTA LEOPOLDINA, new series, No 206, Vol 37/1. Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina, Halle 1972.
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3. A. King, "A New Industrial Revolution or Merely a New Technology?" Introduction to G. Friedrich and A. Schaff, eds., "Auf Gedeih und Verderb. Mikroelektronik und Gesellschaft. Bericht an den Club of Rome" [For Better or for Worse--Microelectronics and Society--Report to the Club of Rome], Vienna/Munich/Zurich, 1982, p 14.
4. Cf. G. Klaus, "Kybernetik in philosophischer Sicht" [Cybernetics from the Philosophic Point of View], Berlin, 1982.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Speech on the Second All-Russian Congress by the Teachers Holding Internationalist Positions," "Werke" [Works], Vol 28, Berlin, 1959, p 421.
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12. F. Engels, "Dialectics of Nature," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Berlin, 1973, p 506.
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14. Ibid.
15. Cf. J. Mueller, "Methods Must Be Applied." "Technisch-wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen des Zentralinstituts fuer Schweisstechnik der DDR," Halle, No 132 (1980), p 60.

16. Cf. H. Voelz, "Information," Vol II, Berlin, 1983.
17. N. Wiener, "Kybernetik," Hamburg, 1968, p 198.
18. Ibid., p 199.
19. Ibid.
20. M. P Wahl, "Technological Gap and Management Shortcomings," C. Grossner, ed., "Das 198. Jahrzehnt" [The 198th Decade], Hamburg, 1969, p 391.
21. A. King, op. cit., pp 43 f.
22. H. G. Schachtschnabel, "Automation in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" [Automation in the Economy and Society], Hamburg, 1961, p 20.
23. Ibid.
24. Quoted from M. Taube, "Der Mythos der Denkmachine" [The Myth of the Thinking Machine], Hamburg, 1966, p 124.
25. Ibid., p 70.
26. Ibid., p 77.
27. Cf. F. Klix, "Information und Verhalten" [Information and Behavior], Berlin, 1973.
28. N. Wiener, op. cit., p 166.
29. V. I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," "Werke," Vol 14, Berlin, 1946, pp 42 f.
30. H. Voelz, op. cit., Vol I, Berlin, 1982, pp VII f.
31. Cf. K. Steinbuch, "On the Essence of Information," UMSCHAU, No 11, 1982, p 363.
32. Cf. "Information. Philosophische und ethische Probleme der Biowissenschaften." IV. Kuehlungsborner Kolloquium, Berlin 1976.
33. Cf. K. Fuchs-Kittowski et al, "Information und Automatik," Vol 1: "Theorie und Praxis der Struktur und Organisation der Informationsverarbeitung." Berlin, 1976.
34. V. I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," loc. cit., p 85.
35. Cf. K. Fuchs-Kittowski et al, op. cit.

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MASS CIRCULATION GLOSSY RECOMMENDS 'HISTORIA' ARTICLE

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 15 Jul 84 p 4

/Article by Jozsef Foldesi: "Recommendation of the Week, Periodical"/

/Text/ What would have been the fate of former Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, charged with conspiracy, if by chance Ferenc Gordan, Hungarian ambassador to Switzerland, did not telephone to Locarno at about 11 o'clock on 29 May 1947? Or if he did telephone, but not immediately, if he first gulped down a cup of black coffee, or if he telephoned to no avail because the prime minister's car had already left? And, of course, it also could have happened that answering the telephone was a lazy, perhaps indifferent fellow, who, for the sake of convenience, did not run after the prime minister but answered, without batting an eyelid, that unfortunately the car had already left. It is then certainly probable that the fate of Ferenc Nagy would have developed differently.

But because historical scholarship examines events, not conjectures, we are "only" able to learn from the latest issue of HISTORIA--on the basis of studies by Istvan Vida and Lajos Izsak--important data about the circumstances of Ferenc Nagy's resignation and about the methods of political struggle waged against the bourgeois coalition partners. In the meantime light is thrown, to a certain extent, on the fact that neither the pious Father Balogh (under-secretary Istvan Balogh, then first secretary of the Smallholder Party) nor the bellicose Matyas Rakosi, first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party and deputy primer minister entrusted with the duties of the head of government, played an "irreproachable" role, to put it mildly, in the political skirmishes of that time.

After the Vida study, exciting as a detective story, we can read the article of Lajos Izsak with no less interest. We can become acquainted with the opinions of Rakosi, Revai and Laszlo Rajk on the elimination of the multiparty system and on the idea, brought up at the beginning of 1948 by the leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party, for transformation of the Hungarian National Independence Front. Rakosi--at least before the Central Committee, the most exclusive directing body--this one time did not beat around the bush. "If we work well," he said, "our development will result in the slow withering of the other parties at our side. We can speed this up.... These parties must gradually die away or at least become symbolic parties (Gero: Symbolic Party),

shadows of their former selves.... In a word, the comrades must see that our strategy is complicated. We are in an alliance, and at the same time we must follow a policy of liquidating alliances. This, of course, is not easy. A person does one thing and he also does it opposite. He who has a good political ear perceives that I said that the new Independence Front will not be some mass organization; it will be held together chiefly by a uniformity of goals, those goals which the Hungarian Workers' Party lays down."

The author draws the conclusion that in the last analysis "the Independence Front is no longer the organ of the parties' solidarity but an instrument for the other parties' elimination, and indeed it meant the liquidation of the popular front itself."

12327

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U.S. DOCUMENT REVEALS RAKOSI ROLE IN 1947 NAGY 'RESIGNATION'

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 3, 1984 pp 30-34

[Article by Istvan Vida: "Report on the Resignation of Ferenc Nagy;" with introduction by HISTORIA editorship stating that this article is a follow-up to the 1981, No 3 HISTORIA article about the elimination of the multiparty system which generated 'many letters of objection and appeal']

[Text] New Documents 1947-1949

In its third issue of 1981 HISTORIA published articles about the Hungarian history of the elimination of the bourgeois multiparty system. Many remarks and requests were received in response to the studies by authors Istvan Vida and Lajos Izsak. In what follows below, some of the documents which came to light in the course of the author's new investigations are made public. These documents are crucially important sources on the political struggle waged against the bourgeois coalition partners.

As is well-known, the participants in the antirepublican conspiracy of the Hungarian Commonwealth were arrested in December of 1946. The "uncovered" threads led to the Smallholder Party. Starting in January of 1947, the communist press used the conspiracy affair in the struggle against the largest bourgeois party. The political struggle surrounding elimination of the conspiracy precipitated a crisis in the Smallholder Party, the majority party of the coalition government. One of the consequences of this was the prime minister's resignation.

Lajos Izsak's article throws light on how the "idea" of elimination of the multiparty system and creation of the one-party system took shape within the Communist Party. (The editors)

Report on the Resignation of Ferenc Nagy

In what follows below, we publish the comprehensive report, prepared for the coalition government by Hungary's then (1947) ambassador to Switzerland, Ferenc Gordon, about the events immediately preceding the resignation of the Smallholder Party prime minister. Gordon was a bourgeois politician with a Western outlook and a democratic mentality who owed his public career to his friendly relationship with Zoltan Tildy, the leader of the

Smallholder Party. He sat in the director's seat of Corvin Department Stores, Inc, for more than 20 years before the liberation. After the war he was managing director of the First National Savings Bank of Pest for a short time. Beginning in November of 1945, he was finance minister in the Tildy and then the Ferenc Nagy cabinet. On 31 August 1946 he was appointed ambassador to Switzerland, in all probability thanks to Tildy.

Gordon's account is one of the most trustworthy sources so far about the events in Bern. It is not possible for us to go into full particulars here; we would merely like to call attention to some of the more interesting details and statements. On 14 May 1947, with the knowledge and consent of the leaders of the coalition parties and thus of Matyas Rakosi, first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, Ferenc Nagy traveled to Switzerland for a vacation. He went not just to relax, but also because the Smallholder Party's top leadership cherished the hope that in his absence it would be possible to postpone the eruption of a new political crisis and perhaps protract the time until the peace treaty went into effect, 15 September 1947. On the evening of 28 May 1947, even before the extraordinary council of ministers, he learned from his secretary Ferenc Kapocs--who had telephoned him from Budapest--that the Allied Control Commission had turned over documents to the Hungarian government which contained incriminating evidence with respect to Ferenc Nagy. (We know today that this evidence did not square with reality). On the morning of the next day (the 29th) he sought out Gordon by telephone in Bern, and the feverish series of phone calls between Budapest and the Swiss capital began.

The Gordon report confirms that the accusations brought against him hit Ferenc Nagy unexpectedly, and immediately after receiving the news (on the morning of the 29th) he intended to set off for home, and it was a matter of utter chance that Gordon found him. He remained in Switzerland only on the explicit request of Zoltan Tildy, president of the republic, and Janos Gyongyosi, the foreign affairs minister. At the same time it turns out that, contrary to the report published on 30 May 1947 by MTL [Hungarian Telegraph Agency] Ferenc Nagy still had not resigned on the 30th. He merely said to undersecretary Istvan Balogh, who at that time was the Smallholder Party's first secretary, that he had "decided in principle" to resign, but he would be willing to hand in his letter of resignation only after compliance with his conditions, above all, release of his 5-year-old son. It was Father Balogh who in all likelihood deliberately misinformed MTL. Indicative of Balogh's not quite irreproachable role is the fact that he incorrectly conveyed the standpoint of the Smallholder Party's Political Committee. The Political Committee of the Smallholder Party, namely--according to available sources--only asked its chairman to come home but not to resign. Balogh did not say to come home. This is indicated by his suggestion: at the time of the prime minister's homecoming "possible troublesome circumstances could arise," which adequately intimidated his former boss.

It is also clearly demonstrated from Gordon's report that Matyas Rakosi personally had a large role in getting Ferenc Nagy to resign. It is true that as deputy prime minister entrusted with the duties of the head of government he had to conduct the negotiations, but it appears that he far exceeded his sphere of authority. He was not especially careful about complying with legal formalities. He knew that the MTI report did not square with reality, but he freely made light of it; nor did he have the right to tell the ambassador to Switzerland what he should report to the homeland. Moreover, on the evening of 28 May, after the extraordinary council of ministers, Rakosi personally talked with Ferenc Nagy on the telephone. The record of this has still not turned up.

Only one of Ferenc Nagy's conditions was fulfilled: on 2 June he was able to embrace his son at the frontier station of Buchs on the Swiss-Austrian border, and on the body of the car which brought him he signed his letter of resignation, which Tildy, president of the republic, received the next day. In the meantime--on 31 May-- the Dinnyes government had been formed, and there was no longer any need for the letter of resignation, which ended up on the bottom of the president's desk.

33/political chief--1947

Bern, 1 June 1947

Report of Ferenc Gordon, Hungarian Ambassador in Bern, to the Hungarian Government

Concerning the Swiss circumstances and events leading up to the resignation of Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy:

At 9:30 on Thursday morning, 29 May 1947, Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy telephoned from Locarno and stated that he had previously spoken on the phone with the president of the republic and had learned that an answer had arrived from General Szviridov to the suggestion made earlier by him--Nagy-- that the Russian occupying authority turn Bela Kovacs over to the Hungarian judicial agencies.¹

The extraordinary council of ministers, convened for this purpose on 28 May, dealt with the answer and decided to ask him to cut short his vacation and return immediately. He added that the answer in essence was that it was impossible for the general to fulfill the request, since the affair could not be regarded as finished; on the other hand, the original records prepared so far of the interrogations were made available to the Hungarian government. This recorded evidence, however, according to the information received, strongly incriminated him--Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy. He therefore decided, in compliance with the request of the extraordinary council of ministers, to leave for home without delay, and he wished to inform me of this fact and at the same time bid me farewell.

1. It is characteristic of Gordon's above-mentioned bourgeois turn of mind that he does not speak about the activity of the "Soviet liberating army" or the Allied Control Commission but rather the "Russian occupying authority."

Upon learning, around 11 o'clock, that the embassy in official matters was speaking with the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Ministry, I asked for a line and requested a connection with Foreign Affairs Minister Gyongyosi. I informed him of the telephone conversation I had had with the prime minister, upon which the foreign affairs minister, with reference to the orders he had given, entrusted me to seek out Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy somewhere on Swiss territory and tell him to remain there until Information Minister Mihalyffy², who was leaving immediately, arrived here in order to talk with him.

At once I was put through again to Locarno and was informed that the prime minister's car was just leaving, but my request was relayed, and I was able to speak with him in Lucarno. I informed him of the message from Foreign Affairs Minister Gyongyosi, upon which, after brief reflection, the prime minister decided to set out for Bern. In the meantime, however, I was to get in touch with Tildy, president of the republic, and ask him whether he was in agreement with this arrangement.

I immediately telephoned the president of the republic. I informed him of what had happened so far, and I noted that the president of the republic knew about the message in question from Foreign Affairs Minister Gyongyosi and agreed with it.

The prime minister's car arrived in Bern at around 10:30 in the evening, at which time I informed him that, in accordance with his wish, I had spoken with the president of the republic and had made the above-mentioned determination. At approximately 11 o'clock in the evening the Bern telephone exchange indicated that a telephone call from Budapest for me was set for 5 o'clock in the morning. Would I accept it? Naturally, I accepted it, and at 5 o'clock in the morning undersecretary Istvan Balogh presented himself to me on the phone.

The undersecretary was looking for Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy at my place. I informed him that the prime minister was living in a hotel and unfortunately I had no way to connect him. I asked whether he wanted me to convey a possible message. The undersecretary readily consented to this and stated the following. (I note that the first part of the conversation took place in such a low voice that several times I asked the undersecretary to repeat some parts of sentences; despite this, I believe I am right in saying that I also heard correctly the introduction to his statements.)

The undersecretary thus began the message by saying that the political committee of the Smallholder Party had held a meeting on the previous day. Although he for his part, of course, repeated the decision of the May 28th extraordinary council of ministers concerning the immediate return home of the prime minister, he reported that it was the opinion of the party's political committee that the prime minister could address a letter to the

2. Correctly: Erno Mihalyfi

president of the republic, in which, while asserting his innocence, he makes it known at the same time that in spite of this, out of regard for the preservation of the country's political peace and for the promotion of democratic development, he is resigning from the office of prime minister.

They undertook the responsibility and guaranteed that his son Laci would be sent immediately and his material needs would be taken care of.

I called the undersecretary's attention to the fact that the prime minister's decision would no doubt be influenced considerably by whether he knew in what form the event would be disclosed to the people and whether it was guaranteed that the text of his letter would be made public. The undersecretary stated that this was being discussed, but he believed it would be possible.

I asked whether it was possible for the prime minister to reach Budapest undisturbed, if he did not go along with this resolution, but rather decided to return home, as he had intended from the first moment. The answer--with some hesitation--was that he might be able to do this, but possible troublesome circumstances could arise.

Since I had been able to determine during my evening conversation with the prime minister and his wife that for them the evolution of the fate of the child left at home was of crucial importance, I again returned to this issue and asked whether exchange of the child and the letter could take place simultaneously. The undersecretary stated in a natural voice that evidently it could, but for that matter no one thought about the connection in this case. It went without saying that the child would be sent here.

Finally, I drew the undersecretary's attention to the prime minister's special-purpose funds here, pointing out that they would provide a way for the smoothest settlement of the material support he had mentioned; for this, however, it would be necessary for Deputy Prime Minister Rakosi to sign the pertaining disposition in order for secretary Szall--who for the time being along with me possessed the keys to the safe--to be able to approve it.

The undersecretary enthusiastically endorsed this solution and stated that all these things would be reviewed that same morning with the responsible authorities.

After this, I brought it to the undersecretary's notice that the prime minister would obviously wish to speak with him personally, and I asked when he could phone him in the afternoon. We agreed that the prime minister would call him at 123-509 between 2 and 3 o'clock (according to local time here).

At the same time the undersecretary informed me that Information Minister Mihalyffy was not coming to Switzerland to see the prime minister.

Last of all, the undersecretary and I agreed that if there was anything further to communicate, he would find me in my office from 11 o'clock on.

After this (at 9 in the morning) I visited the prime minister in his hotel and informed him of undersecretary Balogh's messages. We agreed that after lunch the prime minister would come to my apartment at 2 o'clock, and from there he would speak on the phone with undersecretary Balogh in my presence. Before my departure I asked the prime minister whether I should announce anything beforehand with respect to his probable decision, if in the meantime someone should call from Budapest.

The prime minister empowered me to say in this case that in the course of all his activity up until now he had been at all times a man of solutions and had kept in view exclusively the interests of the country and the people; consequently, in this case as well, he would make a decision by weighing these.

Returning to my office, I learned that undersecretary Balogh had in the meantime called; he obviously did not consider that there is an hour's difference between Budapest time and the time here. I immediately attempted a Budapest call, which on this occasion took an unusually long time, but finally I succeeded. The undersecretary asked me what impressions of the prime minister I had come away with, to which I reported the prime minister's foregoing words as well as the fact that, in accordance with the original agreement, the prime minister would call him between 2 and 3 o'clock and inform him of his decision. The undersecretary remarked that it seemed that the conditions discussed in the morning would be fulfilled without a hitch.

