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HUNGARY

DIPLOMAS TO BE GIVEN AT END OF BASIC POLITICAL TRAINING

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 10, 1978 pp 36-38

[Article by Mrs I. Kovacs, coworker of Central Committee: "The Acknowledgement of Basic Political Qualifications"]

[Text] At the mass courses of party education, the policy committee made a decision regarding the recognition of the academic work of students who study steadily and successfully. According to this decision those students (party members and those not in the party) who successfully complete at least three courses in party education receive a degree acknowledging basic political qualifications.

On the basis of the 26 October 1976 resolution of the Central Committee dealing with propaganda, no lesser task falls to mass education than to insure that conditions be such that party members meet requirements laid down in the organizational statutes: "that they master the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism." In the system of party education in the future it will be incumbent upon the courses in mass education to prepare the large mass of party membership for the idea of performing tasks which result from the execution of party policy.

Approximately half of the party membership has for several years systematically taken part in the mass courses of party education. Most of them master the material with growing interest and increasing diligence. As a result, the demand for recognition of academic work, which was formulated at the talks preceding the revision of membership cards, has also increased. The decision reached now says that not only does our party demand the fulfillment of the ideological commitment prescribed in the organizational regulations, but also, in a manner similar to the other area of party education, in the education of the masses it increasingly values successful academic work and thereby encourages such work to be ranked as a political qualification.

The gradual improvement of the level of educational-instructive work which flows between the political-ideal content of mass education and its

boundaries has made it possible for the successful completion of courses to win acknowledgement as a political qualification. The curriculum of these courses comprises the whole of party policy. They work up the theoretical bases for the chief groups of policy questions and their essential inter-dependences. Through this, ample opportunity exists for both party members and those not in the party if they study successfully to master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and later systematically continue educating themselves.

The curriculum and subject matter of mass education are constantly being modernized. Most propagandists are well prepared theoretically and politically. The true master of mass education is the majority of the basic organs of the party which constantly care for the personal and material conditions of ever higher level educational-instructive work.

Development of Quality

The acknowledgement of successful learning is organically linked to the quality requirements established in an October 1976 resolution of the Central Committee. It is a known fact that the resolution of the Central Committee shows the improvement of quality as the road to the further development of the entire party propaganda and thus the mass propaganda also. The improvement of the quality of party propaganda is a complex, comprehensive task comprised equally of factors of content, organization and method. The system to be introduced is linked to this in such a way that it regards as a basis of acknowledgement the accomplishment of the student, or, in other words, the quality of his academic work.

In the sense of this requirement, the work of a student can be rated successful if he has systematically and actively taken part in the activities of the study group; if fundamentally he has mastered the theoretical and political knowledge included in the subject matter. Thus successful completion of each mass course is not synonymous with registering for that course, nor with regular attendance at the activities, but rather is linked to the completion of previously determined requirements. So successful completion requires grading of the student's scholastic work.

The Central Committee decides in many ways the essence of quality requirements relating to propaganda development. Referring to mass education it stated its reasons for emphasizing that teaching the basic principles must be done jointly with political attitude forming and conviction as an organic whole. In other words, that the students not only master the principle basic political and theoretical principles, but in accordance with the goals of educational-instructive work they know how to actively represent our policy.

Keeping in mind the strengthening of both the political content of mass education and the connections which relate it to life, the policy committee decided that a collective student group, the propagandist and the lower

level leadership take part in the qualifications for completion of each course. The evaluation then is not in scholastic form (a report or examination), but in a form characteristic of the workers' movement. This, not only like the democratic manner of the evaluation of completion, contains noteworthy political value, but it can also be an important factor in the development of the communist sense of community in the study groups.

Increase in Role of Lower-Level Organs

The system of acknowledgement of steady, successful learning occurring in mass education is broadening the sphere of authority of the party's lower-level organs along with increasing its duties. That is to say the policy committee empowers the lower-level organs with the right to acknowledge successful scholastic work as a political qualification. At the end of each academic year it is time for the evaluation and grading of work completed. The method of evaluation: the study group discusses the year's work; the propagandist, taking into consideration the opinion of the collective, makes a recommendation to the leadership of the lower-level organ in which he points out which students studied successfully. From this the leadership determines whose annual academic work qualifies as successful and certifies this. After the successful completion of three courses, the students, at a membership meeting to discuss local experiences and duties of party education, get their diplomas. Simultaneous with the handing out of the diplomas the party members enter the beginning political qualifications on a sheet of the registrar.

The leadership, in order to keep their commitment to their new task, must plan and organize the supervision of party education making the propagandist report and the attendance at activities in such a way that their experiences form a base for a thorough judging of the academic work of each student. The many-sided concrete experiences will certainly supply the yardstick. At the outset one must count on all kinds of exaggerations which should be avoided as much as possible. One must, for example, block the prevalence of the statistical view according to which the most important thing is whether or not the student was at the seminar. Just as harmful, however, is the quantitative view that the more students that get acknowledgement or diplomas, the better. It can be preestablished that the acknowledgement, the diploma, will have value not if anybody who showed up or attended the activities can get one, but only those who really deserve it.

