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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1495

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ROMANIANS RECALL ANNEXATION OF TRANSYLVANIA TO HUNGARY

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Nov 77 pp 35-37

/Article by Vasile Netea/

/Text/ The creation of the dualist Austro-Hungarian state in February 1867, in which Transylvania was incorporated in Hungary, losing its autonomy, was a heavy blow for the Romanian people who, following the uniting of Moldavia with the Romanian Country, were awaiting the uniting of Transylvania with the new Romanian state with just as much justification.

The achievement of this new stage of our history was all the more natural since, in 1848, conscious of the unity of nation and language, culture and economic interests which tied them with their brothers across the Carpathians, the Transylvanian Romanians were shouting in unison on the Field of Freedom: "We want to unite with the country!" The union had been forecast at the same time by V. Alecsandri in "The Awakening of Romania," by Andrei Muresianu in "Wake Up, Romanians," by N. Balcescu in "The History of the Romanians under Prince Mihai the Brave." The most brilliant pages of M. Kogalniceanu, Alecu Russo, G. Baritiu, B. P. Hasdeu, Alexandru Odobescu and other patriots had been devoted to it as well as publications after 1848--REVISTA CARPATILOR/Review of the Carpathians/(1860), REVISTA ROMANA /Romanian Review/ (1861), "The Treasury of Historical Monuments for Romania" (1862-1864), "The Family" (1865) and so forth. In the broadest forms, the cultural life of Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians had become one, with the spiritual and patriotic orientation of all Romanians being one. Union thus represented the dream of all Romanians.

Without considering the will of the Romanian people in Transylvania, which represented the overwhelming majority of the population, the governments of Vienna and Budapest--exponents of the exploiter Austro-Hungarian classes, headed by Emperor Franz Joseph I--decided to annex Transylvania to Hungary.

The entire Romanian press as well as from Transylvania and from Romania, and many political and cultural Romanian personalities, protested vehemently what had been decided, at the same time initiating powerful actions to combat the Austro-Hungarian dualism and to aid the oppressed brothers.

One of the most important actions was the establishment of the society in Bucharest demonstratively named "Transylvania," which carried out productive and prolonged patriotic and cultural activity.

#### Guided by the Ideal of National Unity

The "Transylvania" Society was established on the initiative of the Transylvanian students at the University of Bucharest, who celebrated the day of the Romanian revolution across the Carpathians every year, in memory of 1848. Its establishment, at first under the name of "Constantia" (Constancy), was proposed at the 3-15 May 1867 celebration by the student I. C. Tacitu, a future professor at the secondary school in Brasov. The proposal of the passionate student was received with lively enthusiasm by all those present, and it was to be embraced in the following days by the great Transylvanian scholars and fighters established in Bucharest: Al. Papiu-Ilarian, Aaron Florian, A. Treboniu Laurian and others. They decided that the name of the society--a direct answer to the dissolution of the autonomy of their province--should be changed to "Transylvania." At the same time it became a society to aid with scholarships for the pupils and students from this ancient Romanian province.

Initiative also was attributed to V. A. Urechia, B. P. Hasdeu, Petre Gradisteanu and other personalities. A meeting was held on 23 June at which a committee was elected headed by Al. Papiu-Ilarian, with vice presidents being V. A. Urechia and Petre Cernatescu (professors at the University of Bucharest) and members being B. P. Hasdeu, Aaron Florian, Petre Gradisteanu, M. Ianculescu. Making up the committee were the initiator students--I. C. Tacitu, I. Corvina, C. Fortunatu, Dionisie Precup, I. Procopiu and others--as well as Dimitrie Laurian as secretary, who was A. T. Laurian's son. The statutes were voted on on 30 June in the festive hall of the Matei Basarab Secondary School.



The new society was guided by the ideal of national unity both through its statutes as well as the regulation for giving scholarships. Article 2 of the statutes specified "gathering the ties of fraternity between the studying youth from all parts of Romania in order to come to the aid of Romanian students from Transylvania and parts of it" while Article 2 of the regulation, in order to define as clearly as possible "the parts" referred to in particular, showed that "Romanian young people from beyond the Carpathians, either from Transylvania or Bucovina, either from the holding of Satmare or Maramures, of Urba Mare (Oradea) or Arad, or Banat, who completed at least the gymnasium grades and took the maturity exam may compete" for the society's stipends.

In order to give as much effectiveness as possible to its action and toward thus strenghtening the Romanian element in the oppressed "parts," at the same time it was specified that "the wish of the society is that those studying with its aid should continue to serve Romanism in the part of the place after finishing studies."

The national importance of the society is also shown through its motto placed at the top of its first bulletin entitled "Acts of the Transylvvania Society," which contained an excerpt from an old proclamation of the Banat scholar D. Tichindeal, in which he urged cultivation of the mind and culture of the Romanians from everywhere: "The mind, the glorious Daco-Romanian nation in Banat, in the Romanian Country, in Moldavia, in Ardeal, in the Hungarian Country, the mind! When you enlighten with learning, with the enlightened good acts and unite there will not be a more chosen nation on earth ahead of you."

Establishment of the new society stirred great and natural enthusiasm in Transylvania. This fact also is shown in the salute sent by the Romanian youth of Cluj on 15 August: "Greetings to you, sweet country, greetings to brothers from free Romania. The echo of the national rebirth has gone from the Danube to the Tisa, across mountains and vallies, it bounds over the son of old Rome and hopes for a grand future, a future worthy of the coming of glory."

Greetings followed from the Romania student society in Vienna, from Romanian youth in Sibiu and then, following the "Pronouncement" of 3-15 May 1868, \*from the youth from Blaj.

\* From 3-15 May 1868 a conference of Romanian political leaders from Transylvania took place in Blaj. An act protesting the annexation of Transylvania to Hungary, known as the "Pronouncement from Blaj," was adopted.

"What a difference between us and you," the message of the latter declared. You have a Romanian government. You will enjoy all the advantages of freedom, it is not prohibited for you to demonstrate your pains and happinesses; we are not even allowed to cry at times. What happiness enveloped our hearts seeing that you, happier than we, remembered your brothers in misfortune, and established the "Transylvania" Society with the goal of spreading learning and light among your brothers from here. Praise and honor to you and eternal recognition to you from us. We want the "Transylvania" Society to become a sun which spreads the advantages of its rays over all Romania; a tree which spreads its branches to the Tisa and the Black Sea."

#### For Our Brothers From All Provinces

In order to mark the general Romanian nature of the society in an even more accentuated way, the 12 May 1868 meeting elected as presidents of honor leaders from all Romanian provinces: Andrei Saguna, Ion Heliade-Radulescu, Timotei Cipariu, Vasile L. Pop, president of the "Association" from Sibiu, Gheorghe Hurmuzachi, president of the Bucovina Literary Society, and Procopie Ivaci-vovici, bishop of Arad. All members of the Romanian Academic Society were proclaimed members of honor at the general meeting in 1870. Also among the supporters were C. A. Rosetti and Dionisie Roman, bishop of Buzau. "Transylvania" maintained close relations with the other modern cultural societies--the Romanian Academic Society, the "Association" from Sibiu, the "Association" from Arad, the Society for Romanian Culture and Literature from Bucovina, the "Young Romania" from Vienna, "Petru Maior" from Budapest and so forth, cultivating and consolidating national solidarity steadfastly.

A large number of cities and county councils hurried to give the society annual subsidies. The city of Galati, offering the amount of 9,000 lei, offered the first example; following were the counties of Neamt (8,000), Romanati (6,000), Arges (4,000), Putna (4,000), Teleorman (2,500), Dolj (2,000), Botosani (1,600), Vilcea (1,000), Prahova (1,000) and so forth.

In the first years the society gave scholarships for 31 students from Ardeal and Bucovina, who studied medicine, literature, philosophy, law, engineering, political economics at the universities in Paris, Brussels, Torino, Vienna, Graz, Berlin and so forth; in the next period the number of scholarship recipients rose to 166. Among the scholarship recipients from Transylvania we mention the future professors, writers and historians: Gh. Bogdan-Duica (Vienna, 1890-1891), Ioan Scurtu (Leipzig, 1899-1901), Octavian Goga (Berlin, 1904-1905), Ioan Lupas (Berlin, 1904-1905),

Onisifor Ghibu (Strasbourg-Iena, 1909-1910), the physician Victor Babes (Vienna, 1877), the botanist Alexandru Borza (Breslau, Berlin, 1913-1914) and many others who became recognized through their pedagogical, legal, scientific and publicist activity.

Along with the scholarships given to the students, pupils and tradesmen, "Transylvania" sent help for those wounded in the war of independence (1877), for building the Romanian Cathedral in Sibiu (1903), for the gymnasium in Brad (1907), for building a school in the village of Pruni in Banat(1906); it helped the womens associations in Brasov, Sibiu and Abrud (1908) as well as schools in Abrud, Zlatna and several in Bucovina.

At the same time the society also carried out intense cultural activity, permanently organizing the anniversary for the days of 3-15 May 1848 as well as many public conferences, lectures and other patriotic demonstrations. Among its main lecturers were Al. Papiu-Ilarian, B. P. Hasdeu, A. T. Laurian, V. A. Urechia, Alexandru Odobescu, Gh. Missail, Ion Bianu and so forth. The society contributed to enriching and establishing many school and public libraries in Transylvania and Bucovina and, at the same time, to organizing artistic tours in the cities beyond the mountains.

Until 3-15 May 1874 the society was headed by Al. Papiu-Ilarian and following his retirement, by August Treboniu Laurian, until the start of 1880.

In memory of its first president, who died on 23 October 1877, the society founded a special scholarship in 1879 called the "Al. Papiu-Ilarian" scholarship.

Anticipating the activity of the Cultural League, the "Transylvania" Society until 1918 was one of the most productive aids to Romanian youth in Transylvania and Bucovina and, at the same time, one of the most vital societies fighting to achieve national state unity.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

GDR/POLAND BORDER CLOSED--According to the Veterinary Department of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Polish People's Republic, passing the border crossing points at Ahlbeck-Swinoujscie; Linken-Lubieszyn; and Pomellen-Kolbaskovo is impossible for tourists for veterinary-hygienic reasons as of Saturday, 24 December 0000 hours. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Dec 77 p 2 AU]

SED DELEGATION RETURN--A delegation of the SED Central Committee led by Heinz Puder, deputy head of the Propaganda Department, visited the Republic of Cuba 9-22 December. It studied problems of political-ideological work of the Cuban Communist Party. At the conclusion of its visit the study delegation had a cordial meeting with Antonio Perez Herrero, member of the secretariat of the Cuban Communist Party, who also saw the delegation off at Havana's airport. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Dec 77 p 2 AU]

SOVIET MINISTER'S VISIT--Werner Krolikowski, GDR first deputy premier, received on Friday Nikolay Timofeyev, USSR minister of timber and wood processing industry. Problems related to cooperation in the field of wood economy and wood processing as well as the implementation of the government agreement on the joint reconstruction of furniture plants in the USSR and GDR were discussed. Dr Udd-Dieter Wange, GDR minister of Bezirk-controlled industry and food industry, also participated in the talks. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Dec 77 p 2 AU]

TITO THANKS HONECKER--To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council, Berlin. On behalf of the peoples of the SFRY, the Presidium of the SFRY, the LCY Presidium and personally, I most cordially thank the GDR people, the SED Central Committee and the GDR State Council for the cordial greetings and good wishes on the occasion of the SFRY national holiday. I would also like to express my satisfaction with the all-round development of the friendly relations between our two states, governments and parties and also convey our best wishes to the GDR people and to you, personally. Josif Broz Tito. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Dec 77 p 1 AU]

ALBANIA

KERALA COMMITTEE OF INDIAN MARXIST-LENINIST CP GREETES HOXHA, AWP

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Dec 77 AU

[Text] On the occasion of the 33d anniversary of the liberation of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, AWP Central Committee first secretary, and the AWP Central Committee have received the following greetings from the Kerala State Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of India:

Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the 33d anniversary of the liberation of Albania, on behalf of the Kerala State Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of India and the revolutionary people of Kerala, we express our fervent greetings to the AWP, the government of the People's Republic of Albania and the heroic Albanian people.

Under the wise leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, great, prominent and tested Marxist-Leninist leader, the heroic Albanian people have achieved brilliant results on various fronts of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and have made an important contribution to the struggle against the two superpowers and in support of the revolution of the peoples of various countries. We sincerely wish the Albanian people new and greater successes.

We fully agree with the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered at the seventh [party] congress. We think that under the current situation it is the duty of the Marxist-Leninist parties to unite and support one another in opposing the opportunistic line which is now emerging in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. In India we are now opposing the opportunistic line of various groups. Within a few months we will form a center for the whole of India. The history of the international communist movement has definitely confirmed that success in the revolution requires a single center of the revolutionary leadership. We will always support the revolutionary proletarian line of Comrade Chary Mazumdar.

Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live the AWP!

Long live the friendship and unity between the AWP and the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of India!

Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

BULGARIA

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON MINISTER OF POWER SUPPLY N. TODORIEV

Sofia ENERGETIKA in Bulgarian Nos 9-10, 1977 pp 3, 4

[Well Wishing to Comrade Todoriev by the Editorial Staff]

[Text] On 25 October the minister of power supply, Prof Nikola Todoriev, turned 50 years of age. This is a wonderful occasion to express the deep respect and appreciation of the miners' and power-supply workers' collective to the leader, the scientific worker and communist, who had dedicated his life to the socialist construction of our country.

He was born in Belovo, in the okrug of Pazardzhik. His family was poor but industrious. He was brought up, as many of his contemporaries, in deprivation and dearth, but faced life with work, willpower and a thirst for knowledge.



He was graduated first in his class from the secondary school in Pazardzhik but due to lack of means had to interrupt his education and became a teacher. And most probably exactly then, winning the love of the children in whom he instilled civic and human duty, he found his vocation--to pass on his knowledge to others.

His love for science brought him to the Sofia polytechnical school where, as student, Nikola Todoriev distinguished himself with his most serious attitude toward scientific work, with keen social consciousness and active participation in the organization of the public life at the institute. After his graduation it was most natural that he be appointed as an assistant professor at the department of steam boilers and engines [presently

thermonuclear power]. Due to his qualifications it did not take him long to become associate professor, full professor then dean of the VMEI.

In this field he showed his outstanding teaching talent--the ability to captivate the attention of the audience, to explain in most simple and comprehensive manner the most complex thermoenergy processes. In spite of his key position in this socially useful activity, he did not limit his work to teaching only. These were the most difficult years in the Bulgarian energy development. It needed pioneers ready to lay its scientifically-based foundation. Besides his regular teaching schedule, Prof Todoriev participated in wide research work in the field of thermoenergy. During the time of his assistantship he was already the unifying link in the joint endeavors of the few specialists in the several organizations dealing with thermoenergy. Therefore, it was only natural that he was appointed first as deputy chief and later as chief of the institute on power supply. Here he unfolded his qualifications as an energy specialists and organizer of scientific work. He directed the work of the collective toward the major energy problems of the country. He defined clearly and specifically the tasks of the institute and formulated its main directions, finding pragmatic ways for their solution. This made it possible the institute on power supply to become later the office for scientific research at NIPPIES "Electropoekt" and to develop into a basic link in our country for the solution of the energy problems.

As a scientific worker, Comrade Todoriev took upon himself the solution of one of the most important and essential problems connected with the development of our power supply--the use of our own power resources, mainly low quality coal. His share in the solution of the problems at Maritsa Iztok complex were exceptional as this complex embraces the basic power sources of the country. The low-quality coal at the complex and its specific features created problems never solved earlier in the entire world. The collectives led by Prof Todoriev had to solve scientific problems not only in specific tasks but reach valid conclusions for general application as well. In this manner were solved the operational problems at "Purva Komsomolska" TETs as well as the construction and operational problems of Maritsa Iztok 2. Of particular importance for our power supply is the new method in preparing and burning the lignite coal of Maritsa Iztok basin, which was elaborated by Prof Todoriev and his collective. This method synthesizes the results of all scientific-research work and operational expertise of the country to date. It serves as the basis for the planning and construction of the steam generators and auxiliary equipments at Maritsa Iztok 3 TETs.

With his scientific work Prof Todoriev contributed to the high prestige abroad of our power development. Starting with the Sixth International Conference on Energy in 1962, he is regularly one of the speakers at the conference on the topic of the use of the low-quality fuel in Bulgaria, and draws the attention of many foreign specialists. For 8 years Prof Todoriev coordinated the studies of the CEMA members on utilization of low-calori

fuel, laid out in section 4 of the Commission for Electric Power at CEMA. He was president of the seminar on technologies for utilization of low-calori fuel, organized by the UN European Economic Commission in which 25 countries of the different continents participated officially. This seminar confirmed the personal authority of Prof Todoriev among the foreign specialists, who were eager to meet him, ask for his advice and invite him privately for series of lectures.

The scientific research and scientifically applied work of Prof Todoriev is multifaceted, thorough and highly methodical. One can say that in the field of thermopower utilization of low-calori coal he started a new school which created many talented scientific workers and specialists considering the size of our country. Today the Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria is an established international authority in the field of science and utilization of the low-quality coal, and is considered one of the leading countries in this field.

The scientific and scientifically applicable elaborations of Prof Todoriev have proved their correctness and practicality as they have been widely adopted in newly built projects as well as in renovations of older projects. The economic effect of these elaborations shows not only in the saving of tens of millions of leva but also in the possibility of greater utilization of our own energy resources and accelerated consolidation of our power supply.

Prof Todoriev's coworkers, who know him well, often wonder: When does this exceptionally energetic man have the time to work on theories and projects, and during which hours of the day or night does he get those precious ideas which, with his help, are put into practice and further the development of the country? How does he manage to do so many things simultaneously and all equally well? One sees him at different places--among students and professors, among workers, planners, scientists, always smiling and friendly, open to new ideas. It is a pleasure to work with a man who knows his work so well, and who is applying the highly moral qualities of the scientific worker: willpower, diligence, professional knowledge and broadmindedness, purposefulness and self-sacrifice, understanding and esteem toward others.

The scientific methods of management, adopted and creatively applied by Prof Todoriev, find their further development in the system of the Ministry of Energy, for which Prof Todoriev is directly responsible. The influence of these methods is most obviously felt in the program elaborated by Prof Todoriev, for the development of the national energy complex as well as in the recent application of the scientific methods in the management of the system.

Man usually reaches his creative peak about the age of 50. This is the age when the accumulated experience leads to most rational and full application of the acquired knowledge, of passing it over to others, who on their part will multiply it.



In honor of the 50th anniversary of Prof Nikola Todoriev, the editorial staff congratulates him most warmly and sincerely on his high decoration with the medal of People's Republic of Bulgaria, First Degree, and wishes him many more years of creative work, good health and success in his work for the Bulgarian power supply and for the construction of socialism.