He then stated he was switching me over to Deputy Prime Minister Rakosi, who wanted to talk with me.

Deputy Prime Minister Rakosi inquired about how the case was developing and made his standpoint unmistakably clear that the prime minister should either come home immediately, resign from the office of prime minister and his parliamentary seat and appear before the court, or write his letter of resignation at once. I remarked that the prime minister had intended to leave for home yesterday and had remained here only as a result of messages received in the meantime. I repeated those very same words of his which the prime minister had authorized me to say, namely: "In the course of all his activity up until now he had been at all times a man of solutions and had kept in view exclusively the interests of the country and the people; consequently, in this case as well, he would make a decision by weighing these."

I stated that, according to the agreement, the prime minister would personally speak about all this with undersecretary Balogh between 2 and 3 o'clock. Deputy prime minister Rakosi declared emphatically that in the interest of the country the case had to be brought to a true and

definitive settlement one way or the other during the afternoon, and at the same time he expressed his wish that I immediately report to him the outcome of the postprandial conversation.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the prime minister called on me in my apartment, and within a short time he managed to get through to undersecretary Balogh.

Undersecretary Balogh evidently repeated in brief to the prime minister what he had told me in the morning.

The prime minister stated, however, that in light of the prevailing circumstances he could report that he had decided in principle to resign and that the letter of resignation would sound something like this: "To the extent that I have understood the charges raised against me, I do not consider them in the slightest degree substantiated. I am totally innocent with respect to the charge of conspiracy and any anticoalition policy. Since, however, throughout my life I have only wanted to be of service to the country and the Hungarian people, I do not now want to place obstacles in the path of development, and I therefore resign with honor from my position as prime minister."

The prime minister expressly emphasized that he was only willing to hand over his letter of resignation when his child arrived here.

Furthermore, he made clear his conditions in the following:

1. His character should not be injured in the eyes of the people.
2. His secretary, Ferenc Kapocs, should be released, and it should be made possible for him to come here in Switzerland.
3. No harm should befall his principal private secretary, who accompanied him on his trip to Switzerland.
4. His possessions should not be confiscated, since this would be the stamp of treason.
- (5). His son should be given a 6-month leave of absence.

I heard how finally the prime minister asked undersecretary Balogh what essential indictment counts the witness depositions in question contained in connection with him. I did not hear the answer, of course.

Last of all, I borrowed the phone receiver from the prime minister and asked undersecretary Balogh--since undoubtedly he had prepared notes from this conversation--to brief at once Deputy Prime Minister Rakosi, whom I would then call immediately afterwards. Undersecretary Balogh also stated that the prime minister's child would be sent by plane on Saturday morning.

Around 4 o'clock I got through to Deputy Prime Minister Rakosi. He was already familiar, of course, with the content of the foregoing telephone conversation from the report of undersecretary Balogh. He was extremely critical of the fact that the prime minister wanted to make surrender of the letter of resignation dependent on the time of the child's arrival here, and he repeated that in the interest of the country and the people one could not make the time of political development dependent on such personal affairs and consequently had to insist that the prime minister either come at once or immediately hand over his letter of resignation.

I immediately got in touch with the prime minister, who, however, was not willing to change his previous decision.

Meanwhile I found out that the HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY had published the following report: "Ferenc Nagy appeared at the Hungarian embassy in Bern and informed Ambassador Ferenc Gordon of his resignation from the office of prime minister; this fact was to be transmitted to the president of the Hungarian republic."

Shortly after this, Deputy Prime Minister Rakosi phoned again and informed me that permanent settlement of the case would not tolerate delay.

I pointed out that the above-mentioned report of the HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY did not conform to the facts. The deputy prime minister mentioned that publication of this news item was based on a statement by undersecretary Balogh.

I informed him that in the meantime I had sent the following telegram to the Foreign Affairs Ministry:

"This afternoon Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy asked Hungarian Ambassador Ferenc Gordon to transmit a telegram with the following text: 'In the next few days I will send my letter of resignation from the office of prime minister to the president of the republic, since I wish to announce my resignation directly to him.'"

Deputy Prime Minister Rakosi stated that this telegram was not sufficient; rather, he wanted a telegram which contained the following text: "Ferenc Nagy appeared at the Hungarian embassy in Bern and informed Ambassador Ferenc Gordon of his resignation from the office of prime minister; this fact was to be transmitted to the president of the Hungarian republic."

I drew the deputy prime minister's attention to the fact that such a statement would not correspond to the facts, since the prime minister made the date of the resignation's validity expressly dependent on the time of his child's arrival here. The deputy prime minister insisted with the greatest emphasis on the dispatch of the telegram with the above-mentioned text and stated that he considered this telephone conversation to be in a sense the evidentiary basis, which the gentlemen who were in his presence and who heard the conversation would sign as witnesses.

Finally, he instructed me to consider the request pertaining to the dispatch of this telegram as an order; I was to send the telegram to the president of the republic, the foreign affairs minister and him as a standard telegram and, in addition, one to the Foreign Affairs Ministry in the form of a cipher telegram.

I immediately called the president of the republic. I informed him of the content of the foregoing conversation, to which the president of the republic stated that he for his part had noted the above-mentioned report of the HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY and, using this as a starting point, had taken his measures during the day. He declared that he did not interfere with government matters and for his part approved the dispatch of the telegram.

After this, I sent the desired telegram to the president of the republic, the foreign affairs minister and Deputy Prime Minister Rakosi (as a cipher telegram to the Foreign Affairs Ministry) with the following text: "This morning in my presence Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy informed under-secretary Istvan Balogh that he had resigned from the office of prime minister and asked him to notify the president of the republic." I informed Deputy Prime Minister Rakos by telephone of the dispatch of the telegrams at about 8:30 in the evening.

At 9 o'clock on Saturday morning, at the request of the prime minister, I asked undersecretary Balogh whether the child had departed. The under-secretary informed me that, to their regret, they had not gotten an airplane; for this reason the child was being sent by car. The car would be starting off within an hour; concerning this, notification by telegraph would be sent.

During the noon hours (12:30) I received a cipher telegram which included, among other things, this: "Instruct secretary Szall to leave immediately for Budapest with the prime minister's letter of resignation. He brings back the prime minister's car and child with the governess."

I asked secretary Szall to call upon Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, inform him of this new variation and perhaps try to persuade him to accept this solution. Upon returning, secretary Szall informed me that the prime minister was only willing to go with secretary Szall to Buchs and to hand over his letter of resignation there when the child arrived.

We immediately reported this circumstance to the Foreign Affairs Ministry, from which--or rather from the prime minister's office--shortly afterwards we received news that the child, accompanied by his governess and junior clerk Florian, was leaving in the prime minister's car at 6 in the afternoon and would arrive in Vienna at about 10 in the evening.

I reported this news to the prime minister. We agreed that at the appropriate moment he would go with secretary Szall to Buchs; there, in accordance with

the agreement, he would receive his child and at the same time hand over his letter of resignation to secretary Szall for transmission to Budapest.

For order's sake I note that in the profusion of telephone calls there were a few short conversations which, however, in no way influenced the essence of what is outlined in the foregoing, and therefore I have made no mention of them.

(signed) Hungarian Ambassador Gordon

A Xerox copy. An English-language copy of the report with the signature of Ferenc Gordon is to be found in Washington, in the American State Archives, in the State Department's material. The Hungarian-language original published here is in the estate of Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy (Hendon, USA). I hereby render thanks to Mihaly Hogye, who made this document available to me and consented to its publication. For publication we took into account the interpolations--prepared in Gordon's handwriting--in the document; number (5) is our own addition.

About the persons appearing in the document: Janos Gyongyosi (1893-1951), Smallholder Party politician, from 22 December 1944 minister of foreign affairs; Erno Mihalyfi (1898-1972), Smallholder Party politician, from 14 March 1947 minister of information; Jozsef Szall (1922-), economist, diplomat, from 1943 a member of the illegal Hungarian Communist Party, in 1946-47 secretary in charge of economic affairs at the Hungarian embassy in Bern; Ferenc Nagy's principal private secretary was Henrik Hives, who in June of 1947 likewise resigned from his post and remained in Switzerland; we did not succeed in establishing the identity of the politicians present at the conversation between Ferenc Gordon and Matyas Rakosi. Nor could we identify the person of "junior clerk Florian." Ferenc Nagy's son Laci lives today in the United States.

12327

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HISTORIA RECOUNTS 'LIQUIDATION' OF MULTIPARTY SYSTEM

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 3, 1984 p 34

[Article by Lajos Izsak: "Rakosi, Revai, Rajk, on the Elimination of the Multiparty System"]

[Text] In the autumn of 1947, after the elections--as is well-known--the bourgeois opposition was ousted once and for all from government power.

At the beginning of 1948 the leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party brought up the idea of transformation of the Hungarian National Independence Front on broad mass foundations.

At the start of March 1948, at a meeting of the Greater Budapest secretaries of the MKP [Hungarian Communist Party], Matyas Rakosi said, "The essential thing (i.e., for the new independence front) will be that on the basis of the capital city's organization the other parties will only become serious and more powerful organizations of the Communist Party--and in the villages and in the countryside a more special organization." To this he added that the MKP "must follow the policy that useful village persons are also organically in the Communist Party, and the remaining part of the other parties is the Hungarian Independence Front, or in another configuration they are placed in the center so that it becomes a rigorous central organization, the axle of which is the Communist Party, and around which the other parties are placed." Thus even at that time Rakosi was in essence planning the introduction of the one-party system in Hungary. This concept becomes more distinct and unambiguous if, continuing to cite his foregoing speech, we take a look at the standpoint he adopted with respect to the things to be done. "This is the current organizational and political line towards which we must go and which we hope we are able to work out by the autumn, and then democracy cannot be impeded by coalition huckstering and intrigue, which even now make their influence felt. In connection with this, of course, we will liquidate the still existing rightwing and semifascist parties. The liquidation will take place in such a way that we transfer a few useful persons from the Barankovics Party, together with Barankovics, to the Smallholder Party, likewise Balogh and some of his people. We will see to it that the leftover reactionaries make their exit."

In the summer of 1948 the two workers' parties became one. The platform of the new party, the MDP [Hungarian Workers' Party], speaks about this a few months later in still another connection. "The Hungarian Workers' Party, in place of the more or less flimsy coalition of democratic parties that has existed until now, takes up the cudgels for the creation of a political mass organization of popular unity, the new Independence Front...The Independence Front is a unified organization of close-knit militant and constructive union of every progressive and patriotic element of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the common working people of Hungary. In the Independence Front, therefore, a worthy place must be assured to the great social organizations, the trade unions, the cooperatives, the unified associations of women and youth not only of the democratic political parties but also of the Hungarian people."

In the autumn of 1948 it appeared that the MDP leaders were revising their views in connection with the new Independence Front.

In the 26 September 1948 issue of SZABAD NEP, the party's newspaper meant for a wide audience, Jozsef Revai stated, "In our country there is a people's democracy, there is a coalition, there are classes, the differences between the working class and the peasantry did not become blurred, and under such circumstances with the formal abolishment of the parties we would not take a step toward the abolishment of class differences." In addition, Revai took a firm stand in favor of the multiparty system, since "the allied classes and strata still condier the independent party as the most suitable form and framework for alliance with the working class."

At a November 1948 meeting of the MDP Central Committee--thus in the most exclusive political directing body--Matyas Rakosi says the following: "The uniform development of the coalition democratic parties provided the possibility for the commencement of the creation of the new Hungarian national independence front. It is not a matter of establishing a new mass organization but rather the union of democratic powers with an identical goal. The Independence Front's program will, of course, be much more far-reaching than the one developed 4 years ago. Emphasis will be on the parties' common objectives; this guarantees that the new union will be stronger than the old one was. It is natural that the role of the working class and the party will grow in this new union...If we work well, our development will result in the slow withering of the other parties at our side. We can speed this up. We will transfer the other parties' operation to the newly founded mass organizations of farmers and peasants. These parties must gradually die away or at least become symbolic parties (Gero: Symbolic Party), shadows of their former selves...In a word, the comrades must see that our strategy is complicated. We are in an allciance, and at the same time we must follow a policy of liquidating alliances. This, of course, is not easy. A person does one thing and he also does its opposite. He who has a good political ear perceives that I said that the new Independence Front will not be some mass organization; it will be held together chiefly by a uniformity of goals, those goals which the MDP lays down."

At a meeting of the MDP Central Committee on 5 March 1949, Jozsef Revai, Laszlo Rajk and Matyas Rakosi dealt with the issue of elimination of the popular front, or rather the multiparty system.

Jozsef Revai: "...It is also part of the bourgeois democratic eggshells and remains that if we are the only dominant party, if we do not in essence share the leadership with other parties, we still share it formally, there are still other parties with which we are in alliance but the mere existence of which means permanent reserves for the enemy. The Independence Front itself is the connecting link, but not just simply a connecting link but also a reflection of the situation that there are still other parties, that a part of the peasantry still does not directly rally around the working class. The Popular Front is necessary, in today's developmental sector unavoidable, and is therefore a proper but transitory configuration, which is a transition and intermediate step from the bourgeois democratic multiparty system to the one-party system of the proletarian dictatorship... a transposition in the given situation when our proletarian state has not transcended or completely discarded the bourgeois democratic remains."

Laszlo Rajk: "...The Popular Front, in contrast to the Independence Front, is in reality the democratic rallying point of the parties and organizations, on the understanding that each party and organization recognizes and respects the role of the working class and the party, the MDP. First of all, its significance lies in the fact that, aside from the MDP program, no other kind of program has a basis for the Hungarian working people. Thus the circle is closed: he who acknowledges a program other than the buildup of socialism is an enemy of the Hungarian working people and not some kind of constructive democratic enemy of the government. In the second place, its significance is based on the fact that the possibility for equivocation has ended. The organizational rules of the Popular Front state that he who opposes the Popular Front's program and does not carry out the Popular Front's instructions may not be a member of the Popular Front or of any party or democratic mass organization. In the third place--and here the true significance of the Popular Front, its reason for creation, culminates--the Popular Front offers the possibility for us to really put the parliament to work in fortifying democracy and accelerating the buildup of socialism... Although the Popular Front today still has its own significance and role, the Popular Front is nevertheless of a temporary and transitional nature... The truth is that our party brought the Popular Front into being not only to support our party's policy in the elections, in the struggle against the kulaks, in the cooperative movement, etc., but also to speed up the expiration of the parties and the expiration of the Popular Front as well."

Matyas Rakosi: "A great deal of attention must be paid to comrade Rajk's discussions of the Popular Front. Because if the comrades believe that the Popular Front is a long-lasting, durable structure, then they are very much mistaken. This Popular Front is, strictly speaking, a stage, perhaps the final stage, in the process of the extinction

of the neighboring parties... It is our impression that not much will come out of this Popular Front policy. It is now our impression that these allied parties have virtually no mass basis. And it is our impression that their existence perhaps does democracy more harm than good. We are not just recognizing this now; we recognized it last autumn and therefore accelerated the entire timetable."

According to these, the Independence Front is no longer the organ of the parties' solidarity but an instrument for the other parties' elimination, and indeed it meant the liquidation of the popular front itself.

PHOTO CAPTIONS [Photos not reproduced]

Elections Rallies Before the 1947 Elections

1. p 35 Jozsef Revai at Csepel. 24 August 1947.
2. p 35 Laszlo Rajk at Rakoskeresztur. 20 August 1947.
3. p 35 Matyas Rakosi at Nagyatad. 23 August 1947.
4. p 35 Istvan Balogh at Salgotarjan. 10 August 1947.
5. p 35 Conference of the Bourgeois Democratic Party. Heviz, 9 November 1947. The one marked with a cross is Istvan Barankovics.

12327

CSO: 2500/541

RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTY, SELF-MANAGEMENT, UNION STUDIED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 17, 15 Aug 83 pp 14,15

[Article by Dr Wladyslaw Ratynski, docent and deputy director of the Institute of Party Science of the Academy of Social Sciences, Warsaw: "Party, Self-Management, Unions: In the Plant"]

[Text] In keeping with constitutional regulations, party organizations are the basic PZPR organizational center. Activity of the party organizations, like political subjects, is linked to their effect on economics, cooperation with the administration and self-management of labor and social organizations in resolving the problems of labor, forming and implementing personnel policies, and political supervision in the plants. A constitutional responsibility of the party organization is leading the workforce in carrying out economic tasks, especially in increasing the efficiency of management.