The rating of the academic work of students further increases the role and responsibility of the propagandist. It is in large part dependent on them to what degree, and especially how well they succeed in teaching their students the basic theoretical and political knowledge included in the subject matter, how they make them understand the theoretical background of the political activity and how the ability to theoretically approach and solve political questions is formed in the students. At the time of judging the accomplishment of the students the propagandist must avoid

scholastic methods and concentrate on quality requirements and political and workers' movement related characteristics. This is necessary to make the propagandist bestow greater care on the preparation of content and method, to the emergence of a connection relating to the study group and to the formation of an atmosphere of developing communist community traits.

Personal Responsibility of Students

Although the most important part of what must be done falls to the lower-level organs, the directing party organs also have their duties: the orienting by party organizations and the help of the propagandists. In this area the most useful things are the propagandist's ability to successfully make the seminar function, the development of the level of content, instruction and method of the seminars and the constant taking advantage of the collection of experiences of educational-instructive work.

We are introducing the system of acknowledgement of successful academic work beginning with the 1978-79 academic year. The diploma which verifies beginning-level political qualification will be given out for the first time subsequent to the 1980-81 academic year. The primary goal of the introduction of the system is that successful learning be given increased appreciation. The diploma of beginning-level political qualification states that the party member strives to keep his commitment stated in the organizational regulations to fixed ideological requirements and takes part in regular continual education when he successfully studies. Some students of the courses of mass education today are no longer so active in academic work. This must be changed in the first place by political, educational work, by emphasizing the party member's personal responsibility to the acquisition of Marxist-Leninist knowledge and political education. At the same time, the introduction of this system can spur an increase in the desire to study.

It is hoped that those students, both in and out of the party, who on the basis of 3 years of successful academic work get the diploma of beginning-level political qualification will have received such knowledge and experience that the desire to learn as a natural internal necessity will prompt them--for members it is written in the party regulations as obligatory--to further study. In party education a suitable optional possibility is at their disposal. Curriculum and subject matter which are constantly being updated on the basis of the continual development of policy and theory inspires further study. So the acquisition of a diploma is certainly not a stopping point, but it will be one stop on the road to acquiring and expanding political knowledge.

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HUNGARY

PROBLEMS OF PATRIOTIC-MILITARY EDUCATION AT SECONDARY SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

Budapest PEDAGOGIA SZEMLE in Hungarian No 9, Sep 78 pp 799-807

[Article by Laszlo Bodo, professor of Miklos Zrinyi Military Academy:
"Some Problems of Principle and Method in Patriotic-Military Education in
Secondary Schools"]

[Text] We are preparing to introduce new school curriculum. We are also going to renovate the programs for military education and military sciences. For this reason, we need to take a backward look at the results attained in the field of patriotic-military education, and analyze the causes of our inadequate work.

The content quality of national defense and civil defense education is determined by its relationship to the homeland. We express this moral and emotional subject through patriotism.

Below, we try to focus on those questions which characterize our pedagogical experience.

I. 1. In our schools, the concept is almost universal that the socialist patriotic consciousness is one of the most significant elements comprising progressive historical tradition. But our traditions are restricted to political history, and socialist traditions do not receive the place they deserve. Historical traditions are presented to our students in excessively simplified form. Frequently, we forget about the dialectics of that which is necessary and that which is incidental.

Such a false attitude, a scrutiny of which our teachers are inclined and prepared is still a hinderance that;

--our secondary school students do not simply accept but polemically and critically make their own our progressive traditions;

--we devote greater attention to the dialectics of historical realities in the practice of patriotic education;

--in practice education should also be sufficiently capable of supporting and explaining historical reality against contradictions, without one-sidedness or simplification, and that it be able to explain the positive efforts of the creative classes, strata, groups and personalities which make up society.

2. In practice, the proper principle is not being realized that socialist patriotism and defense are indivisible from the world outlook of the working class and from Marxism-Leninism. In our education we can rather detect boundless humanism than a class outlook, although it is the consistent realization of the class outlook that could give security to an educational practice free from one-sided and undesirable excesses.

3. Frequently the sceptical question is raised--particularly by our more mature students--whether there is sense to socialist patriotic consciousness when we are witnesses to (and participants of) the multilateral integration of socialist countries. That is, is national feeling an obstacle, the major obstacle, to socialist integration?

Behind this and similar questions and doubts lurks an attitudinal uncertainty and lack of clarity in perception as the inability to see that it was the fact of liberation, the epoch year, that opened up the possibility for our becoming a socialist nation. Socialist patriotic consciousness and socialist national feeling is such a reality that without it there is no internationalism, and the development of the multilateral relations of the socialist countries is in the fullest sense a national interest as well. It was our socialist development, our socialist past and present which created the objective condition for patriotism and proletarian internationalism to become an element of consciousness that is mutually stimulating, identifies in close unity, and determines action.