1010

CSO: 2200

## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

SECURITY MINISTER'S BIRTHDAY--The SED Central Committee has conveyed a message of greetings to Col Gen Erich Mielke, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister for state security, on his 70th birthday. The message signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, says in part: "The Ministry of State Security under the leadership of the party developed under your guidance into a sharp weapon of the socialist state, into an effective organ of the power of the workers and peasants which achieve great successes in the struggle to strengthen and protect our socialist achievements, to completely safeguard the state security of the GDR against counterrevolutionaries, antisocialist plans and machinations by the enemies, and to safeguard the peaceful work and life of our citizens." The State Council and the GDR Council of Ministers also sent congratulations. Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, awarded to Col Gen Erich Mielke the GDR's highest decoration, the Karl Marx Order. Mielke received it in recognition of his outstanding achievements in the Revolutionary Workers' Movement, in the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, in the struggle for peace and international friendship. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0307 GMT 28 Dec 77 LD]

AWARD TO FELFE--Berlin--The Chairman of the GDR State Council has awarded the Karl Marx Order to Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the SED Halle Bezirk Management. On a proposal of the SED Politburo and the Council of Ministers Presidium, Werner Felfe received the GDR's highest award as tribute for his outstanding services in the building of socialism and the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the life of the socialist society in the GDR. Politburo member Horst Sindermann handed over the award on Wednesday linked with the Central Committee's congratulations on Werner Felfe's 50th birthday. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1100 GMT 4 Jan 78 LD]

RADIO DIRECTOR'S TRANSFER--After more than 20 years meritorious work in the radio of the German Democratic Republic, Kurt Goldstein has left his post as director of the station voice of the GDR. The Central Committee of the SED thanked him very cordially for his successful and effective work in

GDR radio. Kurt Goldstein will be employed in another responsible political post. Martin Radmann, up to now chief editor of the station, has been appointed Director of Voice of the GDR. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 4 Jan 78 LD]

CONGRATULATIONS TO SUDAN--Berlin (ND)--GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker and Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph have sent a congratulatory telegram on the anniversary of Democratic Republic of Sudan's winning its independence to Maj Gen Ja'far Muhammad Numayri, president and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Sudan. In this state telegram they wish the Sudanese people successes in developing its country and at the same time convey greetings on the turn of the year. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Jan 78 p 2 AU]

CONDOLENCES, CONGRATULATIONS TO KUWAIT--Berlin (ADN)--GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker has sent a telegram of condolence to the newly appointed chief of state of Kuwait, Shaykh al-Sabah Jabir al-Sabah [Jabir al-Ahmad al Sabah] on the occasion of the sudden death of Shaykh al Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah, amir of the state of Kuwait. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Jan 78 p 2 AU] Berlin (ADN)--State Council Chairman Erich Honecker has sent a cordial telegram of congratulations to Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah on the occasion of his appointment as amir of the state of Kuwait. In this telegram he wishes the new chief of state much success, energy and personal well being in his high office. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Jan 78 p 2 AU]

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEMBERS--[Unattributed report on Peoples Chamber Session on 21 December 1977 in Berlin] With warm applause the deputies thanked Deputy Heinz Matthes for the many years of his meritorious activity as a member of the GDR Council of Ministers for the benefit of the republic. Heinz Matthes was relieved of his post as a member of the Council of Ministers for reasons of health. In his statement of thanks Horst Sindermann wished him an early recovery and new creative vigor, on behalf of all deputies. The deputies elected Dr Albert Stief and Dr Gerhard Beil as members of the Council of Ministers. The People's Chamber unanimously elected Col Lothar Penndorf as vice president of the GDR Supreme Court and Dieter Heise, Heinz Mai and Capt Ullrich Benkenstein as judges of the GDR Supreme Court. [Excerpts] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Dec 77 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

BIBLE COULD BE USED TO COMBAT MYSTICISM SAYS ACADEMICIAN

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian 16 Dec 77 pp 3-5

[Interview with Academician Jozsef Lukacs, director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences]

[Excerpts] [Question] What is it that feeds the religiosity of some of our young people nowadays?

[Answer] Finding an answer to this would take us very far afield. Let me note a few facts without regard to completeness or order of importance. We conducted sociological tests among students and young workers continuing their education. Our findings surprised us, too, in that there is a close inverse relation between education and religion. Those young people who feel it necessary to continue their education, who wish to advance through their own efforts, showed very little interest in religion. At the same time, the influence of religion is stronger in the case of those who showed little inclination to continue their studies. At all events this indicated that social activity and, within this, cultural activity are exceptionally powerful driving forces of secularization: the strata which are in dynamic movement generally develop in a more positive fashion in their world view. On the other hand, those who are incapable of joining in such movement, experience a kind of resignation, and this slants their thinking into a conservative pattern.

I must emphasize, however, that there are many groups and motivations in this strata. There are those who are religious as a result of family tradition. In such families religion functions as an untouchable system of norms. Of course, it is possible for young people to make a choice at puberty, the period when world views crystallize. The question is when do they oppose the religiosity of their parents--without necessarily coming into conflict with their parents--and when do they remain under the influence of this [religiosity]. The role of education during the ages of 13-14 and 18 is not a matter of indifference. If the formal religiosity inherited from the parents remains, it adapts itself to the framework of the historically great churches: the Catholic, the Reformed and the Lutheran.

But it also happens that the form of religion changes and breaks away from the tradition of the big churches. At such times, and this is a conspicuous phenomenon of our era, it can assume extremely subjective, individualistic forms. We found considerable evidence of this a decade ago in the "Jesus Revolution" in the United States and in Western Europe. This occurred somewhat later and to a much lesser degree in our country.

[Question] Isn't this merely some kind of fad?

[Answer] The wearing of crucifixes as pendants and the religious songs are undoubtedly a fad; sometimes they are the stylistic expression of an ideology. However, beyond this a type of behavior is involved which attempts to remain outside of society and opposes morals to the world in which it lives. But, withdrawal from society does not exclude collective forms: substitute communities are created in cases when the young find no communities which suit them.

I should mention also that the formation of religious sects is on the increase throughout the world. This also indicated that the traditional churches are losing their attraction. Primarily the protestant churches are losing believers. The sects establish more intense collectives; at the same time they represent more retrograde norms in the cultural field than the traditional churches. (I must add that their stand--except for that of the Jehovahists--poses no particular problem from the political point of view, and from the standpoint of political law they are merely churches like the rest. This tendency not only exists in Hungary but has become stronger in some places--I repeat in the climate of general secularization.

In addition to the above, there exists a kind of "intellectual religiosity" which is attempting to establish a philosophical basis for itself somehow. Representatives of modern primarily Catholic religious philosophy such as Teilhard de Chardin play an important role in this. In Hungary we encounter this principally among students of natural sciences who, like Teilhard, attempt to create a synthesis between religion and the world concept of the natural sciences. Finally in the camp of the religious, the most common is that group of children who consider themselves religious--beyond the usual custom--whose world view is also tied into religion. This manifests itself chiefly in that they identify the sphere of morals with religious morality. Here is our great task, the task of socialist society and schools: how can education be oriented in such a way that it will be able to give an answer to questions of young people which arise on the plane of morality but which frequently are not moral in themselves. In the concept of moral education--I am deliberately not speaking of ethics--I include the relation between public and private life, between words and deeds, the great question of what it means to be a humanist today, what it means to accept collectivism under our conditions as opposed to individualism and altruism. As I see it this is the weakest point of our work from the angle of world view.

[Question] We have not yet spoken of that group of young people who hold Marxist, materialist world views. Is this group more homogenous in its makeup?

[Answer] Far from it. We are, after all, speaking of a widely differentiated society. Many of them actually have grounding in theory; however, we cannot say this of most of them. The real question is not whether they call themselves Marxists or materialists but what they mean by Marxism and materialism.

It is well known that Hungary had to solve tasks simultaneously which were put on the agenda by bourgeois democratic revolutions as well as those of the socialist revolution. It was an inevitable concomitant of this that youth and not youth alone is unable to differentiate clearly between the two tasks. There arose, thus, in many people an attitude toward religion which is not strictly a Marxist view: namely, that belief in God can be taken care of with a few effective, snappy arguments, that the whole issue involved merely a distortion of understanding, a kind of rudimentary survival. We often identify Marxism with the bourgeois materialistic, atheistic and anticlerical viewpoint. Our schools are at fault in this. They are also at fault in that we frequently encounter young people in the politically positive camp who, although they are very constructive in many areas of life, lack positive views on ultimate questions in the area of world views.

[Question] You urge primarily the positive exposition of a scientific world view, of a moral, aesthetic system of values. But permit me to refer to a more limited field of research--to the history and criticism of religion. How do you evaluate the situation of these topics as treated by our schools?

[Answer] I believe we should make greater use of the opportunities offered by the history of religion. The textbooks currently used in the secondary schools devote a few pages to the origin of religions, the development of Christianity and give a few illustrative examples of Greek mythology only in their first year. Beginning with the second year, it is as if the whole question had ceased to exist. The textbooks deal with churches exclusively from the viewpoint of the economic and political role of said institutions. At the most, religion is once again mentioned in connection with the Reformation, but, here too, the emphasis is on the political aspect of this movement. I won't even mention the fact that the whole issue of secularization and the problem of modern religiosity are left out.

It may well be that in the teaching of history it could be illustrated how religions came into being historically and that they are always the expression of specific alienated social-historical conditions, and that they are a special form of protest against such conditions. At the same time, religious controls suit an archaic type of thought which is already passe. But Marxist criticism of religion is effective only if we demonstrate how, in the course of history, science, philosophy and art arose from the sphere of faith; under what conditions man can become aware of the fact that he,

alone, is the sole author and performer of his history, in other words, how he eliminates transcendence from his life. In this area one can and should compare the world view presented by science to that presented by religion, taking cognizance of the fact that there are various interpretations for this world; the possibility and necessity of choosing between them should be demonstrated more clearly. This would mean that we should be able to bring up philosophical questions in secondary school. In my opinion, it would be desirable to make education in world view more plainly philosophical than it is at present.

[Question] From various angles we can see that interest in the Bible has increased. I hardly believe that this is due to greater religious zeal; it looks more like interest in cultural history. Nevertheless, the subject is not without world view significance.

[Answer] Insofar as the Bible itself is concerned, school education should reconsider its tasks more thoroughly. Our schools teach nothing of the Bible myths without which not only much of literary and artistic creation is incomprehensible and whose sayings are interwoven in our everyday speech, or sayings and adages. The schools teach nothing of the living conditions which the Bible depicts. The Greek myths are dealt with, but practically nothing is said of Jewish and Christian mythology.

I believe that these stories could be stripped of their mystical veils precisely by explaining how, under what circumstances they came into being. If we made them part of mythology as a whole, if we showed how the elements of the biblical myths, with somewhat different emphasis and meaning, are part of other religions, too, we could thereby relativize the divine origin of the stories. It may seem that biblical mythology is primarily the vehicle of religious messages. However, it was not in vain that Marx pointed out that mythology was the first form in which the forces of nature were shaped and governed by and with imagination. The really exciting, appealing element in the text of the work [the Bible] is the scientific processing of this genre born of the popular fantasy concerning the great questions of the era which gave birth to the Bible. Its mythical-moral paradigms could be humanized and this humanized mythology could be opposed to religious doctrines. (Let us consider that the Bible says nothing about the creation of the world out of nothing, for example, about the holy trinity or the immaculate conception.) The biblical stories must be taken out of their traditional world view context and must be considered for what they are: human dramas about the past and human challenges pertaining to the present. Because the biblical myths are paradigms, models of behavior are created to orient action. The words of the prophets are not only echoes of the period 8 to 6 B.C., but are words which could be valid as popular protest voiced at a much later time: they are a special form of criticism, the literary-historical effect of which we know very well from Hungarian literature all the way to Ady or even beyond this.

Then there are the frequently cited great biblical pictures: vain, jealous, sly Saul; David who overcomes vastly superior enemies but who abuses his power once he becomes king and is capable of having a man killed in order to get a certain woman. He is greatness and human obtuseness, selfishness in one person. Then there is biblical Joseph who, as Thomas Mann analyzed him so beautifully, twice became involved in critical situations because of his vanity and who then surmounted these hells to become the acknowledged leader of a group. Or there is the person of Jesus who combines the determination of the man who wishes to drive the moneylenders from the temple with the helplessness of the man who is ultimately resigned to the fact that he must bless and not curse his persecutors.

These contradictions of which the Bible provides so many examples are not merely issues of the past; they exist here in our lives. There are lessons worth thinking about without calling for God's blessing on the Bible. At the same time we could consider how religion solves these problems and how they could be solved by humans.

Much humanistic effort could have been and is connected with religion. In many cases it was capable and is capable today of stimulating people to good deeds. Despite this, the religion can never be humanistic insofar as religious theory is concerned, because it considers God rather than man the supreme being. I emphasize that here we speak of differentiation in world views, and this is the point at which compromises are impossible, where it is absolutely necessary to emphasize human responsibility and human responsibility alone. We cannot shift this to any supernatural being.

CSO: 2500



## HUNGARY

### BRIEFS

HUNGARIAN LEADERS GREET ROMANIANS--On the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of the Romanian Peoples's Republic Janos Kadar, Pal Losonczi and Gyorgy Lazar greeted by telegram the Romanian leaders Nicolae Ceaulescu and Manea Manescu. The MSZMP and the Hungarian people attach great significance to widening the cooperation of the two countries and developing their friendship in all fields, the telegram reads, expressing the wish that the peoples of Romania may achieve further successes in making socialist Romania prosper. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 29 Dec 77 LD]

CSO: 2500

POLAND

JOURNAL COMMENTS ON 'FOREIGN AFFAIRS' ARTICLE ON POLAND

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 51, 17 Dec 77 p 16

[Article by Daniel Passent: "Peter Osnos on the Polish Road to Communism"]

[Text] The prestigious American monthly [sic] FOREIGN AFFAIRS (10 [No. 1, Oct] 1977) published an article entitled "The Polish Road to Communism." The author, Peter Osnos, is foreign editor of the influential newspaper, the WASHINGTON POST. Until recently he was Moscow correspondent, and from there he looked in on Warsaw from time to time.

The first sentence of the article reads: "On Nowy Swiat, a main downtown street in Warsaw, there is a women's lingerie store called Bardotka, a diminutive for the surname of the celebrated French actress." This observation serves as a point of departure for deliberations concerning the unique character of the Polish way and its independence. The author's hypothesis is as follows: In Moscow such a store would have a different name, but the fact that it is called Bardotka is a phenomenon worth discussing in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, although one should not exaggerate, because this happens with assent.

If Osnos had amused himself in our country a bit longer, and not just in transit from Washington to Moscow, and if he had talked to more competent people, even with Mrs Ziegler, he would have learned that this shop is located on Krakowskie Przedmiescie and not Nowy Swiat and he would not have become involved in issues which are as confusing as they are pointless, because Osnos' article is a collection of accurate remarks and false ones, and the latter do not fit very well a firm as respectable as FOREIGN AFFAIRS, which often publishes statements by eminent men of state and specialists. The opportunity of presenting Poland to the elite of American readers could have been utilized better, but even so it is worth discussing Osnos' article, because it represents a typical example of a certain way Poland is viewed from abroad.

Osnos commits two sins. The first is that in trying to define the difference between Poland and the USSR, the author as if he were discovering America.

He makes revelations which have been well known for more than 20 years, writing that not only are American films shown in Warsaw and agriculture is private for the most part, but a lingerie store also has a French name. He likes all this very much (although I would prefer French lingerie and a Polish name), but above all he suggests that something spicy is going on, something wicked, about which, he says, people do not like to speak in Warsaw, because this is a family secret, although even he noticed it. Hence, this is a revelation which is late and doubtful.

The second sin is the onesided presentation of Poland, because the author became so fascinated with what is Polish that he left on the sidelines what Poland has in common with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, something which plays a great decisive role in our life.

This happens, because Osnos feels the weather more than the climate, which is typical of transit passengers. He sees the Bardotka store sign, but he does not go into the shop. Anyone who has spent several years on the Russian steppe should know that the continental climate features a hot summer and a frigid winter, and a generalization of any season of the year under these conditions is less suitable here than anywhere else. As a guide on the Polish road to communism, Osnos does not go into a single factory and does not mention a word about the basic principles of our economic life, principles which the socialist countries share and which determine the life and morals of a nation which, he emphasizes, goes to church. But, let us add, this by no means makes it like the Italians or the Spanish, but on the contrary it is taking on more and more common features with the Hungarians and other cousins. The author does not pick up a single book or go into a single school or institute, not in order to emphasize the development of our science, because nobody expects that of him, but in order to become acquainted with the curriculum for instructing youngsters, the ideology, and the spirit in which they are instructed, in order to ascertain that although jeans are still in fashion, the content of this science and education is decidedly socialist.

In seeking primarily the differences, Osmos therefore focuses on vegetable growers, priests, and artists. In addition, the author simplifies the matter for himself, in that he compares only these two countries, because if he were to look at Poland as a part of a larger whole, the picture he would paint would be less transparent. It is clear that Osnos' view gives a superficial picture of the country. One cannot accent what is different and barely notice what is the same, because the latter is the essential background without which the first is not in proper scale. For example, Wilanow is more like the Louvre than the Kremlin, but you cannot portray Wilanow faithfully by viewing it solely as a more or less successful replica of the palace of Catherine de Medici.

The journalist is sometimes interested in solutions typical of the country not because of their creative original nature but in order to

conjecture as to the possibilities of partitions and schism, which are not at all likely. On the other hand, this would be clear if Mr Osnos realized that being different is by no means more characteristic of Poland than being alike, that the one and the other are both natural. The author could come with just the opposite hypothesis and write that we have the same government as our neighbors, the same ideology, coordinated economic activity, a joint coordinated foreign and defense policy, great investments which link our industries for whole generations, loudly expressed approval for joint undertakings and measures, and so on and so forth.

It is viewed only against this background that the stage director, the peasant, and the curate take on proper dimensions. Osnos nonetheless feels better studying the weather map, the difficult-to-measure tolerance and flexibility of officials which have proclaimed amnesty and shown the nation "Man of Marble," while Wajda and Zanussi do not emigrate out of frustration (as he wrote), "as exciting as ever, perhaps even more so" (he also wrote that "more," and perhaps "even more 'so'" the communiques on the condition of the water in the Vistula, "three came to Warsaw, two left," and so on). It is for example on such hypotheses that the author bases his satisfaction that "Western visitors, especially those who have been elsewhere in the Soviet block, are invariably struck by how chic many younger Poles are, how many have travelled extensively in the West, how stunning much of their modern art and design is, how adventurous their theater and films can be, including material imported from abroad in strikingly large amounts." (Here the author counts how many foreign films, including American ones, are playing in Warsaw. His amazement gives us pause.) Osnos is a prisoner of his own propaganda, which stubbornly repeats that in the socialist countries everyone has a compartment from the same side, that the iron curtain hermetically seals in cultural values, that one basket out of every three is empty, and so on. Then he comes, sees something which interferes with that picture, and from his breast there is a shriek of astonishment so loud that again the voice of reason interferes and creates the impression that in Warsaw far more American films are shown than Soviet ones. One time we are a satellite, the next a comet.