Having an effect, through individual PZPR members, on the activity of self-management of workers and trade unions is also among the constitutional tasks of party organizations. On the basis of resolution XIII of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum, party organizations were empowered to make periodical evaluations of the implementation of personnel policy in plants, to make evaluations of ideopolitical attitudes and the results of the work of a plant and social work of the administrative personnel and to create an atmosphere for their involvement and improvement. The PZPR constitution places responsibility on the party organizations in the area of carrying out political supervision in plants, serving to overcome waste, stemming misuse, and eliminating other harmful social manifestations.

In carrying out these responsibilities, the party organizations can attain the position of political leadership and obtain information on a range of political subjects in plant communities. They will gain this status by everyday activities if, on the basis of their own political authority and confidence of the community, they spread their influence among the workers and increase the degree of their influence on the plant administration and on social organizations.

Party organizations must carry out the tasks set forth by the 16th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in the matter of further strengthening the leading role of the working class by tightening bonds with workers, particularly at their work base, confirming the labor character of party organizations, representing the interests of workers and organizing workers in the process

of implementing the party program. In this way party organizations can bring about an increase in the influence the workers have on the functioning of plants. At the conclusion of the discussions at the 16th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that every party organization must "create political and organizational conditions for workers' co-management."

The intention of the party organization should be to work toward making workers' self-management a basic form of workers' participation in management and in implementing their constitutional rights, including the method of organization and functioning of enterprises, one of the premises of implementing economic reform. Party organizations affect the functioning of self-management through PZPR members who enter into self-management organs and through the support of workers in their own plants. The influence of party organizations on proper carrying out of the functions of workers' self-management, particularly the constitutive and control functions, is irrevocable. The show of concern on the part of party organizations about respecting the authority of self-management emanates from the resolutions of the PZPR constitution. Their implementation has the purpose of counteracting possible infractions of the legal regulation which leads either to diminishing the rank of self-management or to excessive exploitation of its role. The first would pertain to not observing the laws of self-management, the second, to limiting the competence of enterprise directors. Both infractions would threaten the interests of enterprises and workers. The influence of party organizations on workers' self-management requires that self-management should:

- function within the framework of legal resolutions and its own constitution;
- carry out activity in the interest of the workers and the enterprises;
- work for improvement of economic results and working and living conditions of workers;
- improve the substantive position of workers in management, liberating in this way the productive resourcefulness and activity of the workers in the plant.

If workers' self-management fulfills the role that belongs to it legally in overcoming differences and plant contentions, matches carrying out the tasks of developing socioeconomic enterprises with their potentials for meeting the needs of labor and reconciles the interests of the workers with the interests of the community in general, then it is fulfilling its functions properly. The constitutive function of self-management organs is their adoption, in complicated plant matters, of resolutions that bind directors unless these resolutions are suspended by them on the basis of their being inconsistent with legal regulations.

The consultative function pertains to the self-management organs expressing an opinion on all plant matters and problems. Resolutions containing opin-

ions of self-management have the character of a desideratum or of recommendations. The initiative function refers to applications of the workers' councils to the administration with notes and recommendations to which the administration is obligated to respond.

The supervisory function includes the right to inspect the overall activity of the enterprise. Workers' self-management, carrying out the functions specified, co-manages enterprises and does not direct them, although in some cases there attempts to step beyond the authority of self-management.

Party Organizations and Trade Unions

In keeping with the position taken at the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in the matter of revitalizing the trade union movement, party organizations are obligated to preserve trade unions that represent the interests of the workers and protect the rights of plant workers. Unions can ensure fulfilling the protective function in a proper manner if they carry out the activities of everyday social and cultural life simultaneously with activities directed toward improving economic results on which meeting the needs of the workers depends. Reconciling both kinds of activity affects the specifics of the activity of trade unions and their unique method of working.

Concern of party organizations for the character of trade unions as a representation of workers is fostered by the fact that unions are becoming not organs of management in the person of the director and not the focus of co-management in the form of workers' self-management, but a social trade organization that acts on the basis of authority and factual reasons supported by the legal responsibility of the administration and self-management to recognize the union position in labor matters.

The party organization is responsible for moving toward taking the position defined by law of the trade unions vis a vis the administration and the workers' self-management, the position of the self-management organization. Self-management of trade unions, depending specifically on the independent formation of program bases and constitutional principles and their implementation, implies a partnership with respect to the directors and workers' self-management. It is expressed in that the unions cannot have principal influence on the administration and self-management, and, on the other hand, the administration and self-management cannot supervise the unions. Trade unions have gained the right to occupy a position in labor matters both with respect to the administration and workers' self-management. Exercising this right depends on the trade unions fulfilling their plant functions and tasks.

Union organizations, desiring to be authentic plant representatives of the workforce, must protect the workers against bureaucratic vitiations of the administration and other plant centers. This means that the union organizations must act in matters of the administration's and the workers' self-management being responsive to the workers' interests, protecting labor legislation, and promoting social justice in working conditions.

Legitimate activity of the union in this area also influences improving the

activity of enterprises and improving the economic results that define the potential for implementing economically and socially well founded work postulates. Connected with this is the work of the union in the area of shaping plant ethics, inspiring workers to reliably carry out their plant responsibilities and confirming the principles of community living.

The activity of union organizations is also connected with the need to overcome social contradictions and counteract tendencies toward their turning into group conflicts and plant conflicts, with promoting the humanization of labor, confirming social justice in life at the workplace, socializing the attitudes toward work and inspiring union action. The implementation of these tasks requires that trade union management should exhibit skill in the area of directing the work of the unions and reconciling the interests of the workers with the interests of the community.

In the light of the realities outlined by the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, party organizations must form their relations with trade unions according to the following principles:

- party organizations affect union organizations through PZPR members working in those organizations while simultaneously consolidating the independence of their actions;

- party organizations are tightening up cooperation with trade unions for the purpose of effectively solving labor problems;

- resolutions of party organizations in labor matters take into account the opinions of trade unions;

- the secretaries of PZPR, the plant committees, basic party organizations and branch party organizations do not combine their party functions with functions in union administrations.

Cooperation of Organizations

In the cooperation of workers' self-management and trade unions formed under the general influence of the PZPR organization, a certain division of their roles and tasks emanating from the legal regulations and constitutive principles is justified. Both organizations can be involved in similar matters, but at the same time, self-management primarily with problems of enterprises, and unions particularly with affairs of the workforce. This means that self-management must express an interest in plant problems from the economic aspect, and trade unions in the context of defending the rights of workers. Self-management has constitutional authority and it can, therefore, adopt resolutions that obligate the administration and social organizations. Representing the workers, it participates in management of enterprises and is a copartner of directors of enterprises in this process. Meanwhile, unions are a social plant organization that does not manage and does not co-manage, but prepares the workforce to participate in management, being one of the centers of plant democracy.

The law on trade unions establishes that trade unions are formed to occupy a position beside the directors and workers' self-management organs in matters pertaining to rights and interests of the workers, particularly in setting work regulations, regulations for awards and incentive systems, setting the time of work, establishing schedules for vacations and in matters pertaining to other daily, social and cultural needs of the workers.

The specified competencies of trade organizations are balanced by legal responsibilities of the workers' self-management. In the light of legal resolution on workers' self-management, its organs are obliged to make it possible for the union organizations to take their place in the affairs of the workers before adoption of self-management resolutions pertaining to those matters. The position of union organizations must be consistent with the law on trade unions and with labor law.

In order that the cooperation of workers' self-management and union organizations might be formed in agreement with principles of their partnership and might assume a stable character, self-management was legally obligated to cooperate with the trade unions on the basis of mutual agreements. In the form of agreements, both sides may assume obligations for systematic cooperation and maintain them in all mutual relations.

An important obligation of self-management and unions is the mutual influence in the matter of shaping the independence of enterprises, confirming socialistic social relations, reinforcing the principles of social justice and liberating the creative forces of the workers.

This requires adapting the principles of partnership cooperation of the workers' self-management and union organizations in the area of resolving present and future problems. Skillful support on the part of party organizations of the partnership of self-management and unions excludes the tendency toward domination of one organization over the other, prevents competency disagreements between these organizations, counteracts conflicts with respect to division of roles and tasks between them, engenders friendly agreements and influences mutual understanding and bilateral assistance. A partnership understood thus is beneficial for both the workers' self-management and the trade unions.

The forms of cooperation of workers' self-management and trade unions can be various. Union organizations, fulfilling a mainly protective function, occupy themselves not only with everyday social affairs, but also with economic problems. The union law places on union organizations the obligation to participate in the formation and implementation of management tasks. There is also the need for cooperation between the union organizations and workers' self-management in this area. A common sphere of activity of both organizations is the exercise of social patronage over the workers' reorganizational and creative movements, professional formation and improvement, plant work and pay policy, and working conditions.

Union organizations and workers' self-management can work out various forms of cooperative action. The union organizations can form problem committees

with the participation of representatives of workers' self-management and problem committees of workers' councils with the participation of representatives of union organizations for taking a common position in specific matters. Union representatives can be included in meetings of workers' councils and representatives of self-management can be included in union meetings for resolving mutual labor and plant affairs. Union--self-management or self-management--union units can be formed to consider concrete problems, for example, evaluation of the state of industrial safety and hygiene, evaluation of living conditions, or meeting cultural needs.

The specifics described for the functioning of workers' self-management and organization of unions create the possibility for self-improvement and support of those organizations in mutual cooperation. It is the business of the party organization to see that the cooperation of self-management and unions, well begun, would not depend, however, on their formal single-mindedness in specific matters, but on a skillful presentation of their own positions and opinions, arrived at and expressed from various points of view, and the capability of eliciting, from an existing difference of opinion and varying views, similar judgments aimed at converging resolutions.

In order to come to mutual ground on the status of workers' self-management and union organizations, a principle of dialogue and negotiation must prevail. In this way it is possible to reach a similar point of view, to learn to make irrevocable compromises, to avoid harmful tensions and conflicts. Not the division of the two organizations, but their cooperation in their common interest is the proper way for both organizations to function.

2950

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POLITICAL ACADEMY CONFERENCE STRESSES PZPR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 15, 18 Jul 84 p 19

[Article by Edward Grzelak: "The Academy Opens the Doors"]

[Text] On 27-28 June 1984, a conference organized by the Academy of Social Sciences met in Warsaw and broached a subject that is of great social importance today: the place and the role of PZPR at the moment that the Polish People's Republic is celebrating its 40th anniversary. The academy reinaugurated its activity with this conference.

× Dr Marian Orzechowski, professor and rector of the academy, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, and Dr Henryk Bednarski, docent and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took part in the inaugural meeting. Also participating were scholars, representatives of the ministries, provincial committees and sections of the PZPR Central Committee.

The conference concentrated its attention on several complicated aspects of the main theme. These were outlined in 11 papers. At the plenary session, Prof Marian Orzechowski read a paper entitled, "The Genesis and Beginnings of the Polish People's Republic," then Dr Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Ideological Section of the Central Committee, read a paper entitled, "Prospects for the Development of Socialist Poland in the PZPR Program."

In the course of the conference, in the assemblies, papers were read on the following subjects: the PZPR Polish Workers' Party as a leading force for building socialism; the character and reality of revolutionary transformations; the role of the working class in the process of these transformations; the worker-peasant union and its institutional and economic significance; the social-economic transformation of the country; the cultural policy of the party; the role of the party in democratic, socialist development; the position of Poland in the socialist community; and the educational policy of the party. The authors of these papers were Professors Konrad Bajan, Adolf Dobieszewski, Ryszard Gradowski, Witold Nawrocki, Wieslaw Iskra, Bronislaw Pasierb, Bronislaw Ratus, Wieslaw Skrzydlo, and Docent Dr Augustyn Wajda.

The conference was characterized by constructive and lively discussion. Approximately 100 persons participated in it. Papers and discussions documented the great achievements of the last 40 years. Owing to the taking over of power by the working people, poverty and the great interwar unemployment

in Poland was eliminated. The so-called surplus work hands in the villages became the riches of the country, and social and political progress of the working and peasant classes followed, as did the growth of culture, science and education. Poland became an industrial country, which cannot be veiled by the crisis in which we still find ourselves. We also have a new intelligentsia of truly worker-peasant origin and new relations are forming between the classes and social levels and groups. Our great achievement is the lasting and safe boundaries guaranteed by union with the USSR and the strength of our own army.

To the point are the words of M. Orzechowski, indicating that in the historic process of struggle for people's power and social justice, real socialism built in Poland for 40 years is being inscribed in the annals of the nation as a great work. And it is successful to the extent of actual possibilities. The revolution in Poland has its own place emanating not only from the historic time in which it occurred, not only from the entire riches of its accumulated uniqueness, but also from accumulated experience. These are studied with attention by progressive and revolutionary movements on all continents and comprise a part of the common heritage of the world of socialism.

But, as Orzechowski stressed, the creative forces of real socialism in Poland are aware of their own limitations and of all imperfections emanating from circumstances beyond control and subjective weaknesses, but at the same time there are strong convictions of its role in the basic change in our national fate. It is just for this reason that development, improvement, consolidation of socialism and continuing the work of the revolution begun 40 years ago are the responsibility of everyone who has as his goal a world without wars, exploitation and suffering, a world of social justice.

Comrade H. Bednarski, secretary of the Central Committee, summarizing the discussions, called attention to the fact that it is not an accident that the Academy of Social Sciences began its work with just such a conference, with broaching the important problems, indicating the role of the party in the work of the Polish People's Republic, its accomplishments as well as its shortcomings. The party goes to the roots, it wants to be richer in its knowledge of itself, and in this way to be stronger. He stressed that actually in constructing the program of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, we recognized that this should not be a gala, but a time of universal discussion of both the achievements and the shortcomings that the country and as well as the party can list. The 40th anniversary campaign should be a formulation of an objective look at what has been done, an indication of gains, but failures must not be hidden; there should be a discussion of the shape of the latest events in Poland.

The Central Committee secretary continued his train of thought, saying that enemies want to point up the 40th anniversary as a setback; they want to separate the 40th anniversary from our gains; they suggest that the revolution and socialism were forced on Poland, that they are foreign to our people, that Poland achieved nothing and that the party is leading Poland nowhere. The conference has emphatically unmasked the futility and hypocrisy

of this argument; without hiding the mistakes, it showed the great gains that the Polish people have made.

H. Bednarski said that the conference properly concentrated on basic problems. In a lively discussion various positions, approaches and methods of dealing with specific problems and trends were presented, as is understandable and natural, and this deepens the substantial significance of the conference, and gives substance to argumentation. But we must broaden the studies of our society since our knowledge of it is relatively slight. What we need is an analysis of the class structure of our society, studies of the working class and the Polish village. Too often we forget about the worker-peasant union. It is the over-all regulating factor in the struggle of the working class for power and socialism; it is part of the building of socialism, it is formed in accordance with the rules of social development. The position and role of our intelligentsia require study. Its role should not be diminished although we know that some of its members yield to foreign influences.

Social studies must better serve social practices, our activity. Indispensable is cooperation with the scholarly centers of fraternal communist and workers' parties of socialist countries and with communist and workers' parties in countries of the West.

In concluding his speech, the secretary of the Central Committee stressed that in undertaking the decision to form the Academy of Social Sciences, the Central Committee had in mind the need to increase the scholarly resources of the party and to raise the level of training for party personnel, the administrative apparatus of the country and the centers of mass propaganda. We have personnel who are capable of carrying out this assignment.

2950

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RAKOWSKI COMMENTS ON SOLIDARITY ANNIVERSARY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 84 p 2

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski by PAP: "Deputy Premier Rakowski's Interview for PAP"]

[Text] This week marks the fourth anniversary of the agreements in Szczecin, Gdansk and Jastrzebie. At the time, the conclusion of these agreements was universally acclaimed as a momentous event in the history of the Polish nation and the Polish socialist state. Has the passage of time diminished the importance of this event? Or has it perhaps given it even greater significance? These were the first questions that Janusz Poszkowski, editor in chief of the POLISH PRESS AGENCY (PAP), put to Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

Let's stick to our assessment that this was an important event, replied Rakowski, the starting point for many significant changes which have taken place in Poland's public, economic and political life since August 1980. The agreements were signed in unusual circumstances, in an atmosphere created by the mass protest of workers against deformations in the construction of socialism. As we've often repeated before, the working class demanded not less socialism but more of it, more social justice, more respect for the dignity of working people, for those that produce all our material wealth. The weakness of the party leadership and the state authorities was that they lost touch with the working class, not in an external and formal sense, but in a real sense, in terms of contacts based on mutual sincerity and trust. In this situation, words were divorced from practice and an ineffective social and economic policy failed to satisfy public expectations.

The loss of these contacts was the reason for the deep crisis of public confidence in the party and the government. But when we assess the August agreements now, we mustn't forget that the party correctly recognized and interpreted the reasons for the workers' protest and decided that the conflict should be resolved by political means and that a lesson should be drawn from it, one which would produce profound changes in the program and methods of government. One reason for this reaction was that for a long period of time the party rank and file had been becoming increasingly critical of the social and economic policies pursued by the party

leadership. This manifested itself during the discussions within the party before the 8th Congress. In fact, this assessment of the party policy and many suggestions put forward on this basis were reflected in a number of the clauses of the August agreements and in other agreements signed afterwards, and particularly in the program adopted at the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, where they were formulated in more thorough and complete form.

Question: This is a positive aspect of the agreements, but we all know that alongside the people who considered them to open up the way to repairing and improving socialist socioeconomic relations, there were others who decided to exploit them to reverse the tide of history and begin a process of counterrevolution. Looking back at the last 4 years, how would you assess this division, which--generally speaking--has continued up until the present day?

Answer: The stormy year of 1981 proved beyond any doubt that the people who considered those three agreements, and particularly the one signed in Gdansk, to provide a convenient platform for struggling against really existing socialism had been insincere when they put their signatures to the agreements. For instance, they talked about a trade union while what they really had in mind was the creation of an opposition political movement. They said, "Now, let's get down to work," but the work they were thinking about wasn't the kind Poland needed. This isn't just guesswork on my part. Developments after August 1980 themselves dictate this interpretation of the intentions of the people who later formed the Solidarity leadership.

With the passage of time, this interpretation has also been confirmed in the views and opinions developed by many rank-and-file Solidarity members. I recently read a mimeographed text entitled "Reflections on the Attitudes of Polish Society," whose author openly states that "the circumstances necessitated a facade in the form of a trade union." This confession is interesting, particularly for historians. But not only for them, since the August agreements are still the object of a political struggle. In an infinite number of interviews, articles and published discussions, Solidarity leaders and advisers have in fact clearly admitted that the agreements and Solidarity itself were only the first step, an instrument to be used in changing the system. So when they signed the agreements containing declarations that the socialist system would be respected, when they assured us of their sincerity and honesty, they were in fact guided by dishonest intentions. The facts testify to these intentions, particularly the attempts to wreck the economy in order to heat up public discontent and turn people against the party and the socialist authorities. I believe every Polish family should be encouraged to recall what the shops looked like in the autumn of 1981 and how small supplies of food, fuel, detergents or electric power were. To recall the prospects facing us. We weren't the only ones who realized how bad those prospects were.

It is good that a few days ago SZTANDAR MŁODYCH recalled a view relayed in the first days of December 1981 by the REUTER correspondent in Warsaw to his London headquarters. Describing the situation prevailing in Poland at that time, he wrote that "it is only possible to argue about the likely

number of victims, for many Poles will not survive the coming winter. Unheated apartments, dismal market supplies and production in disarray must claim their victims. Will their number be above or below 1 million...?" [retranslated from Polish--Ed.] The West saw Poland that way then.

However, it is impossible to talk about the agreements in isolation from the realities of 1981 and the subsequent developments. What I have in mind is the formation of underground organizations, the street demonstrations and rioting incited by them, the moral terror applied to members of the new trade unions and artistic associations, as well as the ever stronger ties with anticommunist centers in the United States and Western Europe, the praise of Reagan and his policies, including his restrictions striking at the existence of Polish society. Millions of working people in Poland still know too little about the material and political effects of these associations. This is a pity, because they could learn about the true face of these "defenders of the masses and of democracy."

Characteristically, a certain group of people who supported the political adventurism of the leaders of the former Solidarity, in fact provided them with intellectual inspiration and supplied them with arguments for struggle against the PZPR and the socialist state, argue arrogantly to this day that the authorities should reach agreement with society. By agreement with society they mean an acknowledgement that they are right, despite the fact that they have revealed their plans and in point of fact are responsible for the course of events that was taking Poland straight to disaster. What I have said shows that the divisions with regard to the understanding of agreement still exist, although they are certainly not the central issue in the life of Polish society. The majority of Poles are not excited by the differences in the interpretation of the notion of agreement as they focus their attention on problems of daily existence and the prospects for the future of socialist Poland. This majority, which also includes many people adopting a neutral position, or even one of suspicion and caution, wants social peace, the continuation of reforms in harmony with socialist ideals, transformations, and an efficient state and economic administration.

Question: The August agreements were concluded at a time of high tension, of struggle, and of pressure on the authorities that was closely tied to an enormous load of emotion. There are many arguments supporting the view that not all the provisions of the agreements were dictated by their correctness or the objective interest of the Polish state, as it is not possible to get the most rational solutions when one of the sides is subjected to such massive attacks. How should these documents be assessed now from the point of view of their feasibility when it is possible to make a cool and rational analysis of their contents?

Answer: Obviously, the circumstances in which the August agreements were born were bound to exert an influence on their actual provisions. Therefore, an in-depth analysis is certainly useful. However, I wish to recall that in the last 3 years the government published several reports on the peace and scope of the implementation of the agreements. We are of the

opinion that when we are asked today about the scope of implementation of the agreements, we should first of all answer a more fundamental question: To what extent does the social and economic policy of the state take into account all the factors that led to the outburst of working class discontent in the summer of 1980? This is a deeper and more forward looking approach to the essence of the agreements. Such an approach is consistent not only with essential national interests but also with human nature. After all, looking ahead is a natural reflex for everyone. And so also in this case the most important thing is to determine whether in the period since 13 December the party, its coalition partners and the state authorities have pursued a policy aimed at preventing a buildup of legitimate discontent on the part of the working class and the whole society both at present and in the future. Beyond doubt, this tendency was and remains the very essence of the social and economic policy of the post-December period.

Of course, there are still many issues that act as irritants in Poland and sparks still fly here and there, while the powerful machinery of economic reform occasionally jars. Individual parts of the social program of socialist renewal are not always and not everywhere efficiently implemented, but then, it is the general tendency that is the most important. And this is indisputable. What I am saying is not a propaganda vision but a diagnosis based on huge number of objective facts confirmed by the evident subsidence of the wave of emotions, the distinctly lower susceptibility to violent actions, the broadening base of social understanding of the policy of the party and government. To support this observation, I could quote the words uttered by the Primate of Poland, Jozef Cardinal Glemp in his Jasna Gora sermon on 26 August. He said, among other things, that "while the contradictions have not disappeared and much remains to be done, tension is easing, the embers of hatred are dying out." Any follower of Polish affairs who is not permeated with hatred of the socialist authorities will admit that we have done a great deal to confirm the claim that there can be no return to the methods of government from before August 1980 and to the anarchy that preceded 13 December. Society is aware of these efforts. Not the whole of society, I'm sure, but then, we have never claimed that a general return to mental balance and rational feelings was something that could be achieved in a year or two. In order to get the maximum amount of confidence, we opted for a "long march." The results we are scoring along this road may not be spectacular but they are certainly indispensable and valuable from the point of view of consolidating socialism in Poland. In this context, the attempts of some people to reconstruct the situation from before 13 December with only slight corrections, launched by a group of people claiming to be the political opposition, are doomed. They will not bear fruit, despite the fact that the people I have in mind have been behaving more cautiously and less aggressively than in the autumn of 1981. The reason why they are doing so is that they are aware that even among their supporters there is now no market for extremism. It is, therefore, a tactical move, aimed at establishing a foothold and waiting for a fresh opportunity to stir up trouble. However, Polish society is not willing to go through the same ordeal all over again.

Question: More and more people are now beginning to take a sober view of the recent past and its consequences. Many of our fellow countrymen have started to look at developments in the country in recent years more rationally--not in purely emotional terms, as they once did. The broad amnesty currently being carried out, which has opened up prison gates to those who recently committed acts of evil or were accomplices to them, is proof of the socialist state's strength of good will. The amnesty is generally acknowledged to open up a new chapter in the history of our crisis-weary country. What, in your view, are the chances that all the extremist leaders who have now been released from prison will abandon their antistate activities? Do they think they'll be able to rally other people around themselves again?

Answer: Before I answer these important questions, let me comment briefly on the amnesty. Our political enemies and their allies in the West are trying to convince the public that those who really deserve the credit for the amnesty are President Reagan, Western public opinion and domestic anti-communists. They claim that the Polish authorities have succumbed to their pressure and made concessions. This is a cheap little propaganda trick. Since 13 December 1981, the government has proved beyond any doubt that each of its decisions--from easing the restrictions of civil liberties which had been introduced by virtue of the decree on martial law to suspending and lifting martial law, to last year's amnesty and the present one--are the result of a thorough analysis of the political situation in the country, the alignment of forces, and so on. I will put it bluntly, too bluntly perhaps: if we had come to the conclusion and the Sejm had agreed that the existing situation did not justify the proclamation of an amnesty, the U.S. President could have demanded one every day and our policy wouldn't have changed one bit. The talk of concessions forced out of us by Western pressure is either addressed to the extraordinarily naive or is designed to disguise confusion and disillusionment. Some of our enemies would be happier if the amnesty hadn't been proclaimed. Then there would have been something to shout about, a pretext for setting public opinion in their own countries and in Poland against the Polish party and government.

Their aim is to exacerbate conflicts, not ease them. As regards those that have been released, I'd jokingly say that I'm sorry Michnik was very nearly dragged out of prison by force. Since he didn't want to leave his cell, preferring to remain there and play the martyr, the public prosecutor should have left him as he was and announced to the world that Michnik had voluntarily decided to take up residence in Pakowiecka Street and that the prison authorities had agreed to provide him with free lodging--his friends would have had to take care of board and the rest.

Going back to your questions, it seems to me that at present most of them, the KOR leaders, the seven amnestied Solidarity leaders and their mentors, are looking around at the situation in the country, testing out their friends' views, wondering who could prove an ally for them, and discussing their future tactics and strategy. So far, few have engaged in political skirmishes. These few run out into the open, "pull the tiger by the whiskers" and then wait to see what the reaction will be. The press has

reported that public prosecutors have warned Frasyński, Rulewski and Jaworski about the possible consequences of their attempts to engage in activities which could violate the law and disturb public order.

It follows from what I've said that we must be prepared for the eventuality that these people will continue their antistate activities. It isn't yet possible to say what forms these activities will take. Please note that none of the methods of struggle against the socialist state employed so far has produced the desired effects. The publication of underground newspapers and other kinds of activity have not shaken the foundations of the Polish People's Republic; the boycott of the new unions has not been able to prevent their development; the idea of a go-slow in industry has been totally discredited; the stigma of "collaborating with the authorities" has had to be thrown into the dustbin, as has the slogan "the winter's yours, but the spring will be ours"; street demonstrations and disturbances have found no major public support; the concept of an "underground society," i.e., a society which would learn how to view Polish problems from underground newspapers read out over Radio Free Europe, has also collapsed.

Finally, the underground's support for the restrictions imposed on Poland by President Reagan has also backfired. The vast majority of the public have interpreted the restrictions as a clearly anti-Polish move. So each of these ideas has been a flop. A new scheme is being consulted now. More and more people committed to antisocialist and antistate activity have come to the conclusion that it would be useful to join various legal institutions mouthing slogans about conciliation on their lips and then burrow away under their foundations. So they want to join them and take them over!

But there's more to it than that. The more traditional concept which hopes for a confrontation with the socialist authorities is still lingering on, although it can hardly be expected to draw any major support. On the other hand, it's noticeable that the advocates of confrontation are looking to the church as a possible ally. Of course, there's no smoke without fire. The adventurist core of the enemies of socialism pin their hopes on those priests who use their churches to spread views which have nothing in common with religious work. I'm very sorry to say that some clergymen--not only those who have gained renown in the foreign media and in underground papers at home--condemn and hurl abuse at the communists and the policy of the party and the socialist authorities, distort Polish history, often in a very crude way, and glorify events and acts which sow bitterness, enmity and even hatred to our fellow men, to our fellow Slavs. The words that are spoken on some pulpits make your hair stand on end. This activity has nothing in common with humanism and the idea of national conciliation. We receive letters from the faithful who are outraged at priests engaging in politics. I can present these letters at any time. It's also a known fact that some leaders of KOR and the former Solidarity use places of worship to deliver purely political speeches. Are they doing this contrary to the will of the parish authorities? Knowing the hierarchical structure and traditional internal discipline in the church, it's hard to imagine that every parish priest and curate is totally independent. Some of the clergy are engaging

in politics. This alarms us, as it may cast a shadow on state-church relations, which we don't want. It's generally known that the socialist state totally respects religious freedom, and especially in recent years--the state has repeatedly proven that it wants these relations to develop to the benefit of the country and society. I'm not exaggerating the importance of these obvious distortions of the church's religious goals. The reason I'm talking about them is that our keeping silent about these facts could be misinterpreted. The majority of Polish clergymen are patriots, they are closely linked to the Polish people and they accept the country's contemporary borders and the historic achievements of socialist Poland. I'm confident that they will oppose the introduction of politics into house of prayer and the spreading of views which divide the nation show contempt for the past 40 years, thus repudiating the efforts of several generations, of millions of people, and--to put it mildly--instigate prejudice against nations which are close to us.

Question: To conclude our conversation, let's come back to the idea of conciliation. It is still being considered and discussed while time presses. We have to be able to meet the increasingly high standards of our times which is extremely difficult for communities at variance, for weak and mis-managed communities. So, what are we going to do now?

Answer: Conciliation is no longer an idea or a phantom. It is a process, and therefore a fact, although it is common knowledge that not all Poles have yet accepted this fact. We are not living amid illusions. At the present stage of efforts to regain credibility with the people, the political and state leadership is thinking about winning over the hesitant, convincing those remaining aloof and the neutral, in both positive and negative ways. This it considers to be its main goal. How can this goal be achieved? Only through facts which show that our faithfulness to the program of socialist renewal is beyond doubt. Is this an easy target? None of us claims it is. This will require that we overcome our own weaknesses, do away with long-standing habits, with inclinations to arrogance and with the tendency to forget about such essential matters as respect for the dignity of the working people.

This will also take a determined struggle against cliques, arbitrary decisions, bureaucracy, and, above all, incessant work on eliminating the effects of the economic crisis. Are these goals attainable? They certainly are, although this will require from those who wish to pursue them a lot of energy and patience with inevitable setbacks. This has nothing to do with cheap optimism. It is a conclusion that follows from the experiences acquired during the difficult period following that memorable December.

As for dialogue with society as a whole, with workers, members of trade unions and creative associations, self-managements and cooperatives, or, finally, with individual persons, such a dialogue is taking place. We see it as an integral and essential part of national conciliation. We therefore continue to do our best to make our intentions, goals and methods of activity comprehensible to and agreed to by the public. When the Sejm

passed the Amnesty Act, certain groups in Polish society regarded this move as an important and positive step, but they made it clear, nevertheless, that they expected the authorities to make another move.

The question therefore arises, what kind of move this is to be. In the past years, the authorities have made many moves the meaning of which could not be mistaken. Each of them was prompted by the will to reach agreement with citizens with different views. It looks as if the next step, expected by the groups in question is their recognition as the only representatives of the Polish community. This is obviously nothing but misunderstanding.

The dialogue which is taking place, requires from the parties involved that they try to constantly improve and enrich it, that they seek new forms of this dialogue and create favorable conditions for all those remaining aloof, bitter and resentful, for all those who would like to save face after one adventure or another.

We have not been trying to pursue this dialogue from the position of victors; we wish to run the country together with the Polish people, not alongside them. New, extensive powers for the people's councils, for trade unions and for workers' self-management, the ever greater role nonparty people have come to play in the country's political and public life, numerous forms of social consultation, openness in exercising power--all these provide evidence to show that socialist democracy has been developing and consolidating itself. Yet, there are certain limits, even to dialogue. The constitution of the Polish People's Republic must not be violated, which means that any hopes for the restoration of the situation which the opponents of socialism created in 1981, must be abandoned. Our state, and the Polish people paid too high a price for the long months abounding in social and economic demagoguery, hatred, nonsense strikes and hunger marches, to take another chance that such a dangerous adventure could be repeated.

We are open to any constructive idea and initiative intended to serve the nation and strengthen socialist Poland. But we are determined to oppose anything likely to harm it, to disturb the peaceful, laborious march toward a better future.

CSO: 2600/1276

POPULATION NEEDS FOR NEXT DECADE FORECAST

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18-19 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Iwona Czechowska: "Needs Rise as Population Increases"]

[Text] Rushing around as we do, burdened by the problems of everyday life, we do not notice how fast time is passing us by. The year 2000 is only 16 years away. The children that are now being born will then be going to secondary school. These products of the most recent baby boom will have to be fed and clothed, and will require health care, kindergartens, schools, etc.

In 16 years' time, according to the latest Central Statistical Office (GUS) projection, Poland will have some 41 million inhabitants. A total of 13 million children will be born between 1981 and 2000, while the natural increase in that period will come to around 5.3 million people, with the highest number of births being recorded in the years up to 1985. The birth rate will then start to decrease until 1995, owing to the diminishing number of women in the highest fertility age group (20-29). There will be 960,000 more people in the 0-17 age group, 2,720,000 more of productive age, and 1,615,000 more past productive age. However, the structure of these groups will be different in particular decades.