For whole generations the American press has given a onesided, warped, wholesale picture of the socialist countries as being a community deprived of expression and covered by a sable coat which is somewhat too large, the hood of which comes down over the eyes and hides the real expression of one face. It was like a carefully cultivated anthill in which one could not see each ant separately and in which after all was not worth looking at, but one could see how the wild animals of history running through from time to time treat it. No need to add that this was an untrue picture which treated us wrongly, because we have in our corner not only a rich unsurmounted tradition but also many creative solutions in all areas of life, including the most important ones. In discovering this after so many years, Peter Osnos has to admit what an inaccurate picture of our country his predecessors painted, and by publishing these revelations FOREIGN AFFAIRS testifies to the fact that these ghosts continue to haunt even the circle of its enlightened readership.

Although American propaganda is in the hands of various private firms, it creates with astounding zeal stereotypes which are hard to be free of later. Such were the stereotypes of Allende, Castro, or, on the other hand, Diem, and, among others, our country, confined in the most colorful regional dress of Lowicz.

I hope that in time the American public will come to the realization that Poland is unique and that in being a socialist state it is at the same time a Polish state. Then we will be able to hold a conversation with editor Osnos on a higher level.

10790

CSO: 2600

OFFICIAL ANTI-SEMITISM SUBJECT OF SWEDISH COMPLAINT

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 19 Nov 77 p 3

[Article by Boris Fogelman and Lennart Spira: "Poland Differentiates Between Swedes"]

[Text] During 1968-1970 about 3,000 former Polish citizens of Jewish birth came to Sweden. These homeless persons were all kicked out of Poland. This took place following a bitter anti-semitic campaign, unparalleled in modern European postwar history. They were accepted in Sweden in accordance with a 1968 parliamentary decision. Most of them have already become Swedish citizens after a stipulated 7-year waiting period.

It is very important to point out that only a small number of these persons had been politically active and that an even lesser number of them had been charged with political activity in their former native country.

The victims of this modern exodus were most grateful for the opportunity and sincere about becoming Swedish citizens. For them it was now a formality. It gave them a feeling of security and belonging, while they also acquired a new native land.

Already two and a half years ago Swedish citizens of Jewish birth and former Polish citizens were stopped trying to cross the border into Poland. This seemingly accidental way of refusing them entry later turned out to be a deliberate action on the part of Polish authorities. This practice of stopping Swedes at the border grew rapidly over the years. These Swedes are now virtually denied entry into Poland at all border crossings. Today there are almost 300 known cases in which Swedes have been denied entry into Poland.

Those who try to enter Poland are primarily interested in visiting close relatives, like elderly parents who may be on their deathbed and who did not have enough courage to leave Poland and to start a new life all over again.

No Visas

Sweden and Poland have a special agreement concerning the mutual abolition of visas. This essentially means that "citizens in each of the two countries

who posses a valid passport do not have to obtain a special visa to enter or to visit in the other country." (Special Agreement 1974:19, Article I). This agreement was signed by Sweden and Poland in Warsaw on 9 April 1974.

The above-mentioned Article I states that a person who wants to visit the other country does not have to apply for a special permit or visa before taking the trip. All Swedish citizens who have a valid passport can thus freely travel to and from Poland.

However, the agreement does contain a limitation. Article 4 says that: "...this agreement does not limit either country's right to refuse entry or visitation to a citizen of the other country for reasons stated by law or other statutes."

#### Only Criminals

The only ones who have been stopped since the special visa agreement went into effect have been Swedes of Jewish birth. This has even applied to non-Jewish husbands or wives as well as their children.

When Polish Foreign Minister Emil Wojtaszek was questioned about Poland's treatment of border questions on his visit to Sweden in June, he answered: "...Poland bars only criminal visitors...." Since all who are denied entry are Jews and since they only bar criminals, does this mean that Poland has a special law or statute which regards Jews as criminals? (Compare Article 4 above).

#### Halfhearted Game

At the Belgrade meeting the Swedish government showed that it finally saw the importance of conveying a stronger and more open protest than it had done previously. The Swedish government's earlier protests were in the form of diplomatic notes and requests that Poland justify its actions. According to the Swedish Foreign Ministry, it has been talking to "deaf ears" for over 2 years. What indications are there now that the halfhearted traditional diplomatic game will change Poland's attitude with respect to allowing Swedes of Jewish birth into Poland? Answer: "Unfortunately, none!"

Article 8 in the visa agreement ought to be cited on occasions like this: "It [the agreement] can be broken by either party at any time by means of a written notification..." (Special Agreement 1974:19, Article 8). Sweden should make use of this article if Poland prevents just one more Swede of Jewish birth from crossing its borders.

#### Gross Violation

There have been other violations of the visa agreement. In very serious and acute situations, such as visiting a dying parent, people, out of sheer desperation, have gone to the Polish consulate. In tears they begged the

Polish consul for a "one-time entry visa," which was only rarely issued. But the fact that people are forced to apply for a visa in order to visit Poland is obvious blackmail and also a gross violation as far as Poland is concerned.

#### Step Backward

To have to break the agreement which was signed in Helsinki is undeniably a step backward. But it is an even greater step backward for Sweden, with all its democratic institutions, not to assume responsibility for the protection of all Swedish citizens against aggressive acts by foreign countries. This is what our constitution and our democratic system of government is all about, namely to protect the individual.

Our most important democratic principle is equal treatment before the law of all Swedish citizens. On no condition can this principle be set aside because of a person's ethnic, religious, cultural or political affiliation.

#### Equally Important

This is a deeply rooted principle in our democratic society.

Sweden has for many years been a pioneer in the struggle against all forms of racism and oppression throughout the world. Foreign Minister Karen Soder's trip to Africa and the Foreign Ministry's quick reaction to the Charta-77 legal proceedings are the latest examples of this country's untiring efforts in this area.

In the name of reason, is it not equally important to protect our own citizens from a foreign country's obviously aggressive acts?

Our government, and Karin Soder in particular, know that our country's criticism is being ignored by Polish authorities. Sweden's chief delegate to the Belgrade meeting, Bertil Arvidsson, asked Polish delegates about the perpetual violations of our visa agreement, but got no answer whatsoever.

If Poland is unwilling to change its position, we will have to change ours. This means breaking the agreement. There is no other choice.

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## ROMANIA

### RCP NATIONAL CONFERENCE DECISION ON IMPROVING THE LEGAL SYSTEM

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Dec 77 pp 1, 3 AU

["On Improving the Leadership of All Sectors of Activity, the Legislation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Activity of Organs of Justice and of the Ministry of the Interior, and on New Measures to Develop Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] In conformity with the decision of the RCP National Conference, the proposals on improving the leadership of all sectors of activity, the legislation of the socialist Republic of Romania, the activity of organs of justice and of the Ministry of the Interior, as well as new measures regarding the development of socialist democracy as adopted by the conference are herewith published.

Further Improvement of the Organizational Framework of the Participation by the Working Class and All People in Society's Leadership and Deepening Socialist Democracy in All Fields of Socioeconomic Life

1. The RCP is paying special attention to deepening our socialist democracy, to insuring the participation of the working class and of all working people, regardless of nationality, in the leadership activity in the economic, political and social fields and in all fields of activity, and to continuously improving the collective leadership bodies and local and central state bodies.

To implement the 11th congress decisions and the provisions of the RCP program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism, on the initiative and under the direct leadership of the party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, new measures were adopted to improve the organizational framework of the leadership and planning of socioeconomic activity. These measures have been reflected in improving the activity of the central state bodies and of the people's councils, which have fulfilled their role as organizers of socialist construction with better results. New national forums have been institutionalized; new democratic bodies of a permanent nature have

been created, such as the Congress of People's Councils, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils, the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, which decided to organize the national Hymn-to-Romania Festival, the Agricultural Congress and National Council, the Congress of Workers Councils, and the National Council of Workers.

The new congresses, which meet every 5 years, insure the participation at the national level of the working people in discussing and adopting the most important decisions on the country's socioeconomic development and on Romania's international policy of peace and cooperation. The creation of the permanent bodies of these national forums supplements the system of organizing the leadership of our socialist society and is a most telling expression of the development of democracy based on the participation of the popular masses in all public life and in governing the country and on the people's conscious, free and independent shaping of their own destiny.

New measures have been adopted to increase the role of the councils of workers and of general assemblies in leading enterprises and economic units. Special mention must be made of the increase in the number of workers and other working people in leadership councils and the increased tasks of general assemblies in discussing basic problems of the activity in the respective units and in adopting measures to fulfill the plan and improve the working and living conditions of workers.

The National Conference considers of particular importance the decision that the party organization secretary will also be the chairman of the council of workers and the enterprise director the chairman of the executive bureau. Thus we insure an increased role of the councils of workers, an increased responsibility of the party organization in the proper progress of the activity in the given enterprise; and thus the tasks and duties of the executive bureau and of the director are more clearly defined in implementing the decisions of the general assembly and of the councils of workers.

Considering that we have available a unique organizational framework--both in socioeconomic units, in cities and communes, and at the national level--which insures the direct participation of all categories of working people, regardless of nationality, in the leadership of the economy, of social life and of the entire society, the National Conference believes that it is now decisive that these bodies operate under favorable conditions so that the formulation and implementation of the state's domestic and foreign policy is the result of the collective thinking and desires of the working people and of all our people.

Considering the new development stage of our socialist society, the Conference believes that the working people who are directly active in the production process should participate to a greater extent in the various state and civic bodies, in the spirit of the decisions adopted. Some 30 percent of the members of the worker control councils, including the central

council for worker control of the socioeconomic activity, must be workers directly active in the production process. The same criteria should be applied in the case of other bodies, including the management councils of ministries and of other central state bodies. The direct presence of workers and of the various categories of working people in local and central leadership bodies will give a new and forcefully revolutionary impetus to the socioeconomic activity, will blend the experience of the masses and that of the leadership cadres more harmoniously, will develop even further the unity between the working masses and the leadership bodies, will strengthen control, and will increase the responsibility of the working class and of all working people. This is a most telling expression of the new revolutionary workers democracy that is asserting itself in our fatherland and of its superiority compared with the democracy of the past.

These measures are based on the theses of the party program--an expression of dialectical materialism and of creative Marxism-Leninism under our country's concrete conditions--on the role of the working class, the leading class of our socialist nation, which is called upon to have its direct say in all problems of our country's domestic and foreign policy. Thus, the leading role of the working class will assert itself forcefully in life, and, thus, the party will better fulfill its historic mission as organizer and leader of the people's struggle to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

2. In our socialist democratic system an important role is assigned to the people's councils, which insure the active participation of citizens in directly managing and leading the affairs in all localities in our fatherland. The Conference believes that the recent elections for the people's councils and the election results, as well as the makeup of the new deputies, have been a new and forceful proof of the democracy of our system and of the determination of all our people to resolutely implement the 11th congress decisions, as well as proof of the unity of all our people with the RCP--the leading political force of our socialist nation.

Taking into consideration the constantly increasing role of the county, municipal, city and communal people's councils in leading the entire socioeconomic activity, the Conference deems it necessary to pay greater attention to improving the organizational framework and style of work and leadership and to place greater stress on increasing the participation of deputies and of executive committees and bureaus in the entire activity and on increasing the responsibility of mayors and people's council chairmen. Greater attention must be paid to resolving problems regarding the socioeconomic development of each locality, housing construction, urban activity and the living and working conditions of all citizens. The People's councils are directly responsible for the implementation of the country's laws, the party's decisions and the measures on socioeconomic development in the respective localities.

The first and foremost duty of the people's councils is to rely on the broad people's masses in their activity by constantly consulting them, thus insuring the participation of all citizens in the proper leadership and management of each locality. Only together with all citizens will we be able to implement the measures under the state plan under favorable conditions in each locality; only thus will we be able to insure the flourishing of all socioeconomic units.

The RCP National Conference deems it necessary to do everything to continuously increase the role of the people's councils as bodies of state power and administration in the socioeconomic flourishing of all urban and rural localities and in increasing the level of civilization of all citizens and their role in bringing the living conditions in villages closer to those in towns and in developing our socialist democracy. The people's councils must do all they can to insure the active participation of the working people in leading the localities, in discussing the country's problems, this being a primary factor in developing democracy and in advancing our society.

3. The National Conference believes that the implementation of the program on the country's socioeconomic development requires further improvement of the activity of all state bodies. It is necessary to take action so that all these bodies fulfill their tasks and roles in the uniform leadership of socioeconomic life under the most favorable conditions.

The Conference believes that socialist control, order and discipline should be strengthened even more, that strict observance of the laws, laws that are compulsory for all our citizens and that no one may evade with impunity, must be enforced. Strengthening the role of economic units, of territorial-administrative bodies, and increasing their contribution to resolving the various problems and strengthening self-administration [autoconducere]--all this presupposes an even more strict observance of the laws, of the norms and principles which govern our society. In the entire activity of organizing and leading our society the principle of democratic centralism must be constantly respected.

Life has proved the correctness of the party program provisions on increasing the role of the state and on ever more forcefully asserting its organizational role and its uniform leadership of socioeconomic activity, and on increasing the role and duties of local organs of power and state administration. Only by seeing the leadership process in this dialectical interdependence will our state be able to fulfill its mission of great importance in socialist construction under ever better conditions.

The National Conference stresses the constant task of strengthening our army, continuously improving its political training and combat preparedness, and appropriately equipping the armed forces. Under current international conditions, strengthening the country's defense capability is a task of the greatest significance to which we must pay the necessary attention. It is

our duty to do all we can to insure the implementation of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society to defend the people's peaceful work and tranquillity and the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our socialist fatherland.

On the Improvement of the Activity of Organs of Justice, of the Prosecutor's Office and of the Ministry of the Interior, and On Improving the Legislation of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Along with the constant concern for improving the leadership of socioeconomic activity and that of the state and for broadening socialist democracy, our party and state have paid particular attention to defending socialist property, the property of all the people and the citizens' private property; to public order and discipline, to insuring conditions for the normal progress of peaceful work, to defending our revolutionary achievements and to the fatherland's independence and sovereignty.

The Conference believes that our party has adopted firm measures to completely prevent the repetition of such abuses and mistakes as those that occurred in the past.

As a result of the entire socioeconomic development, of continuously increasing and modernizing the forces of production, and as a result of improving social relations, basic changes have taken place in Romanian socialist society. The basic characteristic of the changes that have taken place is the fact that in our society work has become a duty of honor and a patriotic obligation, while the state insures equal work rights and conditions for all citizens, regardless of sex, age or nationality. Each citizen has the real opportunity to work according to his aptitude and training, in keeping with the requirements of socioeconomic development. At the same time, the improvement of general knowledge as a result of developing education and educational-cultural activity has contributed to forcefully increasing the awareness of the masses of working people and to shaping the new man, the conscious builder of socialist society.

At the same time, along with the remarkable successes in socioeconomic development in our fatherland, the social base that generates acts inimical to the legal order has narrowed, and a new framework for the assertion and observance of legality has been created. The number of infractions has decreased and their very nature has changed; infractions of a political nature against the social and state system in our country have decreased considerably and have practically disappeared. As a result of these realities, there are no longer any political prisoners in our state. Simultaneously, the number of certain categories of infractions against individuals and public wealth has decreased considerably. One of the basic features characteristic of relations between the people and the state is the fact that the great majority of citizens view the country's laws as a true expression of their own desires and interests; they respect them out of conviction and struggle for their implementation.

In past years, on the initiative and on the basis of the recommendations of the party leadership and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, greater stress has been placed on the role of the influence exerted by working people and by public opinion on preventing and combating violations of the law. The role of trial commissions in exercising justice has increased; charges were dropped in certain penal cases; the possibility was created for punishments for certain infractions that are less dangerous from a social viewpoint to be applied without deprivation of freedom and under the supervision of the working collectives in socialist unity. The measures taken by the party on increasing the role of socialist units, of civic organizations and of the popular masses in observing the law, and on the punishment and reeducation through work of people who commit infractions and encroachments of the norms of social coexistence and of the country's laws, will increase the role of the masses, of the working collectives in preventing infractions and other violations of the law and will strengthen socialist legality and legal order in every way.

#### I. Basic Principles of Improving the Activity of Organs of Justice, of the Prosecutor's Office and of the Ministry of the Interior and of Improving Legislation in the New Stage of Development of Our Society

The National Conference believes that the improvement of the activity of state bodies and of legislation must take place on the basis of the following basic guidelines and principles.

1. Strict observance of the country's Constitution and laws; combating any violation of socialist legality and legal order; increasing the responsibility of each citizen in implementing the program of socialist construction and in observing the law and the norms of social coexistence.

The activity of all state bodies, of laws and civic bodies, must serve the interests of the working people; must defend the social and state system, the fatherland's independence and sovereignty, socialist property, the citizens' private property, public order and peace; must guarantee the effective fulfillment of the citizens' rights and freedoms; must insure each citizen's right to be defended against anyone acting against his life, health, freedom and legitimate interests.

2. Guaranteeing legality and legal order must be based on an uncompromising attitude toward any violation of the law, on increasing vigilance toward manifestations which are incompatible with the norms of social coexistence in our society. We must firmly apply the principle that no one shuns responsibility toward the working collective, toward society and the state, and toward the violation of laws and norms of social coexistence, and consequently no one can go unpunished and, at the same time, no one is punished or sanctioned unjustly.

Greatest strictness must be attached to respect for the legal principle that a person is considered not guilty until proven otherwise. The state

and judicial bodies are dutybound to prove both guilt and the seriousness of acts so that appropriate sanctions and punishments can be applied. Once guilt is proven, sanctions and punishments must be firmly and strictly applied, in keeping with the infractions and violations committed.

3. It is necessary to increase the role of leaderships in all socialist units, of the boards of teachers and professors in schools and faculties, of the leaderships of work departments and teams, of commanders of military units, in preventing and combating offenses and violations of the law, in respecting order and discipline and the norms of social coexistence by all working personnel and all citizens both in the production process and within the family and in society.

4. We will improve the framework for the direct participation of the collectives of working people and of the popular masses in the activity of formulating laws and of implementing them and exercising justice. Thus, we have to insure the promotion of what is new and better, of the working class concept of revolutionary humanism, justice and truth, ethics and equity and of preserving the basic assets of our society.

5. In sanctioning and punishing those who have committed violations of the laws and norms of social coexistence and in enforcing sanctions and punishments, one has to proceed from the need to reform the guilty persons and restore them to society.

The process of reeducating people who have committed offenses or infractions of a lesser social danger must, as a rule, take place without deprivation of freedom and under the supervision of the work collectives in socialist units through the carrying out of useful activity. Work, the basic level of education and of shaping the personality, and the supervision and direct influence of the work collectives must be the main factors in reforming those who have violated the law and in restoring them to society.

At the same time, in the case of those who, despite the help they receive, disregard the work collective in which they are active, who commit new offenses and infractions, the state bodies are dutybound to take very strict measures. In the case of serious offenses such as murder, high treason, espionage, undermining of the national economy, grave acts of violence and other such offenses, imprisonment shall be applied with all determination, in accordance with the law.

In all cases, a person who, through his deeds, causes damage to a socialist unit or to a citizen shall be obliged, in addition to the punishment that has been applied, to make amends for the damage caused, in accordance with the law.