During the present decade there will be a big growth in the number of children and youth and of people past productive age, combined with a relatively small increase in the number of people of working age. As a result, the relation between the number of those professionally active and inactive will deteriorate.

This means that the working population will face an increased economic burden and that the increase in national income will have to meet the growing cost of welfare benefits for the inactive part of the population. This situation will not improve until the 1990's, when the number of people of productive age will increase. This relationship is illustrated in the table below, which gives the ratio of people below and above productive age per 1,000 people of productive age.

Year	Overall number of people not of productive age	Of which	
		Below productive age	Past productive age
1980	685	486	199
1985	714	505	209
1990	779	540	239
1995	738	497	241
2000	714	470	244

Next to these figures, there are other data that demographers find disturbing. One of these is the excessive mortality among men of productive age. The average life expectancy for men at 30 and 45 years of age has slipped back to the level of the mid-1950's. The reasons for the increased mortality are chiefly accidents and poisoning, circulatory ailments, and cancer. Another unfavorable phenomenon is the growing discrepancy between child mortality in the 1-4 and 15-19 age groups in town and country, which is changing to the disadvantage of the latter.

In the 1980's, Poland's population will increase by 3 million people, i.e., almost twice the current population of Warsaw. This decade will go down in history as the years of another baby boom in primary schools (ages 7 to 13). The number of pupils will rise by about 1,050,000, and by 1990 will reach the figure of 5,260,000, surpassing the previous peak of the 1960's. The year 1986 will mark the beginning of another peak in the 15-17 age group, that will be with us until the end of the century. Here the growth will be in the order of 280,000 people.

In the second half of the present decade, Poland will record the lowest growth of the number of people of productive age in the whole postwar period: this will total only 370,000, while the population above productive age will increase by a further 840,000.

The projection for the 1990's envisages a lower rate of population growth. It is estimated that this will amount to 2.3 million people. There will also be changes in the age structure of the population that will be advantageous from the point of view of socioeconomic policies. However, the same years will witness a peak in new marriages and the formation of new households. This will cover 900,000 people. The number of people of productive age will increase by 1,750,000, while there will be almost 780,000 more people past that age, i.e., almost 5.9 million by the year 2000, or 14.2 percent of the country's population.

The growth forecast for Poland's population in the years 1980-2000 according to basic age groups is given in the table below.

Item	Projection for					Change			
	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
					in thousands				
Population total	35,735	37,390	38,720	39,865	41,030	1,655	1,330	1,145	1,165
Children 0-2 years	1,995	1,984	1,843	1,833	1,943	-11	-141	-10	110
Children of kindergarten age (3-6)	2,504	2,689	2,533	2,420	2,466	185	-136	-133	46
Children of primary school age (7-14)	4,209	4,812	5,259	5,175	4,885	603	447	-84	-290
Youth (15-17)	1,589	1,526	1,805	1,977	1,963	-63	279	172	-14
Population of productive age (18-59 years for women, 18-64 years for men)	21,211	21,823	22,194	22,923	23,932	612	371	729	1,009
Population past productive age (women 60 and over, men 65 and over)	4,227	4,556	5,066	5,537	5,841	329	510	471	304

The needs of people from the times of demographic peaks with regard to food, housing, clothing, health protection and education point to the importance of adjusting the structure of employment to meet socioeconomic needs, of improving work organization, increasing productivity--in brief, of ensuring the success of the economic reform. Achieving a growth of production with a smaller number of workers is the determining factor in implementing welfare targets and improving living standards.

In the second decade it will be necessary to provide more jobs for the bigger working population and restructure industry to satisfy the definite social needs resulting from changes in the population structure. This is a problem that we have to start solving now.

The socioeconomic consequence of the growth in the number of children--both now and throughout the period under review--is the necessity to increase the number of primary and secondary schools, employ more teachers, increase the supply of paper for textbooks and exercise books, improve the facilities for printing them, and provide more teaching aids.

The growth in the number of people past productive age signifies not only an increase in welfare spending but also the need to ensure appropriate health care for them. The health service must also take care of the new-born children and their mothers and mount a more active struggle against the diseases of industrial civilization.

It will be necessary to provide food, clothes, household equipment and apartments for 5.3 million additional citizens; yet these are precisely the areas in which much ground has already been lost.

Discussions are soon to begin on the long-term plan of Poland's development. The whole of society should be aware of the consequences that demographic changes will have for our economy and social services.

CSO: 2600/1275

EXTENSIVE TRAINING OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS DESCRIBED

Bucharest INVATAMINTUL LICEAL SI TEHNIC PROFESIONAL in Romanian Aug 84 pp 14-15

[Interview with Gheorghe David, minister of agriculture and the food industry, by Mircea Rosoga]

[Text] [Question] As we know, the definitive characteristic of the entire strategy for agricultural development is carrying out a true agrarian revolution in the production, labor productivity, technical, economic efficiency and social activity in general in the villages of socialist Romania. In this regard, on the initiative and under the direct guidance of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, broad programs were worked out for modernization of all activity in agriculture, aimed at a complex technical, organizational, economic and social process.

Comrade minister, please present several aspects of the basic elements of these programs and to what extent can raising the qualifications of the labor force optimize fulfillment of them?

[Answer] Proceeding from the fact that agriculture is a basic branch of the national economy, the priority goals of the programs worked out on the initiative and under the direct guidance of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are achieving a modern, intensive, highly productive agriculture. So special attention is being given to the measures to increase agricultural and arable areas, to preserve and raise the production potential of the land, with the earth being the most valuable national wealth of our people in the party's concept and that of its secretary general and a basic factor in obtaining high agricultural production and providing the necessary agricultural food products under better and better conditions in this way.

Bearing in mind Romania's pedoclimatic conditions and the experience gained by workers in the fields, the programs bring out the need to devote more resources and manpower to preserve and improve the land, to increase its production potential, to organize and completely use the land. The variety of soil and climate, the alternating of prolonged periods of drought with periods of precipitation which lead to excessive moisture, land erosion and landslides in the main agricultural zones all have as a consequence the reduction in harvests and recording of swings in their levels from one year to the next. By applying the national program for providing sure and stable agricultural production, we

are seeking precisely the full utilization of the material-technical base of agriculture, labor resources, the experience and capability of cadres for obtaining big and stable harvests throughout Romania. Measures to organize and use the entire agricultural area and to extend irrigation, dugs, the combatting of soil erosion and other land improvement and water management projects are provided.

Other programs provide for projects and measures intended to lead to continual development of all sectors of agriculture at a harmonious rate, with the growth in production to be obtained mainly from per hectare production.

Grains continue to be the priority goal of our agriculture, with the development of zootechnics and rise in the population's standard of living depending on their level. Technical crops will continue to remain a major concern of ours, with much higher production of sugar beet, sunflowers, soy, hemp and flax for fiber to be obtained, which would satisfy the food and light industry's needs for raw materials. Special attention also is to be given to vegetable growing, fruit tree and grape growing. With regard to zootechnics, we mention that animal production will reach 45 percent of total agricultural production in 1985 and 50 percent in 1990. Taking into account the great importance of animal production, constant action is currently taking place on the basis of complex programs for substantially increasing the number of animals parallel with improving the structure of the species and breeds.

As one may observe from this concise reference to the main directions for agricultural development, tasks of special importance are facing those working in this important branch of the national economy. That is why--and now I am answering the second part of your question--fulfilling the goals included in these mobilizing program documents is inconceivable without cadres with solid vocational and political training. Modern agriculture requires wisdom, solid specialty knowledge, polyqualification and love for working the land.

[Question] How should the concept of the new quality in training and providing the labor force for agriculture be understood?

[Answer] The agrarian revolution we are carrying out is not possible without a high technical-vocational level of all workers and peasants and without the continual improvement in their qualifications.

So it is precisely relating the training to the level of modern agriculture and to the complex tasks of great responsibility which are facing this importance branch of the national economy which is being sought through a new quality in training cadres. Those working in agriculture today and--all the more--those currently in school must prove their well-founded training, solid theoretical and practical knowledge in the area of agrotechnics, biology, chemistry, mechanics and in general should be capable of applying modern technologies from the various sectors of animal and vegetable production.

So a basic problem which has been and which continues to be in our attention is insuring better and better conditions for training the labor force. In this regard important efforts have been made to supply agriculture and food industry education, particularly the laboratories, offices and workshops--as well as

developing schooling and housing areas through investment-construction projects. Many school buildings or completely new educational units have been built in the last 10 years as well as a large number of dormitories, cafeterias, workshops, land improvement areas and laboratories, offices and school shops have been set up and supplied accordingly. Our educational units have 940 physical tractors in their supply plus sets of machinery appropriate for each trade.

Parallel with development of the material base, special attention has been given to improving the content of agroindustrial education and improving the process of transmittal--gaining of knowledge through generalization of forms, methods and procedures of great didactic efficiency. In this regard, our ministry, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Instruction, has been concerned with improving education plans and curricula, with adapting them to the requirements of agricultural production, giving a greater and greater share in training the pupils to the problems of mechanization, automation and chemification as well as to practice in production, which hold priority positions in all the education plans.

A measure of great importance is also the introduction of the obligatory nature--for all pupils--of knowing how to operate tractors and agricultural machinery, how to obtain a tractor driver's license when they graduate from school. The confirmation of this usefulness is also the fact that the majority of mechanized jobs on the plots and school farms are done by pupils, with their participating on the tractor in the agricultural work of the production units in the peak agricultural periods. The pupils' contribution to doing the mechanized agricultural jobs as well as other qualified jobs (planting, cutting, producing sowing material, applying phytohealth treatments and veterinary health treatments) in the production units many times has been brought out by the leaders of the state agricultural enterprises and stations for mechanization of agriculture. So these are several elements without which one cannot conceive of a new quality in training the cadres. Summarizing, we can say that through the concept of the new quality in the training and providing of the labor force for agriculture we should understand: 1. the proper didactic-material base; 2. proper school plans and curricula; 3. modernization of the education process by applying active-participational methods; 4. continually providing advanced training for teaching cadres and specialists.

[Question] Agricultural instruction in Romania--in particular we are referring to the agricultural-industrial secondary schools and vocational schools--has available a developed network of school units. In what direction are the concerns of the ministry being directed for continuing to improve the training of cadres in these units and for attracting young people toward the trades in the agricultural area?

[Answer] Training of the labor force for agriculture and the food industry is carried out through the following forms of instruction:

For qualified workers: the secondary school and the vocational secondary school, added to which are the courses for qualification;

For technical personnel: the foremen's school;

For specialists with higher studies: the institutes and faculties.

Currently our network is formed of 190 school units for training the qualified workers and foremen (of which 164 are secondary schools and 26 are vocational schools) with many profiles and trades. The agricultural-industrial secondary and food industry secondary schools operate with two basic profiles (industrial-agricultural and food industry), which include a total of 15 trades; the vocational schools operate with 12 trades, while the foremen's schools operate with 8 specialties. It should be mentioned that the secondary school network has grown in recent years by more than 60 school units by changing some secondary schools, particularly those in the rural locations, into agroindustrial secondary schools, a fact which, on one hand, has broadened the opportunities for training the labor force for agriculture but, at the same time, the tasks for the ministry, departments, general directorates and centrals also have increased.

The need for a work force for agriculture is also completed with graduates of the general schools in the communes which school pupils in the first level of the industrial-agricultural secondary school.

The training of pupils under conditions of the new agrarian revolution has consolidated the integration of agricultural education with production and research, for which purpose the secondary schools have taken over agricultural areas and animals from the production units where they operate, establishing school production farms. They have available tractors and agricultural machinery and operate with a production plan, thus creating the opportunity to carry out a broad range of jobs specific to the trade for which they are being trained.

The prospects for development of agriculture as well as the measures taken by our ministry for providing a powerful material base for the school units have led to attracting the young people toward the trades in the agricultural area.

In concluding our conversation, I wish to mention that all those working in agricultural education are greeting the 40th anniversary of the revolution of social, national, antifascist and anti-imperialist liberation and the 13th party congress with special results and they are determined not to spare any effort in fulfilling the grand goals facing our socialist agriculture.

8071

CSO: 2700/264

BARBU RESPONDS TO CRITICISM BY PAUNESCU

Bucharest SPTAMINA in Romanian 18 May 84 p 3

[Article by Eugen Barbu: "Immoralities" and Immoralities]

[Text] Whenever Adrian Paunescu is in difficulty (and this time he is in difficulty for reasons which he knows better than I do), he invents a polemic. Usually the subject of these conflicts is ethics, a word which is very dear to him, but one which he never respects in his poetry, when he spits upon what he has loved, but this is not required from a poet of his talent. In the cases named the chosen one (read target) must have a certain rank in order to have his temerity, lampooning power and, in particular, the popularity he desires at every moment measured! In my case, several times I crossed swords with Adrian Paunescu, not from my own desire, because it is as if it was meant to be, and I always am the one who answers! Before, it was a matter of soccer, something that unites us in passion. For me it is older, for him it is more recent, because in the chronicles written he has seen a means for circulation in the masses of readers coming to the book store only to find not laudatory poetry which the poet does not thrust out in volumes, in a decency which is suspect, but rather the verse of denial. After all, if Arghezi retracted "Domnul," why did Paunescu not retract more worldly beings and ideas! Flacara, the literary club, which "will never exist and meet again," as he said with a melancholy which I understand, was a means of advertising for the excellent works it promoted (and when I write this I am thinking of the great Eminescu creations set to music, the pretty composition to the verses of Bacovia and even several excellent "songs," inspired by his verses). The poet Adrian Paunescu here and there is an important poet; I have written this and I am not about to ever retract this fact, because it is true. What spoils him and not only him but, I would say, even our literature, is when it is either dilution or incidental poetry, which does not have the rank which he should preserve. We go into the commune of Pastirnacele with the club, we write a sonnet about this place, banging a big drum. We go to Pocreaca, we dedicate a hymn to this picturesque location; the University of Craiova wins a match and we throw out a hymn in five minutes and so forth. However, the thirst for applause leads the poet to regrettable tirades, such as the "complimentary interventions" into any problem generated by the popularity I was talking about. A charity nurse was insulted on bus 163. Adrian Paunescu protests with a vehemence worthy of a better cause; someone was told that he does not have enough talent; the fireman on duty jumps to defend him! The Rapidul team loses in Division B. Who laments, who takes

a battalion of railway station workers to St Vineri Cemetery? He, the author of some double love songs, either for Craiova or for the Grant Bridge, which would sort of be a kind of lyric adultery.

The last moment of tender emotion of public opinion I offered him granting an interview to an honorable magazine which has done a real service to Romanian culture for many years, through the sacrifices and work of a truly merited professor, Prof Petrache Dima! What was the reason for the fire unleashed by those who had congratulated me sincerely and with tenacity? The fact that I had stated that I liked only Volume I of "Morometii," having reservations about the rest of Marin Preda's work and even doubting the quality of the Romanian language used here and there by the dear departed writer. Who jumped as if he had been burned, after racking his brains for two weeks, in order to defend the one "insulted" in his eternity? The advocate of all the lost causes: Adrian Paunescu! This was after he was an "immorality." So this is "ethics," darn it! So the attacks on Eminescu, Blaga, Iorga, Mircea Eliade, Octavian Goga, Cosbuc, Calinescu and others in no way insulted the poet through the years, attacks made by Popper, Ileana Vrancea, Ion Caraion (who, among other things, even demolished the novel "The Most Beloved Earthing" before me, calling himself the coauthor, a sacrilege committed on the deceased's fresh grave.) Also, when some linguists, philologists or aesthetes called us Ruthenians, gypsies, Greeks, Bulgarians, this blasphemy left Adrian Paunescu cold. Art was a secondary problem! These cowardly attacks published in Romania with our own money were ignored! Why did not Paunescu become indignant when an anthology appeared in an English and Romanian version, one lacking Goga and Cosbuc but which contained Dorin Tudoran and Ioana Craciunescu? Why did not the poet take an attitude toward the clumsy polemics between Eugen Simion and C. Toiu on the subject of--you guessed it--Marin Preda, who was disputed flagrantly. It is not hard to find out. The persons concerned were "something else." Paunescu wants me to be the victim, but, as he will see again this time, this is hard to carry out. In the article he published in FLACARA, A. P. writes that I hated Preda, which is perfectly untrue! I think the truth is precisely the opposite (see the case of "Incognito"). Upon the unexpected death of the novelist I published an article in LUCEAFARUL filled with my true feelings toward his memory. Wherever I was asked what I thought about the author of "Morometii," I had a favorable answer, if I was in Romania or abroad. During the ceremonies awarding the Herder prize in Vienna in May 1978 I was asked by the hosts whom I would propose from the Romanian artists to be given a prize in the future; I answered without hesitation, and with witnesses, that I would choose Al. Ro-setti, Corneliu Baba and Marin Preda. The first two did in fact receive the prestigious prize later and the third did not have a chance, unfortunately.

What was stated in REVISTA NOASTRA was the first objective testimony about the great deceased. I felt that in a publication with a small readership, my testimony would not scandalize as much, although I do not deny it. However I do not understand why the organs of the Ministry of Education were alarmed, with letters and telephone calls, and why such a case was made of an ordinary matter in any literature. Should I repeat similar "big cases" in world literature? Should I remind A. P. of the polemics of Maiorescu, of the famous dispute between Arghezi and Ion Barbu? And how many others. He "feels pity" for the one mentioned and my act reminds him of the evil of Macedonski's epigram before the truly great Eminescu, placing me in company which honors me, but what would

you see? A spark in my memory, which is not too great, led me to an older article of Paunescu's published in AMFITEATRUL--see the reply in LUCEAFARUL No 5 (301) of 3 February 1968--entitled "Macedonski or Freedom of Destiny" (sic!) (in which A. P. felt that it was not the case for us to make so much noise about the poet's miserable intervention with Eminescu, who was irreparably ill, because he is not a head of a country) from which I quote: "The glory (of Macedonski) is guilt, whose fate is precedent (sic!) throughout Romanian culture" (the word Romanian [Romaneasca] would have been better!) because A. P. wrote, "the nightingale begins on a November night" (sic!). Again it was he who proposed at Miron Radu Paraschivescu's suggestion that Macedonski should be named "president of the permanently active international union of losers" and, further, Eminescu was included (sic!) in our intimate (sic!) structure so that in Romanian the words "sleepy birds" also mean "hello" (notice how much deference A. P. has for Eminescu's lyricism!). We were formed on this poetry of Eminescu's but if we ourselves produce literature it necessarily will descend from 'gather in their nest.'" In other words, Eminescu is good for the musicians and Macedonski is a victim! I ask like a dumb bunny: When is Adrian Paunescu sincere? When he condemns Macedonski, to whom supposedly I am similar, or when he feels he is a victim of the Eminescu scholars?

But let us move on to the very pathetic pleading before Marin Preda's memory. Who do you think wrote these lines dedicated to the great deceased, which I am reproducing faithfully here, with the underlinings, because at that time A. P. had not yet polished his style! The comments within the parentheses also belong to the poet:

"A writer until now quite venerated jumps up as if from hibernating and for the second or third time in several years breaks into a literary discussion, straightening out a good portion of our literature, that is, just about everything he had read in this literature. His entry into the discussion is abrupt, it hits you, it dizzies you. The heavy, philosophical tone of the first sentence follows you, honored reader, far into your private life: "Sometimes it happens (a colorless pause!) (sic!) that an idea, an expression (the opposition is disturbing in its brilliance!) connected with a certain reality (one observes the methodical--(sic!)--way in which the sphere of the concept is defined in the discussion!) has a longer life (an allusion to one of the basic problems of art!) than the reality itself to which it was referring (cesura!) or than an idea or a profound truth" (translated into ordinary language the sentence loses its shiny freshness) (sic!) and one arrives at the well-known retort: "It is the case when" the abundance of "or," which gives spice to the entire article we are referring to will worry "those linguists" for a long time. But one may immediately observe a surprising fact, without defining any of the terms of the discussion. The author of the article in CONTEMPORANUL thinks that an idea lasts more than an idea as if an expression lasts longer than a profound truth, as if this term excludes or has the intention of excluding or tries to exclude. Concerning the continuation of "so the bard's idea from..." it immediately gives us the sensation that the author is not a creator of words because no matter how much effort we all make the phrase "this idea" [asa ideea] is not a correct expression. Just like the formulation "invoked by..." [invocata de catre...] (the person criticizing M. P. is not far from the style of the one being criticized!--editor's note).

We also find in (sic!) the particular article: "Style fits in perfectly with their entire world of substance. So, "substance exists." Flat and incorrect sentences continue. We say: "cadreaza cu" [fits in], not "se incadreaza cu." But the judgment of "it fits in perfectly with their entire world of substance." So substance exists. What a formidable, unbelievable judgment. Maybe Narcissus' reflection in the water will die first! (sic!).

What is clear for everyone is that the spirit of a nation is expressed through words that this is the noble meaning of art, that the power and thought of man and the artist are in the word.

Let us see what the problems posed in the discusssion are and let us search for the purpose of this article. The author is concerned with the category of writers creating words. Thought immediately leads you to the most authorized creator of words in our literature, to the poet of "Proper Words," to Tudor Arghezi. It is an inhuman gesture to condemn words! If we take man's words away from him, what is he left with? (sic!) Comrade Marin Preda, do not confiscate man's words because it was difficult for him to say them, it was so hard, and now we want to take them away from him and we ridicule him because he has them (sic, sic, sic!).

But the author of the article in CONTEMPORANUL is aiming somewhere else: He touches some of the creators of words, not all of them, see, dear sir, thinking of those who have the power of color and a pallet supplied with thick paste. We are sorry, but it is not that dangerous to have all this! (sic!)

But as much as those with "the words" disgust him, the ones with lyrics upset him even more, the ones who do not realize the danger of lyricism. And from here start the big mix-ups of names, quotes, punctuation marks, anger of our literary prose (literary, literary, terary, ary, ry, y!).

A deep tender emotion spurs on the author. His leaps are worthy of a better trapeze, because his allusions come to the surface from the text after three days, like drowning victims. This is how a writer, venerated until now, resolves the big questions. He runs from names because, my goodness, the names are not worthy of his pen, he abolishes anything, anyhow, in such a powerful flow that, without realizing it, they self-destruct. A large portion of the words quoted as typical for a certain blamable orientation belong to the writer Marin Preda. Look at the gallery of words on the first page of such a valued novel as "Morometii": plains, field, home, cart, unharness, porch, clothes, old clothes, stable (horrible!), of the horses, manger, brook, takes a swim, blisters, cart (an obsession?), willows, gate in the garden, glade, sold willows and that Birca makes politics and whistles on the street! (What could have irritated A. P.? Because he was just called a "peasant" from Birca!--editor's note).

If we were to take his advice seriously: "Romanian literature finally can get rid of them," the first one which it should get rid of (nice word!) is Marin Preda. But not for the time being! It would be a shame! We still need his scattered (sic!) editions. But if we were to get rid of him, we would not know whom to get rid of because Marin Preda does not give us an indication in this regard, avoiding any name. But if we were to say his name the red cockscomb probably belongs to the writers Fanus Neagu and D. R. Popescu, two of the best prose writers today, whom you could not get rid of even if you wanted to (notice the insinuation that Marin Preda would be envious of those two--our note).

Theoretically (sic!) disorderly and absurd in what it contains beyond the words, this article actually creates a false problem because it does not aim at a concept but it lashes out at the material, the word from which masterpieces (sic!) can spring up as well as swampy jets of water (sic!). The lack of elementary attention toward "the words," the arbitrary and superficial categorizing of literature, underground attacks (not even Marin Preda was a saint!)--these are several of the qualities of the article in CONTEMPORANUL. But if we mix ravines, stables, cows with their feet on mountain paths (note the plural!) and the mouths of paradise, then we have to be born again. The exact verses with which Romanian poem begin: "Pe un picior plai/pe-o gura de rai," (Adrian Paunescu, LUCEAFARUL, 9 Oct 1965, No 26, p 2 in the column "Attitudes").

So much philistinism can strike horror even in a person who has nothing in common with literary customs! I do not wish to add anything and the reader will draw his own conclusions.

Finally, with a last dramatic accent, A. P. appeals to the undersigned not to enter with studded boots into Romanian culture! I would like to remind him that in 1968, the director Iulian Mihu answered a "protest" published in AMFI-TEATRU in LUCEAFARUL No 16 (312) of 20 April 1968, in which our poet, always unforeseeable, wrote that he did not agree with making a student in cinematography, I forgot his name, repeat the year for reasons of laziness, lack of theoretical training and lack of cinematographic culture. "This is nonsense! Throw the professors out!" One also can produce some examples of A. P.'s intellectual training which SPTAMINA published regarding the volume "From Birca to Vienna" and other creations in which "The Brandenburg Concertos" were attributed to Beethoven, the painter Louis David became an Italian painter, when all the world knows that he was definitely a Frenchman, when the Herder Prize, established in 1965, was attributed to Herder (who died in 1803), not to its true parent Alfred Toepffer, while the film "Satyricon" seemed to A. P. to be Antonioni's and not Fellini's, but these do not seem to be that disastrous and I am not about to make a case of them; I would just like to recall several considerations one can find in a chronicle in "Ultrasentimente," signed by Al. Piru (see LUCEAFARUL, 24 February 1968, No 8 (304):

"A. P. is an incontinent speaker put on the map, a dynamite person, explosive, fiery, limiting himself to simple noise, with a reputation of not having read anything, of possessing a primitive, unpolished talent and an ace at verbosity." In the end, what is characteristic of A. P.'s imagination is this definition of nostrils: 'The nostrils are the fire escape for breathing.'

"I should add that the ribbons from the poet's nostrils are too long and to serve as one's own picture, a 'yoyo puffing from the sun's joints.'"

As far as I am concerned, I do not refute everything I have written until now regarding the art of the poet Adrian Paunescu, who I feel is one of the most valuable in Romanian lyricism. The sore spot is the ethics!

8071
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HEALTH CARE IN POPULATED AREAS IN EARLY STAGES OF WAR

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 1, Jan-Mar 84 pp 3-8

[Article by Colonel Vladimir Vintonic, MD: "The Requirements of National Military Doctrine for Medical Activities: Hygienic and Epidemiologic Aspects of Major Population Centers During the Initial Stages of War"]

[Text] The author discusses certain hygienic and epidemiological conditions which may arise in large population centers as a result of large-scale surprise air attacks causing disorganization of administrative services having a serious impact on the health of the population and troops.

With reference to the three stages of the period immediately following an air attack: (a) the stage of direct effects (survival); (b) the stage of indirect effects (continued existence of the population under particularly difficult conditions); (c) the stage of restoration and gradual improvement of medical and hygienic conditions, the author describes measures for controlling agents of infection (cadavers, waste, rodents, insects), provision of drinking water, food hygiene, immunization of the population and medical education during peacetime, organization of antiaircraft defense shelters and rescue teams, etc. Key words: environmental hygiene, military medicine.

The problems connected with the medical and epidemiological situation of major population centers have in all conflicts represented a major concern of the medical services of the belligerent countries and have necessitated the taking of complex measures especially to prevent and control diseases of an epidemic nature.

The experience of the Second World War has shown that surprise invasion preceded by air attack against the major industrial and political administrative population centers has caused disorganization of municipal services, with serious delayed effects on the health of the population and accordingly that of troops.

Thus, the main pipeline supplying drinking water was destroyed as a result of the attack on Warsaw by German aircraft during the invasion of Poland in September 1939. The population consequently resorted to drawing water directly from the Vistula River without being able to filter or boil the water because of the shortage of fuel and filter materials. Owing to the continued discharge of sewage into the river, a typhoid fever epidemic began in November 1939. In this month alone, 488 cases resulting in 400 deaths were recorded. The water shortage also resulted in deterioration of the hygienic conditions. This contributed to the outbreak of an epidemic of exanthematic typhus in the spring of the following year.

The effects of the destruction caused by an aggressor and the hygienic and epidemiological consequences are complex and vary with the extent of preparation of the community at large from the material viewpoint and with the level of medical education and the political morale of the population, the type and extent of destruction, the population number, and the specific epidemiological situation at the time of invasion.

From the viewpoint of hygienic and epidemiological aspects, the period following an air attack on large cities may be divided into 3 stages: (a) the stage of direct effects (survival); (b) the stage of indirect effects (continued existence of the population under especially difficult conditions); (c) the stage of restoration, in which hygienic and living conditions are gradually improved.

Initial Stage

The direct effects will be proportional to the number of wounded, injured, and dead among the population and to the damage done to buildings (primarily ones which could offer shelter to the population: hotels, schools, hostels, camps, barracks), shelters (air raid shelters, underground passages, subway stations and lines, improvised shelters), commercial outlets (especially food product outlets), networks or systems which ensure that hygienic conditions are maintained (water supply, electricity, gas, sewerage, removal of household and street waste, traffic routes), and production enterprises, as well as the disorganization of the activities of administrative agencies (police, civil defense, municipal service enterprises).

The volume and nature of the hygienic and epidemic control measures to be carried out will vary with the specific local conditions and with the epidemiological situation.

The direct effects of the damage may be heightened by the existence and increase in the number of rodents, flies, and other insects and by the possibility of their access to human and animal cadavers.

The large number of cadavers creates particularly great problems such as removal from under ruins, collection and display of the cadavers in specified places for identification by family members for a period ranging from 24 to 48 hours, and then burial. When the number of corpses is too large,

they may be incinerated in improvised crematoria. Corpses infected with pathogenic agents and not buried attract a large number of carnivorous animals or insects which may become carriers of contagious diseases.

As a result of the destruction caused by aircraft bombing, conditions are created for triggering waterborne or contact epidemics, owing to the deficiencies in maintenance of cleanliness or to improper storage and removal of household and human waste. Similarly, under favorable climatic conditions flies and rodents multiply, as a result of the deficiencies noted in disposal of household waste. The appearance of parasites is associated with deficiencies in maintenance of personal hygiene. In addition to the factors cited, it should also be mentioned that the enemy may use search and sabotage groups to infect or pollute sources of water, and in particular cases may even deliver pathogenic agents as biological weapons.

Under such conditions the medical authorities are obliged to take comprehensive and efficient preventive measures, and to use new installations replacing unserviceable ones if the latter cannot be repaired, or to resort to improvised means.

In keeping with the concept of our party and state elaborated by the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, the supreme commander of the armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, regarding defense of the country by the entire people, a particular contribution will be made in the execution of operations by civil defense units and formations, the patriotic guards, the units of the Ministry of the Interior, subsidiary fire and police units, and by the formations for training young people for defense of the country and Red Cross formations.

During the initial period the principal measures will be carried out under the guidance of the local defense councils with existing forces and means.

To restrict the consequences of a medical hygienic and epidemiological nature, it is necessary in peacetime to make provision in urban centers for special facilities, instruction of the population regarding use of the new means (sources) available, and for medical training of the population in assimilation of hygienic practices.

Since any group of people includes persons who excrete pathogenic germs, some of them known and on record (carriers of typhus and dysentery bacilli) and others undetected, carriers who are especially dangerous since they may work in public food service enterprises (dining halls, restaurants, day nurseries, officers' mess halls, cafeterias, etc), proper removal of fecal residue assumes particular importance.

If the water supply is shut off, it will be necessary immediately to discontinue the use of indoor toilets and proceed to build field latrines with impermeable trenches. In multistory buildings use may also be made of special, improvised waste containers or polyethylene bags subsequently emptied into field latrines.

The containers used for waste should contain a 25-percent chlorinated lime solution or 1 part unslaked lime and 4 parts water. Use of latrines dug directly in the ground is permitted in family residences, to avoid use of the sewerage network, which may foster spread of waste on the surface of the ground as a result of its unserviceability.

Supply of drinking water is of cardinal importance, since destruction may result in complete interruption of supply of water by the municipal network.

The supply of drinking water must be organized on a differentiated basis, separately for air raid shelters and for the rest of the locality. It is estimated that shelters require 5 liters of water per person; the water should be kept in closed and marked containers. If the water is to be distributed by districts, reserve supplies of water will be created in housing units, use being made of containers designed specifically for this purpose, as well as bathtubs and heaters, hydrophore boilers, the buffer and expansion vessels of central heating installations, etc.

A difficult problem to solve is that of storing water in shelters, where it may deteriorate over a shorter period because of the air temperature and pollution.

Thus, at an ambient temperature of 20 to 25 degrees Centigrade, the number of microbes may reach from 1400 to 140,000 germs per liter within a few days. For this reason the reserve water supply is to be chlorinated by use of the customary substances (chlorinated lime, chloramine) to provide 0.2 milligram of free chlorine per liter.

Containers designed for preservation or storage of water must first be cleaned and disinfected. Inasmuch as some containers possess the property of fixing chlorine, chlorogenic substances are to be added as soon as organoleptic testing reveals disappearance of the chlorine introduced during initial disinfection. Ion exchange resins may also be used to disinfect water, but it must be remembered that these resins do not fix pathogenic germs.

The foregoing shows that supplying population centers with water is a problem of particular importance for the specialized and administrative agencies. As a consequence, however, sources of ground water are identified in peacetime and wells are dug to be used as needed. In the majority of localities, especially in hill and mountain areas, springs are found and tapped for use as required. As part of the operation for supplying the population with water, all available systems will be used, including those employed for sprinkling the streets and the mobile units (the so-called "crystal" units) manufactured by Romanian industry for water purification. Water distribution will be centralized, on the basis of rationalization, and the population will be educated and compelled to use water only from authorized sources. Rain water will also be collected in suitable containers for household purposes or even for drinking. The water resulting from the melting of snow may be used in wintertime. It must be stressed that the

use of unmonitored or unauthorized water, even if only for washing the hands or rinsing the mouth, exposes the population to contraction of water-borne diseases.