6. In the case of minors and young people up to 21 years of age who have committed offenses and infractions of the law and norms of social coexistence,

special norms for punishment shall be envisaged that will place stress on employing them in the production process, on making them learn a profession and finish their schooling so as to insure conditions for their rapid reintegration into social life.

7. The party bodies and organizations, the state bodies and all socialist units, the trade union, youth, women's and other civic organizations must give priority to the educational-political activity of persuading each citizen of his responsibility in resolutely respecting the country's laws, the norms of social coexistence and the discipline and order of our society. Everything must be done in this respect so that the citizens, and especially the youth, in our fatherland are familiar with the laws and principles of coexistence, that they respect them and live and work completely in accordance with them. The primary concern must be to deter people from committing offenses, to prevent such offenses, and when they are committed, to help people to reform. The educational activity must pursue each citizen's organic integration into the work and life of the collective in which he is active, into the norms and general principles of our socialist system.

School and the family, especially parents, are dutybound to insure the upbringing and education of the children, of youth, in the spirit of love for work, of progressive conduct in social life, and in the spirit of boundless dedication to the fatherland, the people and the cause of socialism and communism.

The press, radio and television, and the educational-cultural institutions must constantly concern themselves with cultivating the civic spirit, with increasing each citizen's responsibility in work and social life, with promoting positive examples and with creating an uncompromising attitude toward combating and disapproving of actions that are against the country's laws.

## II. On Improving the Activity of Organs of Justice Perfecting Legislation

1. The system of the organs of justice will be improved and will have the following structure:

A) Workers' judgment councils in enterprises and other economic units and working people's judgment councils in agricultural production cooperatives and in institutions and attached to the people's councils;

B) Courts which will include 20-30 localities of one county in their territorial jurisdiction;

C) County tribunals;

D) The Supreme Tribunal of the Socialist Republic of Romania.



The workers' judgment councils and the working people's judgment councils shall operate alongside the collective leadership bodies in the respective units or, as the case may be, alongside the communal, city or municipal people's councils and will be composed of people's judges.

The judgment councils' jurisdiction will be broader than that of the current commissions set up in socialist units and alongside people's councils. They will mainly solve work disputes, some civic disputes and certain disputes concerning family relations. In contrast to the current judgment commissions, the jurisdiction of the workers' judgment councils and working people's judgment councils will also cover certain offenses stipulated in the penal code, such as disturbances of the public order without serious consequences, thefts of public property and negligence at the place of work, as well as certain offenses against persons, such as insults, threats, minor bodily assault and so forth.

Against decisions handed down by judgment councils, the dissatisfied party may appeal to the court.

Judgment councils will consist of 11-35 people's judges, and the trial will be conducted by panels of 3-7 members. For more serious cases, the judgment councils will conduct the trial under the chairmanship of a professional judge.

In the judgment activity of courts, county tribunals and the Supreme Tribunal, the participation of people's judges alongside professional judges will be insured.

2. The formation of the judgment councils and trial courts [instante judecatoresti] will be based on the principle that their members are elected by the working people's general meetings in the units in which they function or, as the case may be, by the people's councils or by the Grand National Assembly for the Supreme Tribunal.

People's judges as well as professional judges must be working people of at least 21 years of age who hold a high position in their professional activity, actively participate in political and public life, display high moral conduct and spotless behavior in society and family, have never been penally sentenced and have been outstanding in exemplarily fulfilling their work tasks and in observing the laws. In addition to these conditions, the professional judges must possess legal training.

The length of the mandate of judgment councils and courts will be 2 and 1/2 years, and the mandate of county tribunals and the Supreme Tribunal will be 5 years.

Judgment councils and trial courts will periodically report on their activity to the bodies that elected them.

3. In all their activity, the judgment councils must strictly observe the country's Constitution and laws as well as each citizen's legitimate rights and interests, must act to eliminate any abuses or illegal acts and must firmly punish those who violate the law. At the same time, judgment councils must strictly observe the principle of innocent until proven guilty, so that nobody can be punished unless his guilt is definitely established.

In order to fully guarantee the right to defense, any person has the right to be assisted by a defender, both during all steps of the proceedings against that person and during the trial itself. When the case is tried by judgment councils, the defense can be provided, at the defendant's choice, by a defender from among his work colleagues.

Investigation of acts within the jurisdiction of judgment councils will be made, as the case may be, by the leaderships of the units, by the control and inspection bodies or by the penal prosecution bodies. A people's judge may also participate in the relevant bodies' investigation of acts to be tried by judgment councils. The presentation of the charge before the judgment council will be made, as the case may be, by the people's judge who has participated in the investigation, by the bodies which have determined the violations, by the unit's leadership or by the prosecutor.

The trial will take place in the socialist units; its procedure will be simple; and colleagues at the place of work and representatives of the unit's leadership and public organizations will be present. The judgment council is dutybound to listen to the defendant and thoroughly examine all charges against him, as well as the defendant's pleas in his own defense.

4. In order to uniformly guide judgment councils and to organize the election and training of people's judges, the Council of Ministers will set up a central commission headed by a deputy premier and consisting of representatives of the General Union of Trade Unions, the Union of Communist Youth, the National Union of Agricultural Productive Cooperatives, the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives, the National Council of Women and the Committee for Problems of the People's Councils, as well as representatives of the Ministry of Justice, the General Prosecutor's Office, the Supreme Tribunal, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Labor. Similar commissions will be accordingly set up at the county level by the county people's councils.

5. The system of punishing those who have violated the norms of social behavior and the country's laws will be improved.

For offenses against work discipline, the leading bodies of units will apply, according to the case, disciplinary sanctions stipulated by labor legislation, such as reprimand, warning, reduction to one or several lower remuneration steps or grades for a period of 1-3 months, demotion in the job or profession for the same period, or disciplinary cancellation of the work contract. For violations of school discipline, the measures envisaged

in school rules will be applied; and for disciplinary violations committed by military men, the measures envisaged in the military rules will be applied.

For certain offenses against the law, those which represent contraventions, the state administration bodies, control and inspection bodies, militia bodies and others will apply such sanctions as warnings, fines and other sanctions envisaged by law.

To punish persons committing more serious infractions, the penal code will provide for the following sanctions to be applied differentially according to the seriousness of the acts and the age and past record of the guilty parties:

A) A penal fine to be applied within the limits envisaged by law for certain offenses not requiring more serious sanctions.

B) Placing the guilty party under the supervision of the work collective.

This sanction can be applied for a maximum period of 3 years for infractions with a lesser degree of social danger specifically stipulated by law. This means that the person who committed the infraction will be placed under the supervision and guidance of the work collective of the unit in which he works. If the person who committed an offense is not employed, he will be employed by a socialist unit. The person punished will be compelled to work in the respective unit, with the following restrictions: his remuneration will be decreased (between 15 and 20 percent); he is forbidden to change his place of work; and he is deprived of his right to a vacation. If the person who committed the offense has also been penalized in the past, the time worked under sanction will not be considered as length of service. In addition to these restrictions, the person punished will be required to fully pay, according to the law, for the damages he caused. The penalty will be noted on his work record.

To exercise control over the person punished, a collective will be formed consisting--as the case may be--of a foreman, a trade union representative and a representative of the youth or womens organization, who will supervise his behavior and will periodically report to the unit's leadership council on how the person is fulfilling his obligations.

C) Placing the guilty party under the supervision of state bodies.

This sanction, which can be applied for a maximum of 5 years, requires that the guilty person be placed under the supervision of militia bodies and required to work in the unit where he is employed.

The person's remuneration will be decreased by a larger amount than in the case of previous penalty (between 20 and 25 percent), and all other

restrictions and measures established for placing a person under the supervision of the work collective will also apply. He will also be required to periodically report to the militia bodies and will not be allowed to leave the locality where he lives without their approval.

This sanction will be applied in cases specifically envisaged by law for acts more serious than those for which the sanction of placing a person under the supervision of the work collective is applied.

D) Placing the guilty party under the strict supervision of state bodies.

This sanction can be applied for a maximum of 5 years and requires that the guilty person be placed under the specific supervision of militia bodies and be required to work in a socialist unit in a different locality and in another place of work as established by the trial bodies.

All restrictions and measures envisaged for those penalized by being placed under the supervision of state bodies also apply in this case. The guilty person is also required to live in the locality where his place of work was fixed, to not leave this locality without approval and to periodically report to the militia bodies.

This sanction will be applied for more serious acts specifically stipulated by law, for repeated acts as well as for persons shirking the supervision of the work collective or state bodies or failing to observe the obligations established for them.

To insure a correct individualization of sanctions according to the conditions in which the act was committed and the overall conduct of the guilty person, the law will establish the offenses for which one can apply either the sanction of placing the guilty party under the supervision of state bodies, in one of its two forms, or this sanction alternating with imprisonment.

If a person--through results attained in work and in improving his professional training and through his behavior at the place of work, in society and in the family--gives proof of good behavior while serving out the penalty of being placed under supervision, in either of its forms, the length of his sentence may be reduced by a quarter. For those who shun the execution of the penalty, a more serious penalty can be applied, including depriving them of their freedom.

E) Imprisonment for various terms, up to 20 years, which will be carried out in places of detention, with the sentenced person required to work under conditions envisaged by law.

Imprisonment will be applied for offenses against important values of social and state system, such as high treason, undermining the national economy,

violations in foreign trade transactions, espionage, murder, robbery, serious offenses committed with violence, slander against authority, thefts and destruction causing extensive damage to public property, other offenses with a high degree of social danger and repeated offenses. It is necessary to mercilessly punish those who commit hostile offenses against our people's revolutionary interests and socialist construction, so as to firmly defend the people's revolutionary achievements and peaceful work, public order and the fatherland's independence and sovereignty.

The penalty of imprisonment will be applied only by courts, county tribunals and the Supreme Tribunal. Judgment councils cannot apply this penalty.

For those who behave well while serving their prison sentence, there is a possibility of conditional release before the expiration of their sentence by establishing differentially reduced terms in keeping with the seriousness of the offense.

F) The death sentence is envisaged as an exceptional measure for such offenses as murder, high treason, espionage and assault committed under particularly serious circumstances, as well as for air piracy actions with particularly serious consequences. This sentence will not be applied to minors or young people age 18-21, pregnant women or women with young children, and in other cases stipulated by law.

6. A differentiated system of punishment will be established for young people age 18-21 who violate the laws and norms of social behavior by insuring that the majority of their penalties and sentences are executed under the control of work collectives and by insuring the youth's rapid reintegration into social life.

According to law, the person punished will be required to pay for any damages caused, and he is additionally subject to the restrictions provided for those punished by being put under supervision. Work collectives and youth organizations, aside from monitoring the person's work, will insure that he acquires professional skills and, if applicable, that he completes his education.

In the case of shirking the supervision of the work collective and not observing the norms of discipline and behavior, or in the case of more serious or repeated offenses, one can apply the penalty of placing the guilty party under the supervision of state bodies or, if need be, placing the guilty party under the strict supervision of these bodies.

In the case of infractions with a higher degree of social danger, for which the penal code stipulates prison sentences, these sentences will be 25 percent shorter than those for persons over 21 years of age. In these cases, the offenders will serve prison sentences in places of detainment apart from recidivist inmates; the young people's behavior and reeducation through work will be closely monitored.

In all cases, it is mandatory that young people age 18-21 be assisted by a defender.

7. For minors who commit various offenses and violations, the sanctioning measures applied will aim at helping them reform themselves and participate in work along with all youth. For this purpose they will be placed under the supervision of families, work collectives or state bodies. They will be sent to special reeducation and work institutions only for serious offenses.

In all cases in which minors have caused damages, the parents are required to pay compensation in accordance with the law.

8. Concurrently with the establishment of a new system of penalties, certain offenses with a lesser degree of social danger will be removed from the penal code or special laws; these offenses will be punished by disciplinary, administrative or other measures applied by the leading bodies of units.

In cases of various negative manifestations that are not infractions and which are the result of influences foreign to our concepts, the party policy will be explained and a detailed analysis of problems in the working people's collectives will be made so that they understand the measures taken by our party and state and to insure that all the fatherland's citizens actively participate in their unabated implementation.

9. The rules concerning contraventions will be reexamined in order to simplify them, eliminate duplication of rules concerning disciplinary offenses and reduce the number of contraventions. The new legislation must more precisely define contraventions so that sanctions can be applied, as a rule, only in those cases for which no disciplinary sanctions are stipulated.

10. In keeping with the evolution generated by society and with the level of raising the political and civic awareness, and on the basis of the established guidelines, certain radical modifications of the legislation will be made, so that it can best express the changes that have occurred in our society and can give a legislative expression to the new institutions and forms of activity and to the enhancement and defense of the system of socialist law.

For this purpose, a new law on the trial system, a new penal and penal procedure code, a new law on carrying out measures for the public influencing of offenders and on carrying out sentences, and new legislation for contraventions will be drawn up.

At the same time, to improve the law relating to family relations and to strengthen the role and responsibility of parents in raising and bringing up children, a new family code will be drawn up. The rules concerning divorce will also be improved by simplifying the judicial procedure.

A new civil code and a new code of civil procedure will be drawn up, and other legal provisions will also be adjusted to the principles and guidelines the National Conference established.

The measures the party National Conference approved in the field of justice express the capacity of our society to raise the level of activity to insure that laws are observed. These measures reflect the profound humanism that is characteristic of our party's dialectical-materialist revolutionary concept, the party's care for man, and the consistency with which the party is concerned with improving social relations among people and between the people and the state and with creating increasingly better conditions to insure that each citizen can make an active contribution to developing the entire social life.

### III. Improving the Activity of Prosecuting Bodies

The National Conference decides:

1. It is necessary to improve the activity of prosecuting bodies, which, according to the Constitution, have important tasks in insuring that the law is observed and defending the socialist system and the rights and interests of citizens.
2. Prosecuting bodies will act to insure the timely detection of infractions, active investigation of them, and the placing of charges against the offenders. They must insure that all penal investigating bodies observe the laws, must take legal measures to carry out this activity properly, and must constantly see to it that any abuses or injustices are eliminated and that the citizens' trial rights and freedom are guaranteed, so that all who have committed offenses will be punished according to their guilt.
3. To insure the strict observance of socialist legality and to fully guarantee civil rights and freedoms, the prosecutor's role and powers in the penal investigation stage will increase. Thus, the main trial measures, such as the arrest, the presentation of evidence and the checking of the defense, as well as the committing to trial and so forth will be carried out by the prosecutor alone; in the most important cases the preliminary investigation will be made by the investigating prosecutor directly. There will also be another rule, namely, that the measure of preventive arrest may be extended only under extraordinary circumstances, for a limited time and only on well justified grounds.

Likewise, the possibility will be provided for the provisional release on bail of certain indicted persons when, depending upon the seriousness of the offense and the behavior of the offender, the offender's release during the investigation or trial would not endanger public order. The release on bail will not be granted for such particularly serious offenses as murder, betrayal of the fatherland, espionage and robbery or in the case of recidivists.

Through his participation in the trial, the prosecutor must contribute to establishing the truth and delivering legal and sound judgments.

4. The prosecuting bodies are dutybound to strengthen and diversify links with the masses of working people. They must increase their concern for more organized investigation of the causes of offenses and must closely cooperate with the organs of the Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Justice and other state bodies and public organizations in order to improve the means and methods of preventing offenses. They must support the collectives of working people in the education through work of those punished and must supervise the observance of the laws in the places where educational measures and sentences are carried out.

#### IV. Improving the Activity of Organs of the Ministry of the Interior

The National Conference decides:

1. It is necessary to improve the activity of the Ministry of the Interior and the security organs and the militia, which must give priority to preventing any infractions and violations of legal provisions and must take measures to prevent socially damaging deeds and any hostile acts that harm the people's interests. These organs must continuously improve their work and must strengthen vigilance by taking firmer action to discover the offenders. In their activity, both the security organs and the militia must constantly proceed from their responsibility to the people to protect public order and peace, the state and public property and each citizen's assets and to insure our people's peaceful work. They must always cooperate with the masses of working people, seeing to it that the country's laws and socialist legality are strictly observed, so that no one evades the people's just punishment but also that no one is punished unjustly.

2. Along with the organs of prosecution and justice and with other state bodies, the security organs and the militia must increase their contribution to educating citizens in the spirit of legality and must develop the practice of informing the masses and organizing public discussion of various cases of infractions.

3. The Political Council and all party bodies and organizations of the Ministry of the Interior must carry out a steadfast activity to raise the political, ideological, professional and cultural level of all employees in this field, insuring that they are educated in the spirit of order, discipline, vigilance and determination, in the spirit of respect for the law and of devoted service to the people's interests.

#### V. The Party Leadership of the Activity of Administering Justice and Improving Legislation

The implementation of the broad measures for placing the administration of justice and the appropriate improvement of the legislative framework on new



and better foundations requires an increase in and the strengthening of the party role in leading, guiding and supervising the entire activity of defending law and order, unabatedly observing legality and administering justice.

To prevent deviations from and violations of the laws and norms of civil behavior, the party organizations as well as trade union, youth, women's and other public organizations will intensify political-educational work among all working people. Within the framework of this activity, priority will be given to education through and for work, particularly as regards youth, so that all able-bodied citizens can perform a useful activity for society and can contribute to the country's overall progress.

Party bodies and organizations and the Socialist Unity Front are dutybound to carry out a broad ideological and political activity among judicial, prosecuting and Ministry of the Interior organs to improve their activity and to increase the socialist awareness of judges, prosecutors, workers in the militia and security organs and all those who participate in the activity of implementing justice.

The RCP National Conference expresses the conviction that implementation of all the measures for continuously perfecting the forms of leading all fields of activity, the legislation of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the activity of state central and local bodies and of justice, prosecuting and Ministry of the Interior organs will increasingly develop the participation of the working class and all the people in the leadership of society and will contribute to deepening socialist democracy.

All these things will increasingly strengthen our system, will insure the defense of socialist legality, revolutionary achievements, public order and peace, the people's property and each citizen's private property and will contribute to the fatherland's progress and prosperity and to the implementation of our party program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and insuring Romania's progress toward communism.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

REPORT ON VISIT OF ITALIANS TO IASI COUNTY

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian 11 Nov 77 p 10

[Article by D. Irimia: "Iasi-Perugia - In the Spirit of Cooperation and Friendship"]

[Text] Two years have passed since friendly relations were established between the province of Perugia in Umbria, the green heartland of Italy, as it is known by its inhabitants, and Iasi County, a cultural center of long tradition in the development of Romanian spirituality. These relations are designed to bring about a more precise understanding of the two cultures and people, joined by their origins, language and aspirations.

It has been a two year period of fruitful, reciprocal meetings, and they were all working meetings, at different levels. There was a delegation headed by P. Conti, president of the Umbria Region Executive Committee, that visited Iasi County and city; another delegation headed by comrade Ion Iliescu, president of the Iasi County People's Council, visited the city and province of Perugia, and Italian and Romanian delegations, composed of doctors, professors, artists and specialists in the fields of agriculture, industry and construction alternated exchanges of experiences, with each member of these delegations carrying the same message of friendship and aspirations for the development of new types of relations between people based on mutual trust and respect, in the spirit of the principles of the Helsinki Conference, for the establishment of a true peace.

Perhaps even more, in the first year of contacts, the two regions gradually discovered, despite all the differences of a socio-political nature, numerous common points in their backgrounds: in the history of their struggles for national and social liberty, in the development of certain authentic artistic values of universal significance, in the open nature of the people, who believe in friendship and sincere relations between people.

In this spirit, a delegation led by Vinci Grossi, president of the Perugia Provincial Council, recently visited Iasi County and municipality. The delegation was composed of specialists in the fields of higher education and high school education: Prof Antonio Pieretti, dean of the Department of Letters and Philosophy at the University for Studies in Perugia, Mauro Galmacci of the Italian University for Foreigners, Marcela Viventi, who works in secondary education, and other specialists in the field of agriculture, especially in zootechnics, plus counsellor Gonario Guaitini.

Through their working visits in agricultural, zootechnical and viticultural units, in economic units, in hospitals, in institutes of higher learning and secondary education, and in museums and through the discussions carried out with specialists in different fields of cultural, economic and political life, and other fields, the members of the Italian delegation were able to create a graphic picture for themselves about the size of our economic, social, political, cultural and scientific life and about the principles of our economic, social and cultural policies and the future harmonious development of the county in accordance with the development of the entire county.

With regard to all this, Vinci Grossi, the leader of the delegation, and Antonio Pieretti, the dean of the Department of Letters and Philosophy, were kind enough to tell us a few things.

- Mr Antonio Pieretti, would you like to share some of your impressions with the readers of CRONICA regarding your visit to Iasi County and other parts of Romania?

- When I came to Romania, I was very curious because I was making my first visit to a socialist republic. I am leaving Romania with considerable regret. During the week spent in Iasi, I learned to appreciate the sensitive nature and human warmth of the Romanian people. Full of nostalgia, I am leaving a country that awoke in me a most profound admiration. Overall, I appreciated the efforts made by Iasi County to found a truly modern industry. From this point of view, I was especially impressed by the seriousness with which the political and administrative organs of the county are trying to establish a constantly closer rapport between agriculture and industry so that both fields of activity can develop in accordance with the modern era and respond in an equal manner to certain human objectives. It seems to me that even the danger of destroying a rural society has been avoided.

At the same time, I admired the energy being expended so that all citizens could have a house worthy of being considered a home.

But, what impressed me the most was the fact that they are pursuing the achievement of progress not merely at the county level, but at the national level. In other words, what they want is not to create an imbalance, but, to the contrary, to pursue a uniform economic and social development at the national level.

For that reason, I feel totally favorable towards the path that Romania has chosen and I admire the seriousness and the profoundly dedicated nature with which the authorities and the people are moving along that path.

I would also like to add some words about certain special aspects. I have no special training in economics; however, I think that the thought out and established balance, especially in the villages, between private and collective property is a very good solution. It would appear to me that the relationship established between the amount of income and the quantity and quality of work is a good stimulant for the development of production, as well as for the development of a constantly more accentuated social awareness. Similarly, I think the solution for physical health problems is more than satisfactory.

There are several considerations with regards to the problems that are of special interest to me from a professional point of view. Unlike what is happening in Italy, I noted that there was a tie between theory and practice in both secondary schools and higher education. I especially liked the importance given by the school to professional training. The introduction of the concept of a fixed number of students for certain types of schools is a guarantee against the dangers of unemployment, especially for the intellectual.

During some interesting meetings at the university with approximately 30 professors and several students, I learned of the very high levels of seriousness and scientific training of the faculty. At the same time, I realized that there was a permanent concern for not a static, but dynamic Marxism; not a dogmatic concern, but an open, creative concern. The balances that some of the young professors are trying to establish between Marxism and the human sciences and between Marxism and the philosophy of language were especially interesting to me.

I also found out that Iasi County keeps traditions in mind; it has very well organized and preserved museums and historical monuments and art.

For all of this, I must thank the political administrative organs and citizens of Iasi County who gave me the opportunity to have a stimulating experience and to reaffirm the ideas in which I believe. These ideas are that in order to have a better world, we must mutually respect our political and ideological positions and, at all times, be ready to carry on discussions.

- Mr Vinci Crossi, would you be so kind as to give some of your thoughts to our Romanian readers through CRONICA.

- I would be very happy to do so.

- A basic and classical question: is this your first time in Romania?

- In an official capacity, yes. But, I was once before in Romania. In 1958, I came to Romania for the "Youth and Student Festival."
  
- What role and importance to you assign to the friendly relations between the provinces and cities of the two countries?
  
- In the discussions I had with comrade Ion Iliescu and his colleagues at the end of our visit, I reviewed the relations that have developed in the last two years. I was pleasantly surprised at the number and integrity of the initiatives that were made. The importance, as you say, becomes an objective fact, but my opinion is that it is derived from this point: briefly, I would say that the relations are important, but that the dimensions of their importance and the role that they have in bringing our people together cannot be learned from my comments. They are expressed in facts.
  
- In your opinion, what have been the most significant results obtained within the framework of friendly relations established between Iasi County and Perugia Province?
  
- Without a doubt, the first result is a better mutual understanding. Actually, I do not see this as a result, but merely as a condition for obtaining better results. To this end, I agreed with regards to the need to develop our relations more, moving from a program of meetings between political organizations to one of working meetings between social groups. In this, we see a qualitative improvement. As a result, for 1978, we have proposed two objectives: firstly, meetings in the area of university life and activities which will involve the organization of a lecture program on Romanian language and civilization at the University of Perugia and the offering of student grants for Romanian students who take courses at the Italian University for Foreigners at Perugia; secondly, a number of exchanges in the field of agriculture and especially in the fields of zoo-technics and viticulture. These exchanges will involve the mutual exchange of technicians and, wherever possible, the organization of short work trips where young Italian peasants will work in agricultural cooperatives in Iasi County and young Romanian peasants will work in agricultural cooperatives in Perugia Province.
  
- In addition to these two principal directions, we are also thinking of other specific ways to achieve these relations. We intend to organize a week of Umbrian country cooking in Iasi and a week of Moldavian cooking in Perugia, plus reciprocal exhibits of sculpture, painting and other things.
  
- What are your impressions with regards to the things you saw and learned about during your visit in Romania? What about the people, the achievements and future plans?
  
- Dear comrade, if you want a journalistic answer, it is not at all difficult for me to tell you that my impressions were very positive. If you want a more complete answer, please, let me have some time to think, for two reasons:

firstly, because of the fact that the comrades in Iasi presented us with numerous occasions where we learned about your lives and activities; secondly, I am not quite capable of giving you a quick summary of such a large volume of events and experiences, such a large number of people, achievements, projects and future plans which are all tied into our contemporary problems and which, I think, I have begun to understand and know since they are, to a great degree, the problems encountered in Perugia Province. Beyond these two, there is a series of more general problems which cannot be excluded. For example, I have in mind, first of all, the overall problems of the country and then more general questions, such as those regarding the balance of powers in the world. The relations between those who have raw materials and those who have the technology to transform the raw materials determine the outcome of many projects and plans and, for that reason, cannot be ignored.

- What is the most significant memory you will be taking back to Italy after this short visit to Romania's Iasi County?

- I might be tempted to give you some names, but I will not do this because I do not want to fall into the trap that this question unintentionally contains. My most significant memory could be the one of meeting with an anonymous passer-by or the shining sun. But, what importance would this have for your readers? I prefer to speak about the delegation's collective impressions which, as you know, comes from a group of persons having diverse ideological views representing different political positions. Without a doubt, our most significant memory is one of the integrity of the people and especially of your leaders, with whom we had close contacts and with whom we were able to reach a better understanding. I am not just referring here to comrade Iliescu and his colleagues (Ibanescu, Chelaru, Jitaru, Zaharia and so forth), who made a strong impression upon all of us with their intelligence and realistic nature of their positions. I also mean the directors of the factories we visited and at the zootechnical complexes, the party secretaries, the mayors and the trade union leaders. I realize that I would like to give you some more names, but at the same time I realize that I would be forgetting many others. Who should I choose? And, how should I choose? But, on the other hand, why not consider them all significant, since this is much more than a subjective evaluation? Therefore, I am taking with me, we are taking with us, a more precise picture of a people decisively embarked upon the road that they are faithfully building.

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CSO: 2700

BOOK ON ORIGIN OF NEO-LATIN LANGUAGES DISCUSSED

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 5 Nov 77 pp 1, 7

[Review by Al. Piru, of the book "Originile Limbilor Neolatine. Introducere in Filologia Romanica" [The Origins of Neo-Latin Languages. Introduction to Romanic Philology] by Carlo Tagliavini, translated by Anca Giurescu and Mihaela Carstea-Romascanu, and edited by Alexandru Niculescu, Ed. Stiintifica si Enciclopedica, 1977]

[Text] "Le Origini Delle Linguae Neolatine," the 1959 fundamental work of Carlo Tagliavini, which reached its sixth edition in 1972, has recently also been published in Romanian in a translation by Anca Giurescu and Mihaela Carstea-Romascanu, edited by Alexandru Niculescu ("Originile Limbilor Neolatine. Introducere in Filologia Romanica" [The Origins of Neo-Latin Languages. Introduction to Romanic Philology], Ed. Stiintifica si Enciclopedica, 1977).

In his foreword, Al. Niculescu states that "professor Carlo Tagliavini's book is the only widely read introduction to Romanic linguistics and philology, which devotes a large amount of space, equal to that of other Romanic languages, to the Romanian language, rather than presenting it merely for comparative purposes as a general reference."

In the chapter on the pre-Roman substrate, Tagliavini analyzes the Illyrian and Thracian substrate, the Germanic elements in Romanian (old, contested ones), the Slav, Turkish, and Magyar superstrata, devotes 15 pages to Romania in the chapter "Neo-Latin Languages and Dialects (Romanian, Franco-Provencal, French, Catalan, Spanish, Portugese)," and in 12 pages finally studies the "oldest attestations of Romanian."

The first chapter, entitled "Romanic Philology," recalls the most important Romanian Romanic scholars: Hasdeu, Al. Philippide, Ovid Densusianu, Sextil Puscariu, Iorgu Iordan, Alexandru Rosetti, and others, as well as foreigners who have studied the Romanian language: Emile Picot, Mathias Friedwagner, Kristian Sandfeld, Vladimir Sismarirov, Mario Rocques, Ernst Gemillscheg, Alf Lombard, Lajos Tamas, Gunther Reichenkron, B. Agard, and Laszlo Galdi.

In a paragraph concerning "neo-linguistics, structuralism, and other modern trends," he states: "It would be mistaken to believe that the occurrence of new directions and new methods in linguistics has outdated and eliminated historical or genealogic linguistics, which on the contrary are undergoing an ever greater development, being enriched with new experiences." And under "final considerations": "However intimate may be the point of contact between the history of a language and the history of literature, there exists almost no researcher today who masters completely and in the same manner the history of a language and the history of literature, least of all that of all Romanic languages and literatures." According to Tagliavini, the last representatives of this "double and complete mastery of these two domains" have been Giulio Bertoni in Italy, Ramon Meneses Pidal in Spain, and here perhaps only Ovid Densusianu, and in part, Sextil Puscariu.

Regarding the origin, place of formation of the Romanian language, and the integral unity of the Daco-Romanian dialect as the sole Romanic language developed into a national literary language, Tagliavini expresses generally acceptable opinions, confirming among other things, the presence of a Romanized population north of the Danube. In recent years, the Romanian linguists and historians have unquestionably proved that the Danube was not a boundary, but an axis for the development of Romania's Latinism, the only Romanic language in the Carpatho-Danubian area. Of course, one can still discuss the point of "torna, torna, fratre" and "Decebalus per Scorilo," or whether the vocal "ă" is or is not due to the influence of the substrate, which has been contested by E. Petrovici among others (regarding "torna, torna, fratre," Al. Rosetti has maintained since 1960 that we are dealing with "precious information about the language of the Romanized population, which was to become the Romanian language").

Let us briefly examine the paragraph: "The Oldest Attestations of the Romanian Language." It states that the safe-conduct issued by the sultan Baiazid II to some Polish traders, "idiomate valachico scriptus," was in fact written in Venetic (the text quoted by Carlo Tagliavini after A. Lewicki is found in the Archives of the Foreign Ministry in Moscow). Tagliavini agrees with Densusianu and Rosetti that the first biblical texts were translated here under the influence of the Lutheran reformation, but doubts that in 1532, "quidam doctor ex Valachia," who had gone to visit Luther, had finished the translation into Romanian, Polish, and German, of gospels and Acts for which he wanted "excudi curare," as indicated by a communication from Serban Papacostea in 1958. But the important thing is that there was an intent to translate the texts at that time, under Lutheran influence.

On the "Evangeliiarul Slavo-Roman de la Sibiu" [The Slavo-Romanian Gospel of Sibiu], the first printed Romanian book currently kept in the Saltikov-Scedrin Library in Leningrad, and published as a photocopy edition in 1971 by Ludovic Demeny, Tagliavini at first considered it as a question which was not totally clear, since the copy, which is incomplete, is not dated. The editor first proposed the date 1546, and then the years 1551-1553. Today, the Romanian



linguists agree that this text was printed by the same printer who in 1544 issued "Catehismul de la Sibiu" [The Catechism of Sibiu], Filip Moldoveanu (Maler or Pictor), a catechism of which no copy exists today. Similarly, the linguists agree that "Evangheliarul Slavo-Roman de la Sibiu" is a pre-coresian printing. To be sure, the language data does not offer the possibility for precise dating. As to the translation, E. Petrovici and Al. Rosetti locate it in Moldova, and Ion Ghetie and Al. Mares in Banat-Hunedoara. The argument is obviously still open.

Tagliavini provides important details on the fragment known as Todorescu, in a book of Calvinistic religious songs, printed in 1570 with Latin characters and Magyar orthography. The fragment (a single sheet), found in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, has been published in facsimile with transcription, notes, and commentaries by M. Sztripszky and Gy. Alecsics in 1911 ("Cartea de Cintece a lui Gergely Szegeci in Traducere Romaneasca din Secolul al XVI-lea" [The Song Book of Gergely Szegeci in Romanian Translation of the 16th Century]). Szegeci's Magyar text of 1569 was preceded by older ones (one from 1566). The Romanian fragment is repeated in the 1642 version of Sandor Agyagfalvi (Ms in the library of the Reformed College of Debrecen) and in the 1697 version of I. Viski (Ms at Cluj). In addition to these, there have been found in Cluj the 17th century Romanian translation of the Magyar psalm book of Szenci Molnar, and a Romanian translation of the German psalm book of Ambrosius Lobwasser (a version of the Huguenot psalm book of Clement Marot and Theodore de Beze). Also see C. Tagliavini's article "Influences to Psautier Huguenot de Clement Marot and Theodore de Beze Dans la Litterature Roumaine Ancienne" in "Cahiers S. Puscariu," I, 1952, pp 37-48.

One opinion to which we do not subscribe, is that "from the standpoint of awareness of esthetic value, it can be said that the Romanian literature begins only in the 19th century." "When the other Romanic nations had a flowering literature and had already given the world lasting masterpieces, Romania was translating catechisms and gospels, and in the laic field, such popular books as 'Istoria lui Alexandru cel Mare' [The History of Alexander the Great]." Actually, Tagliavini does not concern himself with the esthetic values of ancient Romanian literature, but only with "the oldest attestations of the Romanian language" until the end of the 16th century. It is true that until 1600 there were no works of artistic value in the Romanian language, but notable literary forms can be found after that, in chronicles, in the verse translation of the Psalms at Dosoftei, in the sermons of Antim Ivireanu, and in actual literary works such as "Istoria Ieroglifica" [A Hieroglyphic History] of Dimitrie Cantemir, a sort of Romanian "Roman de Renard," or the legends in "O Sama de Cuvinte" [A Gathering of Words], of Ion Neculce. Our Middle Ages and Renaissance were delayed by adverse historical conditions, but despite them, there has always existed an awareness of the Latin origin and common unity of all Romanians, a strong feeling of national dignity, a strong cultivation of spiritual values, and a veritable Romanian humanism

supported by Ureche, Miron Costin, Stolnicul Constantin Cantacuzino, and in all respects by Dimitrie Cantemir, a fascinating personality, philosopher, writer, poet, historian, master of all the arts, an accomplished Renaissance man.

But we do agree with the last words of Tagliavini's book: "The importance of the Romanian language does not lie in the ancientness of its attestations, but in its retention of Latin elements, and in the resistance it has demonstrated throughout so many centuries during which the Romanians have lived totally isolated from the western Roman world."

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CSO: 2700

# SHORTCOMINGS OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS CITED

Bucharest REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE in Romanian Oct 77 pp 40-45

[Article by Emil Baldescu]

[Text] There were periods in the history of education and of culture in general when cultural personalities also authored school textbooks. Comenius, Pestalozzi, Ushinski, and Diesterweg prepared school manuals. Outstanding writers in world literature added their names to the names of pedagogists, as servants of education. In Romania, scientific and cultural personalities devoted part of their activity to preparing, upgrading, or examining school textbooks. Prominent people in Romanian culture, such as Ion Creanga, Mihai Eminescu, George Cosbuc, Alexandru Odobescu, Ion Slavici, Alexandru Vlahuta, George Topirceanu, Emil Girleanu, Alexandru D. Xenopol, Nicolae Iorga, and Mihail Sadoveanu, will always be remembered in the history of education, thanks to their theoretical or practical work in the area of preparing school textbooks.

Consequently, there has been a movement to develop this education technique. Therefore, at this stage, one is tempted to inquire: How do you explain the reservations of some scientific and cultural workers in relation to this type of book?

On the eve of the 1971-1972 academic year, one of our writers somewhat nostalgically reminisced about the traditions which brought glory to the Romanian school textbooks authored by great writers. He had in mind Ienachita Vacarescu, the author of a grammar book, Anton Pann, Aron Pumnul, Ion Creanga who had converted his small shack into a genuine printing house, Titu Maiorescu, and Mihail Sadoveanu. The question which the writer asked aloud so that his colleagues might hear it was the following: "Why is it that the sacred pursuit of preparing school textbooks does not also include -- with decisive involvement -- the writers?" [1]

In our country some scientists have continued to pay attention to school textbooks. Our schools can take pride in providing textbooks

authored by Romanian scientific and cultural workers with outstanding prestige, in mathematics: Gheorghe Mihoc, Miron Nicolescu, Gheorghe Vranceanu, and G. Moisil; economy: Manea Manescu; history: Miron Constantinescu, Constantin Daicoviciu, Stefan Pascu, and Constantin Giurescu; geography: Traian Moraru; biology: Nicolae Botnariuc; chemistry: Costin Nenitescu, and so on. Some school textbooks were illustrated by reputed artists. Nevertheless, the involvement in the preparation of school textbooks is not equal to the potential forces of Romanian science and culture. There still are few scientific and cultural personalities who are eager to be involved in the preparation of school textbooks.