Control of rodents and flies. It is known that, despite all rat disinfection measures, the number of rats in large urban centers equals the number of residents. It goes without saying that the destruction caused by enemy aircraft attacks will lead to a veritable exodus of rodents from the destroyed or damaged buildings to ones which can be inhabited and to shelters, so that contact with man is more frequent. Rodents are sources and routes of transmission of a number of infectious and contagious diseases such as salmonellosis, leptospirosis, plague, etc.

Under the conditions created by an aggressor, the resource for controlling rodents and insects is represented by organization of periodic proper removal of household and fecal waste. Stray animals (dogs, cats, etc) must also be caught and removed.

Provision of first aid and of specialized medical assistance, the activity of dressing wounds at collection centers for the wounded, requires the taking of a number of measures designed to ensure hygienic conditions in the particular locality: provision of drinking water and removal of waste from first aid stations or stations for collection of the wounded, discharge of waste water (particular care will be taken of the seriously wounded and injured who cannot help themselves), measures to ensure aseptic and antiseptic conditions, organization of proper sterilization of instruments, and early detection and isolation of patients and suspected patients with contagious diseases. In medical care of the wounded and injured it is indispensable to observe the rules of asepsis, which will be based on cleaning the hands with soap and water, their disinfection with substances containing iodine, the use of rubber gloves, and sterilization of bandages by boiling. During the initial period the sterilization of bandages, compresses, operative fields, and surgical equipment cannot be achieved to the optimum extent.

Organization and assurance of survival. After the population has been rescued following an air attack, measures will be taken for housing, supplying with water, and medical care of the survivors. Since the shelters still in service will be overcrowded, the improvisations imposed by the situation will contribute to the spread of airborne or contact infections, owing especially to the existence of germ carriers (known and unknown). Inasmuch as the standards of personal hygiene can be met only in part because of the lack of water, supervision will be maintained of the improvised sanitation facilities, which will be kept constantly in operation.

Particular attention will be devoted to provision of facilities (construction of lavatories and field latrines). The entire population will be immunized against typhus and tetanus, and the known carriers of typhus and dysentery bacilli will be closely watched.

Second Stage

The population subjected to air attack and initially quartered in reception shelters (barracks, improvised shelters, residences) will gradually return to their own dwellings or will be evacuated to sheltered areas. One of the main problems to be solved will be that of food supply. Proper heat treatment of foods, which must be considered from the outset to be contaminated, will be hampered by the shortage of fuel. There will be a shortage of housing, hospital beds, materials designed for care of the sick, drugs, and public baths; this situation will have an adverse effect on the conduct of measures for prevention and control of epidemics. To obtain good results, the population must have full confidence in the authorities and physicians and must cooperate in all respects for the sake of application of the measures indicated by the authorities.

Medical bodies must become involved in peacetime in order to be able to carry out the missions assigned to them against the event of war. Epidemic control measures are known as specific and practical ones and their application must not be neglected. Complex situations of any kind must be overcome, since any focus of an epidemic in a locality can quickly spread to the surrounding areas.

Third Stage

During this period all the improvised measures and means that were necessary during the foregoing periods may be gradually abandoned. Priority will be assigned to provision of increasing amounts of drinking water and water for hygienic needs. This activity will be paralleled by improvement in the systems for removal of waste, especially fecal waste. Epidemiological monitoring of the population will be maintained and increased, and epidemiological monitoring of the population evacuated from the population center affected will be organized in cooperation with the medical authorities of the surrounding areas.

Measures for prevention and control of seasonal infectious and contagious diseases will be taken in keeping with the season of the year.

Large urban centers may become objectives of aggressor air attacks in the event of war; hence organizational measures and measures to assure material and medical facilities for the population must be taken in peacetime, to limit the effects of bombings contributing to deterioration of the medical-hygienic and epidemiological condition of localities.

Thus, additional drinking water supply sources will be identified and developed ahead of time. Teams will be organized and trained for debris removal and opening of routes of communication, for collection of cadavers at specified points, for removal of fecal and other waste, and for execution of disinfection, insect control, and rat disinfestation measures.

Emphasis will also be placed on medical education of the population, so as to secure the most efficient possible cooperation of the population in all

respects, in order to prevent, limit, and control the focal points of epidemics.

The problems presented in this article do not cover all the situations which might arise as a result of the bombing of population centers. The subject requires further study and elaboration of details.

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6115

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DISCUSSION ON POPULATION, ENVIRONMENT, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Mar-Apr 84 pp 171-174

[Article by Gheorghe Nicolae: "Population, Resources, Environment, Economic and Social Development"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] On 15-16 December 1983, after a series of seminars on particular problems of interdisciplinary research, the Laboratory for Social Ecology, Product and Quality of Life--organized and initiated under the aegis of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Academy of Economic Studies, the National Commission for Demography, the Romanian Marketing Association, the National Council for Environmental Protection and the State Inspectorate General for Product Quality Control--organized in Bucharest the proceedings of the roundtable on the topic "Population, Resources, Environment and Economic and Social Development." The meeting was part of the series of preparatory meetings for participating in the next World Population Conference, which will be held in Mexico in August 1984.

A large number of scientists, researchers, teaching personnel, and specialists in the fields of the economic sciences, sociology, demography, medicine and the natural and technical sciences participated in the proceedings of the roundtable.

The /global character/ of the problems raised by population, resources, environment and economic and social development and by the relationships between them was stressed during the proceedings.

On the one hand, the global character of these problems results from the geographical and historical dimension of their manifestation, since, in the 2d half of the 20th century, the depletion of resources of raw materials (including those for energy), environmental protection, the demographic explosion and the scarcity of food, and the dynamics of war and peace have taken the form of crises that exert pressure and require solutions on the level of the whole planet. On the other hand, the global character of these problems also involves an epistemological and methodological dimension, with the complexity of the interrelationships between them necessitating an approach and a solution that put an accent on the aspect of totality of each of the global problems (population, environment, economic development and so on) and of the more and more comprehensive systems to which they belong as a subsystem (national societies, planetary society, biosphere, nature and so on).

The planetary dimension of the global problems does not exclude but, on the contrary, presupposes the particular, specific treatment of these problems in each given historical-geographical and economic-social context. The discussion emphasized the political and ideological substratum of the different theories and works devoted to the global problems and to the future of mankind.

The participants in the roundtable presented concrete illustrations of the specific form of manifestation of the global problems under our country's conditions, emphasizing both the connections between the Romanian economy and the world economy and the Romanian practical solutions to some of the problems that still await their solution on a world level. During the discussion, many aspects, data and ideas that can help to work out a Romanian model of mankind's global problems were expounded--a model that would contribute to the general methodology of the research on the global problems, starting from the Romanian political and ideological experience and from Romania's choices in the ideological and political confrontations of the contemporary world.

The "product research and development" model devised by an interdisciplinary working group within the Laboratory for Social Ecology, Product and Quality of Life, under the aegis of the ASSP [Academy of Social and Political Sciences], the Academy of Economic Studies and the Romanian Marketing Association, constitutes an original theoretical contribution.

The new conception introduced regarding product research and development is based on modeling through a product the social need, found through investigation or brought to attention, from a global angle, seeking both to satisfy the quality of life, the population and the environmental balance and to provide a minimum total cost. The theoretical model was tested in a series of practical applications, such as the energy balance over the path of the product, the re-evaluation of the technologies from the perspective of the "sanogeneza" [all measures to promote and strengthen the health of the nation].

Approaching from the global perspective the problems of economic and social development and its relationships with population, environment and resources, the participants in the discussion pointed out some /limits/ of the classic economic models and of the common mentalities concerning the factors and results of economic growth. In this regard, there were mentioned:

1. The consideration of natural resources and human resources (population) as /exogenous variables/ of the models of economic growth, thus ignoring their /limited/ character and their economic value (including the "commodity" value) as (component) parts of a nation's wealth;
2. The partial failure of the classic models of economic growth to satisfactorily estimate the /social costs/ or the "/externalities/" of growth, of development.

Referring to the first aspect, it was pointed out that for a long time natural resources (water, fossil fuels and so on) or human ones (population) were regarded as being "natural givens" of development, and their low price was regarded as resulting from their lack of economic value (not incorporating

labor). The economic practice based on this view led to irrational exploitation of these resources, generating the "crises" with which we are now confronted. Reasons were given for the necessity of regarding natural resources as a part of national wealth, with their integration into the economic circuit requiring investments and expenditures of labor as well as actions of rational management and of better utilization.

The extensive and thorough paper on /the growth of water's role/ in the national economy and our country's economic and administrative efforts regarding rational water management, the protection of water quality at the source, the reduction of river pollution and so on offered a convincing demonstration of this change in the view on natural resources. Under these conditions, it is necessary for water resources to be taken into calculation in evaluating national wealth and the production expenses of the utilizing units. In this regard, there was recommended the expansion of the use of the economic factors--systems of payments, rates and penalties--to eliminate water waste, to reduce specific consumptions, to stimulate water economy and to achieve compliance with the quality indicators in the evacuation of used water.

The group of power engineers participating in the discussion presented the complex role of /energy resources/ within "the trinomial of the three E's" (energy, economy, ecology), dwelling on the measures for carrying out the program for the diversification of natural energy resources, with a view to achieving the country's energy independence. It being judged that in ensuing years the energy crisis will no longer be as acute as in the '70's, an emphasis was put on the necessity of continuing the efforts oriented toward combining the classic sources with new sources of energy, for conserving energy and for identifying and utilizing regenerable sources, since possibilities of making more of a major energy change during the next generation are not foreseen.

In a similar manner, the relationships between /population/ and economic development--relationships that occupied the central place in the discussion--were also analyzed. In a critical evaluation of the views on the population's role in the processes of development, it was demonstrated that, in contrast with the situation 30-40 years ago, when, in the theories and models of growth, the population was regarded as an abundant and unlimited resource, this thesis is no longer valid now, at least in the case of the developed societies in Europe and North America, in which the symptoms of a slowdown in demographic growth and even those of depopulation are present. The direct consequence of the drop in the rate of growth of population is the reduction of the labor resources; however, the indirect consequences of a numerically decreasing and biologically aging population are complex, going beyond the economic sphere and affecting the society in all its structures.

From a strong statistical and theoretical argument it resulted that the phenomena of the decline in the rate of natural growth of population, the widening of the gaps between the sexes with regard to the death rate and average lifespan, and so on are also manifesting themselves in our country's case, there being indicated at the same time the potential reserves for raising the birth rate through /conceptive education/ for the population, especially the young people. Under these conditions, when the population becomes a limited resource, the

rational management of the population resources becomes not only a task of the health bodies (which are responsible for the biological quality of the population) but also an economic requirement and a civic problem of the whole nation.

There being pointed out the population's threefold capacity of a conditioning factor, a result and, in particular, a beneficiary of the processes of economic and social development, many remarks brought into discussion /the problems of the population's health and of the processes of "sanogeneza"/. From a global perspective, it was stated that health (defined in a broad sense as "the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the people") is not the exclusive domain of human medicine, with many participants in the discussion dwelling on the necessity of an integrated approach to the process of "sanogeneza", considered in its relationships with the environment, with the technological processes, with food and so on. In this context, there was a detailed exposition of the factors that help to increase the risk of illness in plants and animals under the conditions of agriculture and zootechny practiced with industrial means, there being an appeal for closer collaboration between phytopathologists, veterinarians and human physicians for reducing these risks and thus for providing wholesome food. In accord with this idea, the technicians, physicists, architects and economists present at the discussion pointed out what the contribution of regenerable energy sources, of housing conditions, of urbanism and so on is to raising the quality of life, as well as the necessity of technologies conceived and designed with a view to obtaining products with qualities suitable for the promotion of "sanogeneza".

In close connection with the problems of improving the quality of life and the health of the population, arguments were given for the importance of /food/ as an urgent global problem comparable, in the complexity and acuteness of its political implications, to the problems of peace and war in the contemporary world. There were indicated the main coordinates of a food policy based on the concept of an agricultural and food system that is not limited to agriculture and the food industry but combines activities of all the economic branches and fields of social activity (from the machine-building industry to education and the mass media). In this regard, the necessity of a specialized field of scientific research and professional training--food economy--was pointed out.

At the interface of the critical situations connected with economic development, with the utilization of natural resources and environmental protection, and with the providing of food and health to a continually growing population, the discussions indicated the role of /technology/ as a veritable "pivot" for the appearance of the global problems that confront the contemporary world and for the resolution of them in the future. The presence of the technological engineers, the researchers in the social, political and economic sciences and the specialists in the life sciences at the roundtable permitted not only an interdisciplinary approach to the implications of particular technologies (especially those for energy production) but also, in particular, the placement and examination of technology in the context of the relationships between man, nature and culture--that is, from a philosophical perspective that involves the foundations of civilization, of historical development.

In such a comprehensive view, technology is regarded as the main form of adaptation of man to the environment through the transformation of it, with the

result of this action being the creation of a new environment or ecosystem, the "anthropized ecosystem," coextensive with the traditional notion of "civilization." Given the fact that man cannot be separated from this environment that holds a vital importance for him, any anthropized action of man on the environment has direct effects on the quality of his life and the degree of satisfaction of his vital needs. It was thus specified that man is a natural being who adapts himself by unnatural means; the relationship between man's constitutive "natural" and "social" elements is often contradictory, with some of these contradictions being illustrated by the harmful "externalities" of the various technologies through which man provides his comfort. Consequently, during the discussion an emphasis was put on the imperative of "learning from nature," it being considered "the best technologist" and the perfect creator of products. In this regard, there was formulated a "structural model of action of nature" whose general principles can also be applied to the case of the design of technologies and products and, in general, to the organization of social activities. Similarly, a group of biologists specializing in general economics demonstrated the way in which good knowledge and observance of the "ecological principles" can help not only to protect the natural balances but also to provide efficiency in economic activities and in the "sanogeneza" of the population, as well as to attain the objective of "developing on one's own," an objective that held the attention of the participants in the discussion.

In this context of ideas (usually present in the concerns of the philosophers or biologists), there was received with interest the contribution of a chemical engineer with much practical experience who argued for the idea of the transposition of structures of the organization of living cells into the organization of the industrial units, stating that "the technical and energy biostructuring of the industrial processes" seems to be the only direction for ensuring the survival of the industrial units and their adaptation to the situations of shortage and variation in resources of raw materials.

The consequences of the failure to observe the ecological principles in economic activities were illustrated through many concrete cases, often dramatic, of chemical water and air pollution, of soil erosion and degradation, of accumulation of toxic substances in the organism of the plants and animals consumed by man, of habitation in urban agglomerations and insanitary dwellings, and so on. Proposals aimed at reducing such phenomena in the future were also formulated. Thus, the banning of discharges of any kind into river water and the keeping of a record of what is emitted into the air, as a preliminary step for the control and reduction of air pollution, were proposed as a radical measure, but a feasible one in practice. There was a strong argument for the utility of "biological agriculture," both for reducing the high energy consumptions in present-day agriculture and for avoiding soil degradation and reducing the risks of illness in the population. In addition, there was an emphasis on the necessity of also providing in the phase of conception and design of products measures for reducing the possible polluting effects over the entire path of the product, up to reintegration into nature. There was formulated the concept of "health of the environment," a field of knowledge and action in which the correctness of the principle that it is easier to prevent than to cure illnesses (in this case, the various forms of environmental pollution and imbalance are included) is confirmed.

In connection with this complex understanding of the environment and of the problems of the activity of protecting it, the necessity of going beyond the limited understanding of the environment regarded as a sum of the natural factors (water, air, soil), by considering the social and cultural components of the environment, was stressed. In this context, the methods of social and cultural ecology and the utility of involving them in the studies and actions regarding the systematized development of the territory and human communities were presented.

As regards the long-term solutions to the global problems, the participants in the discussion reached the consensus of opinion that the long-term solutions also entail--besides the devising of new technologies, the finding of new resources, the establishment of a new international economic order and so on--the alteration of the values and behavior of the people through /suitable education of their personality/. Depending on the particular problems tackled, a number of proposals were formulated regarding instruction and education in the fields of energy conservation, of the formation of ecological consciousness, of conceptive behavior (regarding biological reproduction), of "sanogeneza" and so on. There were also presented some concrete aspects of applying the "product research and development" model by organizing within the Academy of Economic Sciences in Bucharest a postgraduate course for the advanced training of the specialist personnel in research and production.

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RECENT POPULATION TRENDS ANALYZED

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[Article by Olimpia Solomonescu, chairman of the National Commission for Demography: "Recent and Long-Term Trends in the Evolution of Romania's Population"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] Even a brief analysis of the trends in the evolution of our country's population cannot be separated from the aggregate of economic development and from the profound changes in the economic and social structures. Between economic development and the population's evolution there are relationships of interconditioning that, within certain limits, can be quantified and influenced by demographic policies. Naturally, such a correlation turns out to be very complex and often contradictory, since a number of other factors with different meanings, especially factors of behavior, more difficult to incorporate into typologies and models, operate under the cover of the economic factors.