A few years ago a noted and praised writer, when urged to help prepare school textbooks, replied: "I cannot let my pen rust." This attitude to preparing school textbooks is not new. In his days, Belinski criticized the stand of some scientists who considered that it was undignified for them to stoop to the job of preparing school textbooks. Explaining the causes of the shortcomings in textbooks, he wrote: "The causes lie in the difficulty of preparing a good textbook and in the erroneous idea which in general prevails here in regard to this matter.

"Moreover, how can one expect quality in our textbook when the true scientists consider that it is undignified for them to be involved in such work!" [2]

Underestimation of the activity of preparing school textbooks still prevails among some scientific and cultural workers. It has adverse effects directly on the school and indirectly on science itself, because the school trains cadres who carry on the torch. This approach which is baneful to the school and in the last analysis to science can be combated through the persistency of publishers, by drawing scientific and cultural personalities into the preparation of school textbooks. However, the publishers' perseverance is not sufficient.

A factor in resolving this problem is undoubtedly the procedure for stipulating royalties which involves the ethical facet. In our country the Academy of Sciences once used to award prizes for the best school textbooks. The resumption of this procedure would enhance the prestige of the book which helps educate young people in their early age. Moral and material incentives, principles which are widely applied in all areas of activity, must underlie creative work in preparing school textbooks. It cannot be denied that there are scientists in our country whose enthusiasm and lofty awareness prompt to prepare school textbooks. The utilization of these ethical motives and careful application of the principle involving incentives for authors are powerful factors of providing the school with highly effective educational tools.

In most cases, it is not the lack of moral or material incentives which prevents the scientist from taking part in the preparation of school textbooks, but the publisher's attitude. Of course, one cannot require the latter to be on a par with the scientist in the speciality involved. However, the editor-publisher must have professional training so that he may cope with the discussion on the problems of principle, especially the pedagogical problems, and conduct the debates with the author and make them fruitful, in the interest of the school, in ensuring the scientific and pedagogical quality of school textbooks. The lack of tact and the imposition of formal rules erode the scientist's patience and alienates him from this outstanding area of activity in cultural construction. There have been cases when the author, because of the above-mentioned reasons, broke his collaboration with a particular editor and refused to have his name added to the latter's, on the book. Professional, scientific, and pedagogical upgrading of the publisher's background is a catalyst in the preparation of school textbooks. This upgrading may be coupled with the involvement, in the publishing work proper, of outside collaborators with a competence which would permit guidance of the creative process.

One of the most frequent causes of the scientist's absence from the ranks of the authors of school textbooks is the setting of short deadlines for writing a textbook, in most cases regardless of the will or wish of the publishing house, which cannot result in quality.

The scientist knows how to assess the time required for writing a book and does not rush into accepting authorship for a textbook of poor quality. Respect for his own work and the prestige he enjoys in the scientific circles prevent him from engaging on a book which from inception may be considered as mediocre. "A book, especially one which deals with experimental science," a Romanian scientist wrote, "can have some degree of success only if the author had the opportunity of meditating on the matter for many years, of continuously following the progress of science, of teaching it several times, in fact, of himself conducting all the tests involved in the study of that science and nevertheless he only can give the book to the public with reservation." [3] Therefore, the publisher's unrealistic deadline results not only in the indisputable refusal of the scientist, but also -- and this is even worse -- in the development of a climate which is not propitious for cooperation between the publishing house and scientists, a climate pervaded with distrust as to the strictness with which the problem of preparing school textbooks should be approached. This publishing procedure, one of the most negative procedures, promotes the idea that the textbook is a substitute, which can be turned out overnight. This generates a chain of mistakes. The publisher, in his desperation, resorts to authors with goodwill but without experience and discrimination, who are eager to assert themselves. This results in the printing of a book which is far from meeting the basic pedagogic and scientific requirements. Hence, the publishing houses play a major role

in the fight against the concept of underestimation of the school textbook. This fight involves the scientific organization of work, the establishment of relationships with the authors, based -- from the beginning of the creative process up to its completion -- on competence, experience, and strict commitment to principle.

The campaign against the erroneous concept of minimizing the school textbook must originate in publishing houses and must be conducted by them on the basis of multilaterally upgrading their own activities. In this manner the publishing houses will also have the authority required for combating this concept by all methods. This concept must not take strong roots in education or science. By constantly upgrading their activities the publishing houses develop the poles for attracting the best creative forces to their well organized working site.

A thorough analysis of the causes which keep scientists away from activities involving the preparation of school textbooks makes it necessary for us to look into the creative process. Even if all the above-mentioned causes were eliminated, all the difficulties of the complex work in the field of school textbook would not disappear. We would make a superficial analysis and would reach wrong conclusions if we omitted the fact that creative work and writing for a school textbook is inherently intricate and difficult. World-famous pedagogists who also authored school textbooks wrote about the complexity involved. They dwelt on the difficult nature of this activity not in order to discourage those who wished to be involved in it but in order to highlight the great responsibility required in this area.

Romanian authors have more than once been confronted with the "inherent difficulties in any school textbook." [4] Ion Petrovici, former minister of public education in 1926-1927 and 1941-1944, made a frank and instructive confession: "Various publishing houses asked me on many occasions to prepare school textbooks.... But in spite of all the persistence of publishers I long hesitated and preferred to focus my activity on other types of work involving a more free and spontaneous structure." [5] The professor of psychology made this statement on the issue of his textbook, in his capacity as an author. Based on his experience he pinpointed the difference between the school textbook and the book for the public at large. The preparation of a textbook is based on specific pedagogic rules, in the context of meeting specific requirements and taking into consideration the students' level of understanding.

In an ordinary survey of psychology the expert could more or less develop specific theses, set forth new ideas at the cost of giving rise to controversies, during the creative process renounce specific views and advance other views, debate some hypotheses, and structure the survey on the basis of his own inspiration. The psychology textbook for the ninth grade involved certain requirements for the

author, required him to provide a specific structure of theses in conformance with the interests of the school and with the age characteristics of the students. While the scientific book, the popular science book, and the novel are prepared on the basis of a subject matter worked out by the author, the school textbook is structured on the basis of a thematic plan, as a document of the Ministry of Education. In our publishing practice, there have been many cases in which the authors of textbooks are also the authors of the instructional programs. But even in these cases, some requirements must be met. Proceeding from the knowledge already acquired by students in previous years, the authors must connect it with the knowledge requirements of the following years.

The purpose of education, the characteristics of the school, and the students' age remain the basic factors which decide the structure of school textbooks. It is not a matter in every case of rules but of specific requirements which the author cannot ignore.

The chief difficulty in preparing a school textbook lies in the dual need: to provide a scientific content, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to structure it on the basis of pedagogic rules. Robert Dottrens noticed the disadvantages which result from the contrast between the pedagogic and scientific aspects, during the preparation of textbooks.

The observation of the Swiss pedagogist may be interpreted as follows: at one pole, the scientific worker tries to incorporate the latest discoveries into the textbook, and at the other pole the pedagogist weighs the amount of knowledge taking into consideration the students' capacity of absorption. In the situation in which the scientist does not double as a pedagogist, this contrast is even more evident. He resists the publishers and the collaborators of the publishing house who try to convince him of the discrepancy between the amount of knowledge and the students' capacity of absorption. The contrast disappears or tapers off when the scientist doubles as a pedagogist. However, there is a view that some professors are gifted pedagogists but lack the talent of writing. The truth actually is: there are very good professors with long pedagogic experience who encounter difficulties when they try to put their valuable experience in writing and there are people who wield the pen well but lack pedagogic experience. What should the publisher do in order to solve the dilemma? In his team of collaborators the publisher must include both people from the first category and from the second category, in order to combine the two qualities which not always are embodied in one person. The experience of the Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House has verified a solution to this problem. It involves forming teams of authors including professors with pedagogic experience, professors with research experience, and writers. Although this is the least convenient solution for the publishers, because they are put in a position to arbitrate

the debate between the scientific, pedagogic, and writing approaches, it is the best solution. The contrast between the scientific and pedagogic matters can thus be eliminated or at least reduced.

What should be done to remove the difficulty in preparing a school textbook? Pedagogic science has provided an answer to this question. In the first place, experience and professional ability and competence are required.

Professional competence has always been a sine qua non for the preparation of adequate textbooks in our country. A referent assessed the physics and chemistry textbooks for the sixth and seventh grades by G. A. Dima in 1929: "They were prepared with great didactic craftsmanship and the knowledgability of the professor who experienced all teaching grades." [6] There are many professors in Romania who have ample didactic experience. We have university professors, promoted from among high school teachers, who successfully combine the requirements of the two categories of teaching. This valuable treasure of cadres is an important source of selecting school textbook authors. The authors involved intertwine scientific competence with pedagogic experience. In regard to the same university professor who also was an author of school textbooks (G. A. Dima), the ministry's referent stated: "The book is very serviceable for both students and teachers, because it is written with the competence of a scholar and the craftsmanship of a high school teacher, a teacher from among the most distinguished of the high school system." [7] Professional competence and pedagogic craftsmanship are two sine qua non requirements for successful school textbooks. The lack of one of them affects their quality. However, experience shows that in addition to training and experience, a third requirement is involved: thorough preparation. As a rule, the two requirements presuppose the third, but not as a must. There have been cases when an author with an adequate background and ample experience provided an unsatisfactory textbook because of hasty and shallow preparation. As pointed out above, the publisher is a contributing factor when he sets deadlines for authors which do not conform with creative and painstaking work.

Dimitrie Pompeiu made outstanding assessments for publishing work, resulting from his experience in the area of preparing arithmetic textbooks: "These textbooks are the outcome of serious efforts and the desire to effectively help the progress of mathematical teaching.... On the basis of ample intuitive material which was conveniently selected, I have been testing for 15 years these arithmetic lessons on the students of the first application grade at the Cluj university pedagogic seminar." [8] The testing of school textbooks is an approach which has been gaining more and more ground internationally. It was affected in recent years by the rapidity with which science and technology have been developing. In the above-mentioned



case it is not only a matter of testing proper, but also of the persistency in obtaining results which ultimately materialized in the preparation of school textbooks. The books which result from this experience survive because they retain the basic elements of the science involved, a material shaped and provided in conformance with the interests of the school and the level of understanding of the students. The tens of years of practice have established a strict delineation between what is necessary in terms of progress of society, science, technology, and culture, and what is not absolutely indispensable, between what is absorbable and what is impenetrable in terms of the students' minds and capacity of absorption.

The preparation of school textbooks involves one more element in addition to competence, pedagogic craftsmanship, and persistency. It also requires devotion to the school and to the interests of education. These books are meant for young people whose main features must be: dedication, sensitivity, sincerity, and warmth. For these recipients we must prepare books for their understanding, written with an impact which corresponds to their moral physiognomy. This was fully realized by scholar and professor G. G. Longinescu who wrote: "I have tried for 20 years to put life and warmth in this book." [9] Professional competence, pedagogic craftsmanship, devotion to the cause of school students are characteristic features of the author of school textbooks. This type of book cannot be prepared by inadequate or mediocre people or by "professional" authors, who write with the number of pages in mind, or by scientists who disdain it.

In the current context, when science and technology are constantly developing, the school textbook involves greater and greater requirements. Apparently, two forces dispute the right to rule it: science, which involves a growing amount of knowledge, replenished with new discoveries, and pedagogy, which involves a stricter and stricter selection of knowledge. As a matter of fact, there is no wall or competition between science and pedagogy. The rapidly growing volume of knowledge acquires value from the pedagogic standpoint through the selection and essentializing of knowledge. Actually, the science of teaching and education will progress in conjunction with the other sciences and concurrently will constantly modify its outlook.

The growing complexity of the activity in this area led some pedagogists and publishers to state that at this stage the preparation of a school textbook by one author was no longer possible. Previous pedagogists had spoken out for the approach involving teams of authors. "Monotony prevailing in a book," Ushinski pointed out, "is inevitable in any book written by one author." [10] Later, a number of pedagogists suggested that a group of highly qualified people be responsible for the preparation of school textbooks.

There are now categorical beliefs that "such a complex work cannot be completed by one author, no matter how brilliant he may be, but by a team in which the various departments may be represented."

[11] This does not mean that there are not cases when one person, even if not brilliant, succeeds in preparing a proper textbook. Experience shows that one should not reject the approach to a textbook written by one author.

The truth that the preparation of a school textbook involves science is proven by the creative process itself. An author of textbooks cannot proceed before having surveyed a vast documentation of knowledge involving books, earlier issues, foreign issues, and the amount of knowledge already absorbed by students, which form the starting point. The theoretical background combines with specialized practice and with pedagogic art. The formulation or adaptation of the instructional program also is an important stage of the creative process. The next stage involves conceiving and writing the book, which must be handled, each idea individually, in light of the requirements of the specialized discipline, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, of the requirements of pedagogy.

The first project of the author must involve carefully studying the previous issues of the textbook in use. The critical observations in this area provide the starting point in creating the new textbook. The consultation of the items in the central and specialized publications in which opinions on existing textbooks were provided supplement the author's documentation. This stage also involves surveying foreign counterparts in our libraries. These early activities make it possible for the textbook author to familiarize himself with the sources of information, the accomplishments from which he must proceed, and the critical objections which he must try to eliminate, and to compare the Romanian textbooks with the foreign counterparts. The remarks may be put down on two lists: one which should contain the positive features of existing textbooks, prior issues or foreign counterparts, and the other, the shortcomings noticed. The creative effort of the author commences on his defining the methods for and approaches to solving the problems posed on the second list.

The second stage involves activities related to the instructional program. The author studies the program and formulates proposals for upgrading which he submits to the Ministry of Education and Teaching for approval. When the author of the textbook also formulates the instructional program the situation is propitious for the creative process.

The third stage, which precedes the preparation proper, is formulating the conclusions which result from the author's teaching experience and which put him in a position to specify the purpose of the textbook, the pedagogic principles which will underlie its preparation, and the qualitative improvements which he plans to make in the school textbook.

During the three preparatory stages the prospective author will have to answer three questions: 1. Why is it necessary to modify the old textbook and prepare a new one? 2. Can it meet the requirements of the new instructional program? 3. Will the new textbook be superior to the earlier ones? If the answers to the questions are affirmative it is worth it for the author to begin preparation. If the answers are negative, the author should withdraw and give the place to another prospective author who is able to devote all his energies. As soon as he has set out, the author proceeds to work out the draft textbook which includes the texts prepared by the professor, during the course of years, which were used at school, and were corrected and upgraded on the basis of the conclusions principally stemming from the projects involved in the first stage.

The professor who for many years tested the lessons which will make up the textbook, after they met the requirements of theory and the numerous tests of teaching practice, has the smoothest path. The author now proceeds to preparing the sections, chapters, and lessons of the textbook. Publishing experience shows that it is in the author's interest to submit to the publishers not the whole textbook but sections of it, so that a permanent dialogue with the editor and the other assessing parties may be provided.

In some countries the first variant of the textbook is tested during 1-2 years in schools and the necessary improvements are made after this period. In this case, the author's experience is confronted not with the opinions of two or three referents but with the opinions of tens and hundreds of teachers. This textbook which has been tested in the context of great strictness has every chance of surviving for many years in education.

The author already engaged on his project proceeds to the debate with the editors and collaborators of the publishing house. At this stage the author must defend his opinions with calm and especially with thorough arguments. Some authors easily abandon their own opinions and endorse others' opinions which result in "amalgamated" textbooks which are conglomerates of ideas and theses. Equally inadvisable is the position of authors who are unresponsive and reject any observation.

The best results are obtained by the authors who forcefully defend their views, do not easily accept the remarks on the textbook, but do not reject others' opinions as a rule and with thorough arguments substantiate the ideas set forth. These authors are winners and when they are responsive to the criticisms made to the textbook they know how to make use of collective wisdom.

There are frequent cases when the remarks of the referents are justified but are made with nastiness, caustically, and sometimes even humiliatingly. What should the author's attitude be? Disregarding

his personal pride and the irony involved, the author must take note of the substance of the criticism. It is better for him to come up against these difficulties in the manuscript stage than after publication. When the textbook has appeared it is too late. It is better to encounter the difficulties earlier.

Some referents, out of courtesy or rather out of superficial approach, only praise the manuscript and never criticize it. It is human for the author to be glad at first sight. However, he must realize that these referents either have a wrong approach to friendship or did not have time to carefully examine the manuscript. At this stage, the author must prefer strict referents who are discriminating and unbiased. Some referents, for various reasons, do not make concrete remarks but introduce various question marks. This type of criticism should not be underestimated, either. The author must carefully dwell on these unclear sections. Any trace of doubt should be eliminated before publication. This is the most constructive position of the author. After publication the author still has the possibility of improving the textbook but henceforth he must confront the opinions of the thousands of teachers.

The approach to the standpoints and the seeking of adequate solutions to the problems posed require a feverish activity characterized by considerable tact and spirit of responsibility. If the school textbook is undergoing a trial period the scientific character of the creative process is ampler. By the testing of the textbooks in specific schools the pedagogic theory is verified by teaching practice which is the most apt to confirm or not the author's work. Publishing experience in the area of school textbooks in Romania has shown that it is only now that the activity of research, surveying, and correction begins. The author examines the effectiveness of the school textbook in the process of tuition. He also has the possibility of collecting the assessments of his colleagues, which sometimes are very diversified. These assessments sometimes compare with the most fruitful scientific debates. By surveying, over the years, the relevance of the textbook he authored, he can verify if its bases are sound and in this case solidify many elements which make his work a sound product, worthy of the purport of modern school and commensurate with the tasks of education in our days. In this manner, every author creates favorable conditions for other prospective authors, each of them advancing on the others' traces, turning the preparation of school textbooks into a project of documentation, research, testing, observation, verification, and upgrading. This prompts me to assert that the preparation of a school textbook is both an art and a science.

# FOOTNOTES

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CSO: 2700

## DELAY IN USE OF MEDICAL BETATRON DEPLORED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 10 Nov 77 p 10

/Article by Dorin Gherghinescu/

/Text/ The national symposium on "Clinical Dosimetry and Complications After Radiotherapy" was held at the Cluj Oncological Institute in November 1970. At the symposium, the Atomic Physics Institute /IFA/ in conjunction with the Bucharest Dr I. Cantacuzino Hospital submitted the report: Study of Gamma Irradiation With the IFA 25 MeV Betatron." The authors were: Prof Dr Docent I. Birzu, Dr S. Grigorescu, Dr Engr C. Iliescu, Engr F. Scarlat, Engr I. Panitescu, Engr N. Mogos, Dr Engr G. Baciuc, and Dr C. M. Nicolae. Although it was a matter of reporting concrete results of Romanian modernization of the treatment of malignant tumors, strangely voices were heard -- and paradoxically, not the most authorized ones -- which tried to divert the discussion so that they may publicly state personal views containing overall slander against the Atomic Physics Institute. We pointed out this fact because, subsequently, persons with similar views were rather active in preventing or at least procrastinating the achievement of a medical 40 MeV betatron in this country. The credit for having persistently and efficiently worked for the completion of this project -- in spite of the opposition of those who supported the importation of these installations -- especially goes to Prof Dr Docent Ion Birzu, head of the radiology clinic of the Dr I. Cantacuzino Hospital and member of the Higher Health Council. Moreover, it would be unfair not to at least mention the value of the efforts of the IFIN specialists involved in this achievement, specifically of Engr Florian Scarlat, responsible for the contract. Hence, by the cooperation of a great number of Romanian enterprises and thanks to the dedicated and continuous work of people with extreme professionalism, the Romanian 40 MeV medical betatron was turned out. It has been ready for use for more than 3 years now. Incredibly, however, for the same period of time it has continued to stay unused. In regard to this unnatural tardiness, at the Bucharest Committee of Party Organizations of Health Units, assistant secretary Dr Ion Lemneste recently told us: "Undoubtedly, it is a great achievement of Romanian science and industry. Why is it not

used? Things stumbled when there was the question of locating the betatron or, more exactly, who should use it. For instance, Prof Octavian Costachel requested it for the Bucharest Oncological Institute which he is heading. I am not even very well aware of all the interventions made. I know that recently it was decided to place it in an institute which will be built. But exactly why it was not used and will not be used until that date is a question to which I cannot provide a satisfactory answer. Anyway, undoubtedly, there also are subjective causes."We realized that his tact prevented him from commenting on the ambitions which operated with this effect.

We then questioned Prof Dr Octavian Costachel. He said: No decision could be made as to its location. We said that it should not be installed in our institute because we were not involved with it. It should be installed in the unit of Dr Birzu who was involved with the betatron. It is a mistake that it has been staying unused for such a long time. But be careful in regard to this statement, see first who made the decision on locating the betatron.

Taking note of the professor's urge for caution, we considered that we would not upset anybody by asking him one more question.

/Question/ Since this decision naturally originates in the arguments of specialists in the area involved, do you not feel that they are largely at fault for the delay in the use of the betatron?

/Answer/ No!

Of course, these answers did not clarify the situation for us. We further questioned Prof Dr Docent Ion Birzu.

/Question/ Comrade Professor, what does this betatron involve?

/Answer/ It involves not only a medical accomplishment but also an accomplishment of Romanian atomic physics, technology, and industry -- on a par with the advanced countries -- to say nothing of the foreign currency amount which was saved. The importation of the betatron would have cost Romania 1 million dollars. As for the value of its utilization for the modernization and upgrading of the technical standard of cancer treatment, suffice it to say that the current level of our treatment promptly necessitates this modernization.

/Question/ Why does this betatron stay unused?

/Answer/ Because some colleagues who in the first place tried to prevent its being completed in our country -- implicitly opting, with unnatural perseverance, for importation -- once it was achieved thanks to a few persons who unreservedly gave our time, drive, soul, and energies, did all in their power to prevent the betatron from being installed at the Dr I. Cantacuzino Hospital. Many

connections were brought into play and any reasons were invoked which could lead to this result. And actually, this result was obtained, although at one point the installation of the betatron here had been prepared in detail and approved by all the specialized parties.

/Question/ What do you think was necessary and adequate for a prompt approach to using the betatron?

/Answer/ Humanity. Because, no matter where, it should have been made available to patients. It could have been in operation for 3 years now. Moreover, for more than 1 year the second could have been in use, and the third one could have been ready if the five-year plan of the scientific-technical revolution was not for some only a phrase for meetings, good only for celebrative addresses, under which they would conceal their shortcomings and through which, more than overall interests, they actually seek to keep their chairs in comfortable, snug places which they do not honor. Rather the opposite!

/Question/ What do we lose by not using the betatron?

/Answer/ In the first place, we lose time which should be devoted to people's health. Also, money. Much above 12 million lei are frozen. To say nothing of the work, enthusiasm, and know-how incorporated into those packages. I would say that another loss involves the delay in modernizing cancer treatment in our country. What Romanian technology has achieved -- a highly prestigious product -- has been kept for years in cases by red tape and lack of responsibility.

As a normal move, we went to the Ministry of Health and interviewed deputy minister Mihail Aldea.

/Question/ Who do you think is to blame for this delay?

After a few minutes of pondering, the reply was calm.

/Answer/ You can note that the ministry is to blame. The ministry must analyze, survey, and seek a solution promptly. As a matter of fact, about 13 million lei are frozen and it is equally true that there also is a matter of delay in the modernization of cancer treatment. Disputes as to locating the betatron occurred in the early stage. A long period of time has passed since and the ministry must indeed seek a valid approach without wasting such a long time. This is all I can tell you.

Of course, self-criticism alone is not enough to straighten things out and to normalize the path of an outstanding accomplishment which involves concern for people's life and the prestige of Romanian medical science.



We do not plan -- and it is not our duty -- to look for and determine guilts. Of course, there also is a party who must do it. However, we have done what is in our power and part of our professionally ethical duties, that is to draw attention to this unnatural delay in the use of a valuable scientific-technical achievement and to the need for promptly ending this delay, in the interest of the progress of science at the service of human life and health.

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## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--Comrade Vasile Ardeleanu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of mines, petroleum, and geology and director general of the Autonomous General Directorate of Petroleum Gas. Comrade Ion Antonica is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum, and Geology and appointed deputy minister of mines, petroleum, and geology and director general of the Autonomous General Directorate of Petroleum and Gas. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 133, Dec 77 p 2].

DEATH OF FORMER OFFICIAL--The work collective at the Brasov supply and sales base expresses sympathy to the family on the death of Engineer Gheorghe Radulescu, former director general of the General Directorate for Supply and Sales in the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications. [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Dec 77 p 4]

REMOVAL OF MINISTRY OFFICIALS--The following comrades are released from their positions by presidential decree: Vasile Bumbacea, from the position of minister of industrial construction; Ion Tudose, from the position of first deputy minister of industrial construction; head of the Department of Construction-Assembly for the Chemical Industry and Refineries; Constantin Ionescu, from the position of deputy minister of industrial construction; Ion Florescu, from the position of deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, in light of the fact that as a result of investigations by organs of the law it has been found that they have brought about great material losses for the national economy by violating the laws and the resolutions of the party and state leadership. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Dec 77 p 5]

CSO: 2700

POLEMIC WITH WRITER IGOR MANDIC AIRED

Reply to Critical KOMUNIST Article

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 77 p 22

[Commentary by Igor Mandic: "In Response to the Article 'The Abuse of Our Democratic Freedoms;' Concerning the Purpose and Rationale of Self-Management Political Communication"]

[Text] When literary criticism turns into a sociopolitical problem it is obvious that in Yugoslavia this profession is held in high esteem! Moreover, when fragments of passages of reviews that are several years old are seen by someone or other to be on the verge of being socially dangerous, then we are dealing with an improbable compliment paid to an otherwise uninteresting, totally unappreciated, and poorly remunerated literary work. The thankless position of the dedicated literary critic, who has spent years of his life trying systematically to keep track of literary output on the domestic scene, is thus becoming even more hazardous.... It has everywhere and always been insisted upon that literary (journalistic) criticism should meet the most wide-ranging demands (incorruptibility, ideological purity, a willingness to be controversial, objectivity, consistency, and so on), but if all these conditions were satisfied the critic would have to be a person endowed with papal infallibility, a man for all times and all seasons. So, is it really any wonder that many critics are glad to leave this line of work and that we are confronted with a constant turnover in the positions from which literary critics are being driven away, so that in the final analysis it is hard for readers to discern any consistency critical writing or to perceive the literary-critical and moral-philosophical message of literary criticism? This is a profession that has been degraded, and only a regular, public, and rigorous re-evaluation of the profession of literary critic can restore some of its reputation. It goes without saying, of course, that what is at issue here are delayed reactions, which as a result of their incomprehensible, suspicious implications assign black marks to the reputation of literary criticism. One recent instance of this kind of delayed reaction to a bagatelle written by the author of this text may serve to illustrate, by way of a personal example, how a profession that is so unpopular managed at all, regrettably, to find itself in the center of public attention.

Namely, this is a story of how all of a sudden in the pages of KOMUNIST (issue no 1072 of 3 October 1977) one of my literary reviews of six (6) years ago was transformed into an example of "nationalism in action." This is a really interesting conclusion based on the following facts: there is a certain book (written by myself) consisting of an anthology of book reviews ("101 kratka kritika" [101 Short Reviews], comprising my book reviews for the period 1970-1975 and published by "August Cesarec," Zagreb, 1977) in which, along with the other 100 reviews, there was one containing a couple of sentences, according to the commentary in KOMUNIST, that "fail to raise doubts" about my "devotion to some of the fundamental ideas proposed by the nationalists during the period of euphoria." Consequently, something that was written and published 6 years ago, something which during the period following the 21st session [of the Central Committee of the Croatian League of Communists] was undoubtedly discussed by the appropriate committees which investigated irregularities in the VJESNIK newspaper publishing house (and which obviously found nothing inappropriate in this review, since they never had anything to say about my little bagatelle) is now interpreted as betraying a "negative consistency" solely because it was reprinted in an anthology of my literary critiques. The profession of literary critic is thus being raised onto a pedestal fit for a social-ideological policeman, inasmuch as I am being criticized for not fulfilling the duties of this post to the extent I should have. As I was charged back then, during the period of euphoria, with writing a review in the 5 October 1971 edition of VJESNIK of Petar Segedin's controversial book "Svi smo odgovorni?" [Are We All Responsible?], I decided to give my opinion of it--while others remained silent. Now this silence is transformed into (their) retroactive foresight, although at that time no one had been provided with the correct ideological-political formula that would tell how to condemn the book in question!

So, it is not in the least bit difficult to demonstrate one's wisdom and (political) astuteness 6 years later, but at that time my little bagatelle stimulated debate on all sides, as a result of my effort, by mounting an organized campaign of applying pressure on the mass media, to somehow find forums and opportunities for the expression of my own anti-euphoria and antichauvinistic views and ideas. Today, my review of the book in question should be understood and appreciated within the context of my numerous (yet isolated) polemics and diatribes directed against the moral and political desolation characteristic of many of the events that took place in Croatia prior to the end of 1971. How is it at all possible that I can be reproached today for harboring any kind of "devotion to some of the fundamental ideas proposed by the nationalists during the period of euphoria" when it is a well-known fact that at that very time I was completely at odds with them? In order to justify my indignation over this kind of reproach I am obliged to recall some of my earlier writings on this subject so as to prevent my entire literary and journalistic career from being underservedly defamed because of a few misinterpreted passages quoted from a single book review.

Thus, for example, when in an article entitled "Is It A Comet Or Is It A Sumposium?" (VJESNIK 30 April and 1 May 1971) I raised doubts (literally in a panic over my sense of isolation) about the noisily advertised "Congress of Croatian Culture," presuming that if it were held at all, "the accuracy of whatever might be said during its proceedings would often be obscured by the atmosphere of euphoria and that substance would be replaced by emotionalism." I concluded this article by calling attention to the possibility

of "ardent and nationalistic-sentimental speeches about the splendor and greatness of Croatian culture."

"Namely, the question needs to be asked--what kind of culture are we talking about? Culture--for whom? The traditional definitions of these concepts can only serve to reduce the proceedings of the Congress to the level of mere sloganeering and to isolate them from the only national factor on whose behalf we should be working, namely, the people."

Further, when at that time, while remaining neutral as far as any group institution or organization was concerned, I noted that "in the Croatian cultural world today everyone is more interested in politics than they are in looking after cultural affairs" (see my article: "The Political Dimension of Culture" in VJESNIK 8 May 1971), this was because I managed to realize in time that many unsuccessful and washed-up men of arts and letters were now concealing "their creative debility behind a protective screen of sociopolitical activism." This led to a conclusion which, given the state of affairs in the mass media at that time, was not easy to express or publish: "Our literary journals have turned into economic reviews, our poets and novelists have transformed themselves from 'victims' into national leaders. How brave and how nationalistically and emotionally exciting it all sounds to be a bard from 'exploited Croatia,' to travel from village to village waging a political campaign, and to provoke scandalous incidents in cafes and bars!"

I then decided to call into question the entire way of life practiced by that segment of the public which had fallen under the sway of the euphoria movement, and I concluded that in succumbing to this we were "once again overcome by a flood of speeches" (see my article: "A Flood of Speechifying" in VJESNIK, 15 May 1971):

"There is not a single village broadsheet in Croatia today that is able to maintain some semblance of control over this process of politicizing or can resist yielding at least two-thirds of its column space to political orators. Running the gamut from STUDENTSKI LIST to HRVATSKI TJEDNIK, there is almost nothing to read in these papers that does not amount to some kind of oratory uttered at some kind of meeting, assembly, or colloquium."

Likewise, reacting to the "fascinating ideological vacuity" of a certain abortive, pseudo-linguistic theoretical proposition and regarding its contention as to the "abnormal linguistic situation" (which supposedly prevailed in Croatia for 20 years) as a "cynical falsification," I placed everything I wrote in the context of a repudiation of the entire political line of the moment (see my article: "Tainted Bewilderment" in VJESNIK, 29 May 1971):

"Like men without heads, certain Croatian 'men of arts and letters' have lost all sense of perspective in this new social and political situation. They simply do not know what to do with themselves in the fresh air of a democratic environment; the rhythm of their utterances is simply out of tune with this environment. Instead of rolling up their sleeves and getting down to work, they are busy eulogizing their former avant-garde role and, unfortunately, presenting every aspect of life in our society in a distorted light."

Carrying on with stubborn persistence, writing in the same vein and at a sensitive point in time, when what I had to say was not at all in keeping with the dictates of current trends and when what I was writing amounted to an expression of open opposition to the political views that were then fashionable, I came out against "the institutionalization of a certain political mythology" (see my article: "A Hallowed Institution" in VJESNIK 26 June 1971), and I questioned the "egomaniacal illusions" of those poets who equate their "publicity-seeking and bombastic" patriotism with genuine national feeling (see my article: "A Personal Mythology" in VJESNIK, 17 July 1971); and I finally decided to come out and say that "we should reject the idea of subordinating ourselves to any kind of leadership principle, least of all in the cultural world" and that "a group of twenty or so people, regardless of what their intentions may have been, are still not representative of the thinking of the Croatian people, i.e., their thinking on the subject of Croatian culture, its problems and destiny" (see my article entitled "Pole of Recklessness" in VJESNIK, 4 September 1971).

Consequently, in the context of these circumstances it would be utterly unreasonable to also assume that, while maintaining an attitude of constant opposition to nationalist and clerical ideas (which is evident in all of my polemical conflicts with such publications as HKL (Croatian Literary Gazette), GLAS KONCILA, and the book "A Sensitive Soul"! ) I would be at all capable of agreeing "in substance and in essence" with what was written in P. Segedin's book, as I am now accused of doing by KOMUNIST. By urging general conclusions about the content of one of my book reviews--which at that time amounted to an extremely negative reaction, which was barely even publishable material in controlled newspapers--I am now being accused of "reverting to my former ideas." In the first place, at no time and nowhere did I ever write anything about a single "attitude" interpreted by P. Segedin, after his own fashion, in his controversial book, and so I accordingly have no "ideas" of my own on this subject. Secondly, my entire career as a critic and polemicist, covering the past 10 or 15 years, attests to the fact that, when it comes to those questions that I deal with in my field of expertise (some statements on which I have quoted above), I am implicitly and resolutely opposed to any and all "essential arguments" of "nationalist ideas." Consequently, to take fragments of one of my book reviews, today when it is easy to demonstrate one's retrospective intelligence, and to place them in an overextended context of tendentious interpretation cannot in any way succeed in raising any doubts about my general and consistent attitude on these matters.

It is in this sense that I indignantly reject the very harsh reaction published in KOMUNIST, which under the title "The Abuse of Our Democratic Freedoms" likewise calls into the question the very possibility of my being able to clear up the confusion that has been stirred up in this regard. Namely, in my "Open Letter to Dr Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the Central Committee of the Croatian League of Communists" (published in OKO, no 144) I attempted to refute these behind-the-scenes, street-gossip insinuations, in response to which the average member of our society, who does not happen to occupy any formal, public office (as is the case with myself) is powerless to influence attitudes about his personal character and actions or, even worse, such a person is

excluded from the debate on the fundamental problems that face our entire community. In my reply to Dr Dusan Dragosavac I firmly and definitively rejected this underground rumor, pointing out that in our country all rights are guaranteed not only on paper, but they are also fully realized in practice. Naturally, I am in complete agreement with KOMUNIST that problems would arise if hostile views were allowed to be expressed in public, but as it has been proven beyond a shadow of a doubt that is not the point in my case or in regard to my latest book--which is also borne out by the position taken by Dr Dusan Dragosavac, who respects my views on this matter--I do not see how this "open letter" can be regarded as a "provocation!" For that matter, this particular precedent attests to the manner in which political communication patterned after the principles of true self-management is being practiced in Yugoslavia today, that is, it proves that political forums do not function exclusively in one direction, serving as a channel for the transmission of "instructions" and "directives" from the top to the "bottom," rather they are also capable of showing every consideration in responding to information coming from the opposite direction.

This is why I am really amazed by the harsh tone of the commentary published in KOMUNIST! Since to present my long-standing and proven anti-nationalist viewpoints as being associated with someone else's statements of which I completely disapprove, that is, by taking just one of my 101 literary critiques and lumping it together with student "discussion groups" and songs, amounts to the creation of an "equilibrium" which I do not want to be any part of! Weighed against the importance of the commentaries usually published in KOMUNIST, the few fragments quoted from just one of my reviews--fragments which were otherwise misinterpreted and placed in a context of retroactive foresight--amount to utter nonsense! At the same time, to exaggerate these fragments into being some kind of danger to national security is a sad compliment for such a thankless profession as literary criticism, and by the same token this might result in the inadvertent encouragement of the very kinds of dangers that we are seeking to prevent! Bits and pieces culled from a single book review--fragments which are totally insignificant in relation to my overall, long-standing record of antichauvinist activity (and I will not allow anyone to ignore, forget, or tendentiously distort this record)--are undoubtedly small justification for the weighty words by means of which KOMUNIST expresses doubts about the possibility of allowing uncompromised individuals to participate in public affairs!

#### Counter-Reply from Editor-in-Chief

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 77 p 22

[Text] The editors of KOMUNIST received two letters from the journalist Igor Mandic almost simultaneously. The first of these letters is in reply to an article written by the editor-in-chief of the edition of KOMUNIST published in the SR Croatia, V. Slijepcevic, and printed in the issue for 25 July 1977 under the title "The Poisonous Seeds of Nationalism," and the second is in reply to the article published in the issue of KOMUNIST for 3 October 1977 under the title "The Abuse of Our Democratic Freedoms." We are not printing the reply to the article by V. Slijepcevic not only because it repeats much

of what Mandic has to say in the reply published in this issue, but, above all, because by publishing Mandic's reply to Slijepcevic's article we would also be publishing libellous slanders.

With regard to Mandic's text which is printed in this issue in reply to the article published in KOMUNIST under the title "The Abuse of Our Democratic Freedoms" the following remarks are in order.

It is not our intention on this occasion to review the entire "opus" of Igor Mandic, which he offers for our consideration in his above reply. We only intend to make a few observations in regard to that portion of Mandic's commentary which has to do with the content of the KOMUNIST article to which he is replying.