The economic growth at steady rates that has occurred in Romania in the years of socialist construction has caused deep and complex changes in the structure and size of the population, in the evolution of the demographic phenomena.

In the speech given at the World Population Conference in 1974 in Bucharest, referring to the population's essential role as a factor in development, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the country's chairman, remarked: "...man constitutes the decisive factor in economic and social progress. Consequently, the entire organization of society, the general policy of the states must have as a supreme goal the people's well-being and happiness, the guaranteeing of man's freedom and dignity, the development of his personality, the participation of the masses in forging their own history."

This noble idea concerning human resources formulated in the speech of the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, was reflected in the World Plan of Action in the Field of Population, adopted by the conference, in which it is stated that "man, population, represents the most precious asset in the world."

The above remark did nothing other than define, in a true humanistic spirit, the essence of the population as a chief factor in progress and, simultaneously, a beneficiary of it, drawing attention at the same time to the necessity of

placing the population in the center of all the strategies for economic and social development.

The World Population Conference in Bucharest, the first political gathering of this kind, marked a historical turning point in understanding the population problems on a planetary level and in integrating the demographic variables into the general context of development. The International Population Conference, which is to be held in Mexico in August 1984, will examine the way in which the countries have carried out the recommendations of the conference in Bucharest during the 10 years that have passed, the population's evolution and the demographic trends, and on this basis, new choices that, taking into account the specific conditions in each country, provide a rational relationship between population growth and economic and social development will be formulated.

The process of modernizing the economies is organically connected with the quality of the human resources, with the degree of training of the work force, with its skill and ability. It is thus fully explainable why the quality of the population, its degree of instruction and the quality of life are now put in the forefront. One population, one nation, differs from another not just in size or quantitative demographic indices. Much more profound are the differences caused by characteristics such as the "stock of health," the "stock of instruction," the degree of culture and education, the professional and social characteristics and changes in its members.

In the light of these general considerations, we intend to merely sketch a concise picture of the evolution of the population of Romania of today and tomorrow, to present some of its quantitative and qualitative characteristics, which will permit a better understanding of the principles and objectives of the demographic policy of our party and state.

Population--Evolution and Structures

In the course of history, Romania's population has had rapid but unequal increases, with changes in the structure according to age groups, depending on many economic, social, political and historical factors. If we may note the evolution of our country's population with respect to a remarkable reference point in our national history, we will state that, according to some estimates, Romania's population in the current borders was 8,195,000 inhabitants in the year of the Union of the Romanian Principalities (1859), reaching about 22,650,000 inhabitants this year--that is, registering an increase of 14,450,000 inhabitants.

In terms of the population's size, Romania is in ninth place in Europe. With respect to 1975, the total population growth was 1,386,000 inhabitants. In this period, the rate of average annual growth was 0.8 percent, higher than the average growth of Europe's population. The rate in the 1975-1983 period was a bit lower than in other periods, when the average rate of growth was 1 percent per year; nevertheless, in a European context, the growth in Romania's population is distinguished by high values. Since the economic indices--national income, in particular--have much higher rates of growth than that of population, we are in the presence of a rational correlation between economic growth and

demographic growth, which finds its final expression in the growth of the population's standard of living.

In the final analysis, /the evolution of the population's size/ and of /its demographic structure/ is determined by the birth and death rates, and these basic factors of natural movement are conditioned by social, economic, cultural, educational and legislative factors--in short, by a whole economic and social complex. However, throughout the period of socialist construction, this has had a vitality without precedent in our country's history, which is attested by the broad strategies for the development of industry and agriculture and for the systematization of the urban and rural localities and by the educational and health strategies, to mention just the most important ones through their impact on demographic growth, spatial, professional and social mobility and social stratification. The growth in the population's size has been accompanied by profound changes in its distribution according to age and sex and in its territorial distribution as a result of the combined action of the demographic and socioeconomic factors. The population's structures according to characteristics that involve level of instruction, profession, participation in economic activity, and membership in social classes and categories have changed at a rapid rate. Only by taking these changes into consideration will it be possible to understand the demographic trends, the evolution of the death and birth rates, of the marriage rate and of the family's size in this period of our homeland's history. The economic structures in the middle of change under the impact of scientific and technical progress have also produced deep changes in the population's structure, in the socioprofessional categories.

The last three population censuses give us the following social structure of Romania's active population:

Table 1. The Structure of Romania's Total Active Population According to the Main Social Categories (in percent)*

<u>Social Category</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1977</u>
Workers	20.0	32.6	50.4
Peasant cooperators	7.6	45.7	25.5
Peasants with individual farms	58.8	6.8	5.9
<u>Intellectuals and functionaries</u>	10.4	11.8	13.9

* Constantin Ionescu, "Omul, Societatea, Socialismul" [Man, Society, Socialism], Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy, 1973; "Recensamintul Populatiei si al Locuintelor, 1977" [The 1977 Population and Housing Census], Vol II.

In two decades, the percentage of the working class in the total active population rose from one-fifth to over one-half, undoubtedly representing the most significant change in social status. The changes in the other social categories are no less significant.

As regards the changes that occurred in /the structure of the employed population/ according to sectors, the data in the following table are revealing:

Table 2. The Structure of the Employed Population According to the Main Sectors of the National Economy (in percent)

<u>Main Sectors</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
Agriculture	74.3	56.7	29.3	29.0
Industry and construction	14.4	25.5	43.8	} 71.0
The other sectors	11.3	17.8	26.9	

The growth of the percentage of the population employed in industry and construction must be regarded as the most significant from the viewpoint of the national economy's modernization and the employed population. It is also notable that the number of new workplaces rose systematically in the same period: 3,247,000 new workplaces--180,000 per year on the average--were created in the 1965-1982 period alone, which permitted full employment of the natural increase in population and of the spare manpower coming from agriculture and from the population at home. The high degree of employment of the labor resources is characteristic of both the male population and the female population. Thus, from the data of the 1977 census it results that 45 percent of the female population was employed in various branches of the national economy.

The social and professional mobility has been accompanied by extensive territorial mobility, through the transfer of millions of persons from villages to cities, changing at the same time their social and professional status and, implicitly, the demographic behavior. The degree of urbanization has reached new dimensions. The percentage of the population of the municipalities and cities has risen from 22 percent in 1948 to over 50 percent at present.

In our country, the considerable expansion of education of all grades, giving new dimensions to the school strategy, constitutes a very important factor that spurs economic growth. We will mention that, in the 1976-1981 period alone, secondary education provided 848,000 graduates to the country--about 141,345 per year; the vocational schools (including apprenticeship at the workplace), together with the technical schools, those for postsecondary specialization and the schools for foremen, put at the national economy's disposal 524,715 graduates--about 87,000 per year--while higher education provided about 210,000 graduates, or 35,000 per year on the average. Thus, year by year, the school system has increased the total population's and active population's stock of instruction, adapted to the requirements of a dynamic society.

We can thus state that Romania's population has continually provided the work force necessary to the national economy, with qualitatively improved professional characteristics, and it has fulfilled the role of a main production force, of a decisive factor in economic vitality and in growth in social labor productivity.

The Demographic Phenomena

The interrelationships between the economic and social factors and the evolution of the demographic phenomena and processes--extremely complex relationships in themselves--are not static, immutable relationships. The profound and

rapid changes that we are witnessing in our era in all spheres of economic and social life could not but put their imprint on the demographic phenomena and processes.

Consequently, the evolution of the human resources in recent decades must be analyzed and judged from a dual perspective: on the one hand, that of the long-term trends that these phenomena and processes bear endogenously in their dynamics and, on the other hand, that of the changes, circumstantial variations, and influences resulting from the action of the economic and social factors and processes specific to the period.

A direct consequence of economic and social progress, of growth in the standard of material and spiritual living, and of continually improving medical assistance, the population's /general death rate/ has continued its tendency to drop in the last 10 years. With a general death rate of between 9-10 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants, Romania is now at the level of the other European countries. Undoubtedly, both in the analysis of the evolution of the general death rate in our country and within the realistic international comparisons, one should not omit the complex nature of this demographic indicator, the influence that is exerted on its level by the changes in the population's structure according to age, through the growth in the percentage of the elderly population in the total population, which can lead to a rise in the general death rate.

In our country, the structure of the death rate according to causes of death is now similar to that in the developed countries, with the main percentage going to deaths resulting from degenerative diseases, caused by aging or deterioration of the organism, whose reduction now depends to a great extent on the progress that medical science is called upon to make in the future.

In this context, it can be pointed out that the main progress made in reducing the general death rate in our country in the last 10 years lies at the level of /infant mortality/. The statistical information indicates a constant reduction in the death rate in the 1st year of life, with the level of 23.9 deaths per 1,000 live births per year in 1983 being one-half of that registered in 1969, thus indicating an appreciable approach to the level achieved in the developed countries. And one should not omit the fact that the value of the infant-mortality indicator represents a valid synthetic expression of the general degree of development attained by a country.

The results obtained in reducing the general death rate and stabilizing it at the level in the developed countries have influenced the continual growth in the average lifespan, a demographic indicator of particular significance in judging the degree of economic and social development of the country. After a short period of slowdown in its growth--at the end of the '70's--the average lifespan is again on the rise and it can be stated that in recent years its level has attained 70 years (as compared with 63 years in 1956), close to that achieved in the European countries.

A phenomenon of great complexity from the viewpoint of the determining factors and their operating mechanism and from the viewpoint of the implications on many planes, especially on a long term, the /birth rate/ has followed a complex

course, contradictory in terms of trend and level, in the last two decades in our country. In its basic character, this pattern is not different from the developments also experienced by the other European populations.

Pertinent studies appearing in our literature have stated that the birth rate began to drop after World War I and that Romania's population also joined in the process of transition from high indices of mortality and natality to lower indices, characteristic of the contemporary period. In our country, the transition occurred with a gap of a few decades in relation to the countries in western Europe, and the fastest rate has occurred in the last 30 years.

After the growth registered in 1967-1968, the tendency of the birth rate is again to drop. The developments in recent years show that this is due not only to the changes in the population's structure according to age (the numerically smaller generations born before 1967, now reaching the most fertile ages) but also to the consequences of the reduction in fertility according to age.

Nevertheless, with a birth rate of over 15 births per 1,000 inhabitants in 1982, our country occupies a favorable position in relation to many European countries. This level, associated with a low death rate, also means higher natural growth than in many European countries. However, the situation cannot be considered satisfactory. For precisely this reason, demographic scientific research is called upon to thoroughly study the evolution of the phenomenon, of the causal factors, in order to put at the disposal of the decisionmaking bodies scientifically substantiated elements and conclusions, needed for orienting the measures of the demographic policy in the direction of attaining the targets resulting from the party and state documents in this field.

It is known that there is a direct relationship between the evolution of the birth rate and that of the /marriage rate/.

The marriage rate has always had a high level in our country. There were periods, like that between 1949-1958, when the gross marriage rate varied between 10 and 12 marriages per 1,000 inhabitants. Even in the 1975-1982 period, its level was still high: 8.7 marriages per 1,000 inhabitants. It is also significant that marriages occur at earlier ages in Romania than in other European countries. In 1982, for example, the average age of women at the first marriage was 21.8 years and that of men was 25.4 years. And the average age of mothers at the birth of children is also lower in our country; in recent years, it has varied about the value of 25 years.

It ought to be noted that the birth rate of the urban population tends to be higher than that of the rural population, which is explained by the heavy migration of the young contingents from the village to the city, which has created a more favorable demographic structure in the urban population from the viewpoint of the birth and marriage rates.

The population's /migratory movement/ is a process directly connected with the socialist transformations in agriculture and with industrialization and urbanization. The planned territorial redistribution of the population in relation to these processes had high rates in the last two decades, the period of the

most profound economic and social changes that Romania has known. The increase in the urban population was achieved largely through the migratory flows, especially coming from the rural area. This process corresponded to the objective needs in this period. Now, however, the problem has new facets, a direct consequence of the necessity of establishing a new balance in developing the various branches of the national economy, especially the industry-agriculture relationship. Consequently, through the choices adopted, the long-term development plans and programs seek a reduction of the intercounty migratory flows, an optimization of the growth in the urban population, through the implantation of a large number of new industrial facilities in the rural area.

The above-mentioned developments in the birth and death rates--the drop in fertility and the rise in the average lifespan--have also had, among other consequences, that of changing the population's /structure according to sex and age/, in the sense of the growth of the percentage of the elderly population and the reduction of the percentage of the young population. The percentage of persons of 60 years of age and over rose from 7.4 percent in 1930 to nearly 14 percent in 1982; in addition, the average age of the whole population rose from 26.7 years (1930) to 33.5 years (1982). Thus, like the other European countries, we find ourselves faced with a process of demographic aging, with many implications on an economic, social and health plane.

From the viewpoint of demographic characteristics, Romania belongs to the European cultural model, but it also has a specific character that is explained by the historical conditions that caused our country to enter later the period of demographic transition.

The rate of demographic growth and the birth rate of Romania's population are above the average in the European countries, under the conditions in which the total rate of fertility and the rate of reproduction no longer provide for simple replacement of the generations in the great majority of these European countries.

The /demographic policy/, as a set of measures of an economic, social, legal, medical, educational and cultural nature, promoted with particular concern by our party and state, has in view the founding and consolidation of the family, the growth of the birth rate, and the preservation of the population's health--it taking part as a dynamic element in the strategy for the economic and social development of the country.

In the Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism, it is pointed out that only on the basis of a high rate of economic growth is it possible to materialize the objectives of the demographic forecast--that is, the attainment of a normal natural increase in population, the reduction of mortality and morbidity, the improvement of the population's health, the stimulation of the birth rate, the consolidation of the family, the providing of a suitable distribution of the population according to age groups, and the maintenance of the youthfulness and vigor of our people.

Even the simple enumeration of this complex of measures of the demographic policy that involve the family and the younger generation--such as the granting of

maternity leave, the birth allowance, the state allocation for children, priorities in the assignment and construction of housing for young couples and those with children, the development of the network of day nurseries and kindergartens, and free health care and education--has the power to confirm the continual concern of the party and state for providing the objectively necessary balance between the general economic and social progress of the country, between the well-being of the people and the evolution of the demographic phenomena.

A whole set of laws has been drawn up in order to attain these objectives. It ought to be mentioned that considerable funds are spent annually to carry out the demographic policy. The state bears the health expenses for the whole population, and within them the expenses for mother and child care have an important role; the state provides a system of education of all grades, with unlimited and free access for the population; the funds devoted to the state allocations for children and for helping families with many children rise year by year. In 1982 alone, the allocations were provided for 4.8 million children, representing over 11 billion lei. Many other measures with an economic and sociomedical character are devoted to the protection of the health of the mother and child, to the vigorous development of the new generations.

Romania is one of the few countries in which, in an explicit manner, a major role in the plans and programs for economic and social development of the country on a long and very long term is given to the demographic factor, with the population being regarded as an essential factor in economic and social progress. To the secretary general of our party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, goes the incontestable merit of having given to the population problems the place and role that they deserve.

The picture of the dynamics of our country's population, as it was concisely sketched above, draws attention to the fact that the evolution of demographic phenomena, like, in general, the formation of new social structures, does not occur as a smooth process, without difficulties, it having implications in certain periods regarding the birth rate and the natural increase in population. On precisely the basis of knowing these realities, the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, analyzing in April 1983 the evolution of the demographic phenomena, indicated a number of important measures aimed at raising the birth rate, measures that fit into the aggregate of the measures of the demographic policy--an integral part of the general policy of economic and social development of the country.

In the strategy for our long-term development, a very important place is given to the demographic factor. In the field of the policy on human resources, the party starts from the view that the population is an "essential factor in the vitality and productive force of society." The means for securing the growth of the birth rate and consolidating the family include, above all, those of material and moral encouragement; the education of the population, especially the young people--the formation of a positive opinion in connection with founding the family and with the necessity of increasing the population--has a very important role.

The new measures adopted recently, the broad program for improvement in health activities, and the wide-scale performance of health education for the

population and, in particular, the young people are meant to contribute to the growth of the birth rate and the natural increase, in accordance with the entire program for economic and social development.

Under the effect of these measures, it can be estimated that, in the second part of this decade, the birth rate will again have a tendency to rise; infant mortality will continue to drop, and the average lifespan will achieve a rise that will bring it even closer to that in the developed European countries. The rise in the population's standard of material and cultural living, the improvement in public instruction, the vocational training of the young people, the implementation of the measures that involve social equity, the improvement in the quality of life, and the fulfillment of the human personality make evident the constant concern of our party and state for providing an optimum increase in population and maintaining the demographic youthfulness and the vigor of the Romanian people.

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