Our readers will probably recall that the KOMUNIST article contained an analysis of Igor Mandic's "Open Letter" to the secretary of the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Croatian League of Communists, Dusan Dra qosavac which was published in the edition of OKO for 22 September 1977. In his "letter" he cited one of the statements he made in his earlier review of Petar Segedin's book "Are We All Responsible?," printing this quotation in capital letters and considering it to be a conclusive proof and confirmation of his opposition to nationalism. As a result of the analysis which it made in its article KOMUNIST determined that in fact this quotation leads one to an entirely opposite conclusion, to wit, that Mandic is in agreement with the substance and essence of the nationalist views of Petar Segedin. Does Mandic dispute KOMUNIST's conclusion anywhere in the commentary printed above? No, he does not say a single word about it! But he goes on to criticize KOMUNIST for quoting a "couple of sentences" and "passages," for quoting "portions of a single review," "fragments" which "amount to utter nonsense", fragments which otherwise are nothing more than "bits and pieces culled from a single book review," in short, for quoting one of Mandic's "book reviews published 6 years ago." Thus, according to Mandic, KOMUNIST is dredging up something that happened a long time ago "simply because it was reprinted in an anthology of my (Mandic's) book reviews" and in order to dispute the contention that Mandic ("literally in a panic of isolation") was actually fighting against nationalism.

Mandic himself, of course, knows that this is incorrect. What KOMUNIST is criticizing are the opinions expressed by Mandic in his article published last month in the journal OKO. And when it is shown by means of analysis that the meaning of a key passage in this article is essentially synonymous with the nationalist ideas of Petar Segedin, then Mandic proceeds to declare that this passage, which only a few days before served as the ultimate argument in support of his active antinationalism, is nothing more than "bits and pieces" and "utter nonsense." This is the circle in which Mandic's entire argument begins and ends and is thereby refuted.

On the other hand, there are two other opinions expressed in Mandic's reply that are worth pointing out. Namely, he tries to compare the text of the article published in KOMUNIST with the text of the reply to his "Open Letter"



by Dr Dusan Dragosavac published in OKO. However, any careful reader of Dr Dusan Dragosavac's statement and the text of the KOMUNIST article will realize that this attempt of Mandic's amounts to the basest form of insinuation.

With regard to the "equilibrium" which Mandic mentions and which he says he "does not want to be any part of"--this is of no concern to KOMUNIST or to the article which it published. This is the business of Mandic and his own views and opinions.

11813

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

PERFECT HARMONY FOUND AT KOSOVO RUBBER-CHEMICAL PLANT

Initial Visit: Possible Extravagances

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 77 p 11

[Article by Vasko Ivanovic: "Under the Powerful Protective Aegis of 'Balkan'"]

[Text] We hadn't intended to stop on the way out of Suva Reka. But we did, in front of a round edifice with marble embellishments and enormous bosses, also of marble, on the facade. The fine stone gleamed in the November sun. A stairway spiraled round the building and led somewhere up above.

"Tell me, my good man, what is this we are looking at?"

"You are certainly not from around here," the good man said. "What you are looking at is, of course, the worker restaurant of the 'Balkan' firm."

Of course, this was the worker restaurant of the "Balkan" Rubber and Chemical Industry. An hour later we obtained confirmation of this backed by full responsibility from Hazir Gasi, director for employee welfare and hostelry of the "Balkan" work organization, who was very glad to receive us.

The "Balkan" firm, whose worker restaurant we stopped in front of, has the best or one of the best business records of any work organization in Kosovo. It was established in the middle of nowhere--where there is nothing around, in a region with no industrial tradition, business experience, business connections or specialists; it achieved everything by the endeavors of its own people.

Aside from the aid of the public community at the republic and national level, enormous sacrifices were required, and the people had to be firmly committed to a better life. In just a few years "Balkan" has stamped its imprint on the entire material and social life of Suva Reka, of the entire opstina, and there are people who say, some in jest and some seriously, that they do not know whether it is more apt to say that "Balkan" is part of Suva Reka or that Suva Reka is part of "Balkan."

We went to the offices of "Balkan" to have them explain to us how they achieved this.

Very Gladly, But Unfortunately....

We went to the office and told the receptionist who we are and what we would like.

"We are very happy," the comrade said. "Comrade general director gladly talks with our newsmen, but he is busy. Perhaps the director of operations, the commercial director or the controller? Wait here, please!"

Three times we were served coffee and juice with the same cordiality. In the meantime the comrade receptionist, alone and with other comrades, let us know how matters stood.

"The director of operations is away. The controller is here, but he is attending some meeting at the opstina headquarters; the commercial director should be here any minute. The business secretary, Comrade Genc Nemani, will see you." Comrade Genc Nemani, also cordial, did receive us.

Item by Item, as on a Checklist

The business secretary dictated to us what he had to say item by item, as on a checklist:

i. "'Balkan' was founded in 1961. Production began in 1963. We have our own technology. We are one of the largest producers of belts in Yugoslavia. We export to the convertible and clearing areas with equal success."

ii. "'Balkan' employs about 1,000 workers. Most (about 90 percent) are from Suva Reka. We are giving training to 700 university students and apprentices. We have our own vocational center at the secondary level in the field of rubber, metal and textiles."

iii. "We are building a factory for industrial, impregnated textile fabrics for our own needs, for Yugoslavia's needs and for export. Top quality. By 1980 we will expand production of transmission belts. We have no problem selling our products. We are preparing for production of steel conveyer belts, which are now imported from Japan."

iv. "'Balkan' has been performing a revolutionary mission in transformation of our opstina and in transforming peasants into industrial workers (creating the working class)."

v. "Add the following subparagraphs to what I said about 'Balkan's' revolutionizing Suva Reka: a) of the opstina's 3,000 employed persons 1,000 are employed in 'Balkan'; b) we have had a powerful impact in raising the cultural level of the population and its political consciousness; c) in 1977 we set aside about 2 million dinars for infrastructure in the opstina."

vi. "It is our ambition to become one of the most important firms in the Yugoslav rubber industry. We need specialists for that. To get them we must provide a high social and personal standard of living. That is why we have been building facilities: the restaurant, the hotel and the rest, which are said to be an unnecessary luxury by some informed and irresponsible people. But that is our decision to make."

#### Aspirations and Aspirators

vii. "We have excellent organization. Discipline is exemplary. By timely reaction in certain cases we solved the discipline problem. We also solved the nationality question. We react to negative occurrences at the very outset. That is a matter of principle with us. That is all. I could answer your questions, since I do have all the information which you are interested in, but that would be improper. On financial matters I would have to consult the controller, on commercial matters the commercial director, and on technical matters the director of operations. This is a very complicated process. That is a matter of principle with us. I am very glad you came to see us."

It is time we got back to "Balkan's" worker restaurant, the hotel for unmarried workers, the motel, and so on.

We reached the second floor of the building by way of that spiral staircase. We found ourselves looking upon an American-style bar with crystal glasses of various shapes and sizes glistening behind it. Beneath them, in irreproachable order, were arranged bottles of whiskey, cognac and grape brandy. A restaurant seating 600 filled one's view wherever he sat at the round bar. Nothing disturbed the restaurant's silence.

"This is a commercial restaurant. Since Suva Reka has no hotel, we built this worker restaurant so that our business acquaintances and guests of Suva Reka would have somewhere to dine," said "Balkan's" director of hostelry.

He then took us by way of the indoor staircase. On the way to the worker restaurant we passed through the TV room, a room for symposiums, a room for conferences, and a room for entertainment. Thus we reached the kitchen.

Red, yellow and blue lights flashed on and off on the appliances. As befits a restaurant with a capacity of 10,000 meals and a cook who has won the highest honors and has a salary of 10,000 dinars, not counting food. All the dishware of the worker restaurant was custom-made and carries "Balkan's" emblem. So does the furniture.

This brought us to the worker restaurant proper. It was no less handsome and distinguished than the commercial one upstairs, and at the end there was a large stage for theatrical presentations and the like. It was lunch time.

There were no workers.

"Do the workers eat later than this?"

"The workers are not yet eating their meals in this restaurant. We are carrying the meals out through the plant (the restaurant is scheduled to open the first of the year--author's note). We are waiting for two aspirators which we have ordered abroad. We will install them at the entrance. The workers will come past them so that the aspirator can clean their clothing and shoes so that they will be neat and clean when they come into the restaurant. The hotel for unmarried workers has suites, TV auditoriums, a coffeehouse, an infirmary, a dental office, and a library with 16,000 books. Construction of the hotel and restaurant cost 5 billion old dinars. Some malicious people believe that all of this is too luxurious for a factory. They forget that Suva Reka did not have a single hotel or restaurant and no room for meetings, public assemblies and the needs of sociopolitical organizations. All of this is a public facility. The turning point...."

"What do the opstina committee, the opstina assembly and sociopolitical organizations have to do in order to use this public facility, that is, to hold some meeting or performance or event in one of the rooms? Can they simply decide to schedule their meetings in the rooms which 'Balkan' has built in the general interest?"

"Of course. As soon as they obtain permission from Comrade Bitici."

Comrade Bitici Bajram is "Balkan's" general director.

#### Second Visit: Remarkable Unanimity

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 77 p 11

[Text] We are on our way to Suva Reka again, once again to visit "Balkan." The general director is unfortunately busy.

"Could we meet the president of the workers' council and the secretary of the party organization?"

"Could you? Of course, if they are free."

They were free. Comrade Jusuf Sabani, president of the workers' council, a technological engineer and manager of the V-belt plant, and Filip Mihailovic, secretary of the League of Communists Conference and manager of another plant, the one for conveyer belts.

"We Represent a World Apart"

In serene concord on every point, comrades Jusuf Sabani and Filip Mihailovic told us the following in answer to all our questions:

"'Balkan's' impact on all segments of life in an otherwise poor opstina with a population of 55,000 has been enormous, irreplaceable and constructive. This influence can be seen in every respect: municipal services, social welfare, culture and politics. Of the 3,000 persons employed in the opstina, 1,000 work in our enterprise. There are 350 members of the League of Communists among them, belonging to three basic organizations. The average personal income will be 5,000 dinars by the first of the year.

"You have seen the facilities making up our social standard of living. We are preparing construction of a recreation center; we are buying five buses to transport workers to work and for long and short excursions in the vicinity. Our workers also stand out by their elegant dress. Their standard of living can be described as follows: first they went on foot, then on bicycle, and then by car. There are no longer any places in the parking lot in front of the factory. Look!"

"Our workers have all the appliances in their houses. Almost every household has a color TV; black and white is old fashioned. They are all able to educate their children."

"We are in a position to recruit any specialists we want, since we offer better terms than others.... Yes, we have heard that some other organizations are protesting that their specialists are leaving to come to 'Balkan.' We are taking their protests into account and are trying to reach an understanding with them. If we do not reach an understanding, and if we need the specialists very badly, we will still hire them. We are not exerting any pressure whatsoever, but the people themselves see. It is evident to specialists, it is evident to those who are not specialists: the standard of living (social and personal) of our workers is between 50 and 60 percent higher than that of others. In this respect we are a world apart. We have achieved this because of exceptionally effective programs, a high degree of specialization, top-notch organization and irreproachable discipline."

Determined, Harmonious and Unanimous

"Your Regulation states that for an unjustified tardiness or absence of 1 day a worker loses his pay for that day, 7 percent of his personal income for the entire month (incentive) and 780 dinars for his hot meal. In all the worker loses between 1,500 and 1,700 dinars, depending on the level of his personal income, for an unjustified tardiness or 1-day absence?"

"That is about right."

"Who decides whether the worker has been tardy or absent without good cause?"

"His boss, of course."

"That same worker sits on the bodies of workers' self-management and freely debates and votes on the proposals and positions taken by that same boss; he evaluates that superior's work, elects him, or chooses not to elect him?"

"That's right! Our workers decide on all issues and proposals, they make all the decisions."

"What is your assessment of social and self-management relations in the enterprise, of the initiative of people, of their commitment in civic affairs and of their rights?"

"Very favorable. At any given moment we have all the normative enactments. Not a single decision has bypassed the bodies of self-management, including, of course, the decisions on those facilities representing the social standard of living which some malicious people say are an unneeded luxury."

"Can you remember any proposal or project, in any field at all, any plan which was devised by the management and which the bodies of self-management rejected or only modified?"

"No, it has never happened. Why should it?"

"Have the League of Communists or the trade union, examining some worker complaint that his rights have been infringed on, regardless of the grounds, looked favorably on his complaint and sought a hearing of the grievance?"

"No, since there have been no grievances."

Again the Same

Comrade Remzi Koljeci, secretary of the opstina party committee, received us cordially.

He told us this:

"Cooperation is exemplary between the opstina and 'Balkan.' There is not a single matter of dispute. 'Balkan' is the heart of all actions taken in the opstina, it deserves the credit...."

What the comrade secretary of the opstina party committee went on to say and the numerous arguments which he used to support those judgments were identical in every point to the assessments and arguments which we had heard (and noted down) in our talk with the president of the workers' council, who is the manager of a plant, the secretary of the League of Communists Conference, who is the manager of another plant, and the judgment of "Balkan's" business secretary.

7045

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

DISPUTE OVER LAUNDRY ROOMS AS APARTMENTS AIRED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 77 p 9

[Article by Slavoljub Djukic: A Letter From a Female Professor]

[Text] Contrary to our usual practice, we are devoting this space, with some abridgements, to a letter written by a literature professor to the Opstina Committee of the League of Communists of the Old City, Belgrade. In accordance with her wishes, we are omitting the name of the man whose actions were the cause of this protest, as well as a painful reminder of what people in trouble can experience.

The letter is as follows:

"I am turning to you as a person, a Communist and an education worker who was physically and morally injured after an incomprehensible occurrence in the center of Belgrade on 24 June 1977.

After I have told you what happened, you shall judge, both me and Comrade (N.N.), a retiree, who is also the secretary of the organization of the League of Communists of the local commune....

I am unfortunate in that in the 15 years that I have lived in Belgrade I was unable to solve the problem of living quarters. While receiving a modest personal income I have been paying high rents. I have never had a corner I could call my own, except in my parents' home. I was born under Kozara, in Knespolje, into a [war of liberation] fighter's family, one of seven children. My father is a retired first-fighter. I experienced the horrors of war as a child. I finished the pedagogical school, and later, under difficult circumstances, graduated from the College of Philology. The unsolved problem of living quarters is the main reason I have not started a family of my own.



Like so many others, I welcomed the social action to turn the laundry rooms and other useless facilities relatively quickly and cheaply into apartments for those who are practically living on the streets. I sent a request to the Apartment Commune of the Old City to have assigned to me a laundry room which had already been earmarked for adaption. Before that, I had, for several weeks, desperately searched the Old City for a laundry room which was not already occupied. My work organization issued a written agreement to provide the funds for adaptation. The Committee of the Savski Venac Opstina, acquainted with my case, recommended that I be given assistance.

I followed the regular channels. Since I thought that agreement on the part of the tenants of the building in question would be desirable, I contacted the current president of the building council, Comrade A.D., who advised me that the previous president, (N.N.), had simply not given up his office, along with the seals, ledgers and other building documents, and has kept them already for a year. I then had to contact the former president so that a meeting of the tenants could somehow be held. He and his wife told me to come to them several times, but they were never at home. Still and all, I somehow managed to submit to him my request addressed to the building council, along with all the documents. I also asked him if he too would agree to my having the laundry room. He said that he would agree, but that it depended on the other tenants. I was encouraged, because I had heard that his concurrence was important and, fearing that someone else may take possession of the laundry room, I decided to move in on 23 June, between 2000 and 2200 hours.

The room that I had entered was horrible. Since it was evidently not in use, it is never cleaned, the walls are unpainted and damaged, the ceiling leaks and there is no glass on the window.

I brought my essentials and spent the night there. I moved in very quietly, almost inaudibly, unlocking the door with an ordinary key.

At approximately 0600 hours the following morning the former president of the building council appeared, first on the terrace underneath the window, and then he opened the door and violently attacked me. He threw some of my things into the hallway, grabbed me by the hair and, while striking me, threw me out of the laundry room. He repeatedly struck me against the concrete in the hallway and the walls, injured me bodily and specifically injured my right eye. I begged him not to hit me, I begged him not to mistreat me.

This lasted for a half hour.

I was calling for help all this time, which could be heard as far as the neighboring buildings, but no one came to my assistance. When my screams became desperate, the man's wife appeared and quietly advised him to stop.

I remained in the hallway, injured and in a pitiful state. After throwing the remainder of my things out of the room, N.N. locked the door and went to call the militia men. Since it was important for me to remain in the laundry room, I opened the door with my remaining strength and brought in my little things, which were strewn about the hallway.

When the militia men arrived, I told them what happened. When N.N. insisted that they move me out, they answered that they do not move people out but that, possibly, they can prevent them from moving in. There is a regular procedure for this and they came only because order and peace were threatened. I would like to point out that comrades militia men acted toward me in a very humane manner.

The current president of the building council, Comrade A.D., notified my sister of what had happened. When she arrived, I became aware of my appearance. That day I sought medical help at the Second Surgical Clinic in Belgrade. Afterward, I was granted a sick leave. I still suffer from unbearable headaches from that morning.

In order to let you know more about me, I am pointing out that I am a member of the League of Communists, a professor, and that I engage in literary work based on themes from our revolution. To date, I have received a number of significant awards, among which is the first Yugoslav award for the recital of "I Would Give Three Lives for the Right Life".

In 1972, the work received an award from the Federal Secretariat for People's Defense and the NARODNA ARMIJA [People's Army].

I have told you the truth, it is up to you to judge.

K. R., Professor

Belgrade, 1. k. 501704

(the letter was fully signed, first and last names)

After this letter, which would not take well the usual commentaries, it remains to advise the readers that the Opstina Committee of the Old City saw to it, with appropriate moral and political severity, that this case was brought to an end. It this all that we can expect?

We note with regret that in many cities the valuable social action of changing unused laundry rooms into apartments to help the socially threatened people with a minimum of expense has been jeopardized. They are prevented from moving in by none other than the building councils and tenants, perhaps by those very tenants who know what misfortune is and who, until yesterday, have felt this very intimately but have already forgotten. "The building councils and tenants justify themselves with legal regulations on the inviolability of apartments! They are without pity even though they do not

utilize these common areas for drying their laundry but rather for storing old and useless things" stated Vojislav Zarubica, secretary of the basic apartment commune of the Belgrade opstina Savski Venac (VEČERNJE NOVOSTI 7 November).

An unusual legal and social litigation has been going on for almost 10 years. The transformation of useless laundry rooms is demanded in the name of solidarity and common sense. The occupation of the laundry rooms is blocked in the name of legality. One thought that a happy solution has been found, one that would satisfy the law, justice, human misery and the tenants' independence. Unfortunately, it has not been found!

The drama of the Belgrade professor is a pointed reminder of how things will go when a social community action is conducted in a lukewarm manner. However, it is also a drastic expression of the general mood of secure, self-serving people who have apartments, who were given apartments by the community and who defend their "surplus", the useless laundry rooms, as if their lives depended on them.

9110

CSO: 2800

END