4. Another characteristic weakness of our patriotic education is a one-sided intellectualism, which puts greater stress than necessary on intellectual education in our schools.

What next?

--We must strive by every possible means (particularly in realizing the requirements of the new curriculum) that in our patriotic education we dedicate a greater share of the teaching material to show convincingly the potential and perspective possibilities of our socialist past, the reality of present day society, and the expectations and demands of this reality, to the teaching of materials that are rich in fact and feeling, making class interests and class policy the centerpiece, in order that the interests of the working class be identical with those of the nation, and its policies serve to carry out these interests.

--The lessons of our historical past, its inspiring and beckoning examples, can serve the successes of education for socialist patriotism only if we show these in the mirror of Marxist-Leninist truth, and with this practical

teaching offers the opportunity of a polemical grasp. In this way, we can assure a constantly more nuanced and wider acceptance of our traditions, the traditions of our socialist past, in the process of patriotic education.

--In the contextual proportional content of our patriotic education and in the development of the proportions (their reconceptualization), we cannot lose sight of the fact that it is the militant, liberating traditions of the working class on behalf of national independence and the building up of socialism, both in the past and present, that stand closest to the people (the youth) of today.

--Our production and work traditions, the cult of human work, must receive an appropriate place in the context of our patriotic education without overlooking that our progressive traditions, and chiefly the productive work of the nameless working masses played and play a determining role in the development of our present and future.

--Our patriotic teaching cannot for a moment lose sight of the fact that the principles of internationalism, its consciousness and emotional scope are constantly being enriched. This expanding content, however, cannot obscure the primacy of positive relations with the Soviet Union, their significance and importance. We must strive more consciously to see that our secondary school students know more of the gigantic scope of the selfless undertakings which characterize the Soviet Union from the beginning down to our day; that the main source of these selfless undertakings is the productive and constructive work of the Soviet people, which had an indisputable role, and still has, in our socialist reality.

One of the basic tasks of our patriotic education is to make students conscious that it is impossible, and an untenable anachronism, to realize the real national interests of our country in opposition to the Soviet Union, the peoples of the socialist community, and the international workers' movement, as it is impossible to realize international solidarity by violating socialist national interests.

We must analyze more basically and demandingly teaching-training material, our textbooks, our applied methods and means from the viewpoint of how they serve or fail to serve education for patriotism and internationalism, and what are the reasons for this. We must draw appropriate deductions as to what requirements the effectiveness of patriotic education levies on all study subjects.

II. In any event, the question presents itself whether the 10 years which have passed since the introduction of the military sciences (1968/1969) afford the possibility for adequately exact deductions, mapping out the full spectrum of the nature of military education, successes and weaknesses.

It can be stated without exaggeration that in the gymnasiums and the secondary trade schools, military education is limited largely to the solution of the immediate subject tasks of military sciences. Not every educational factor of a school searches out its military education tasks with conscientious consistency. And still, there are many signs indicating that our students are showing more and more sincere interest in the struggle of peoples fighting for their liberty and independence and in the defense preparedness of the Warsaw Pact members, including Hungary's armed forces, since they have become familiar with some basic military policy concepts, phenomena, processes and the interrelationships among them as well as among the general political trends and military policy efforts.

In those schools where a more continuous relationship has developed with units of the armed forces, the students value and respect a military career activity, and also relate better to it. This is shown by the increasing number of military clubs in our secondary schools, and the large-scale participation in defense-type action contests and competitions.

The picture will become more concrete and specialized if we summarize the studies and analyze the experiences in certain subject areas of the military sciences.

1. The Defense of the Homeland

A great part of our educators correctly see the importance of working out the subject areas when they say that "The defense of the homeland" as a subject area is the "climax" to teaching the military sciences. Behind this statement is recognition of the fact that the understanding of the subject area should be the condition and source also of the consciousness for participating in the knowledge and exercise materials of the military sciences.

Noteworthy is the contradiction which exists between the importance and the function of the subject area and the recognition of the ideological-political seriousness of the military sciences on one hand, and the ideological-political weaknesses and uncertainties of pedagogical practice on the other hand. The problem is that prior to the introduction of military sciences, the educators did not deal with military policy sciences. Their knowledge and orientation did not surpass that of the average newspaper reader, radio listener or television viewer.

Only in recent years of Marxist-Leninist studies for teacher training have the candidates dealt, for example, with peaceful coexistence, the military doctrine of imperialism and the problems of its modification phases, or with the military policy problems of our times. Only since the development of a responsible military system have ideological and ideological-political problems related to defense education had a role in the programs for the advanced training of teachers in an acceptably systematic order.

Educators, however, should know these problems well and thoroughly in order to appropriately plan the pedagogical and methodological adaptation of knowledge and practical materials. Vagueness in questions of ideological principles and intellectual ideology of patriotic education have resulted in decisive teaching and learning methods as well as in the application and choice of suitable and sound tools.

Combined efforts are and will be needed in training and advanced training in order to end the uncertainties which reinforce one another. One of the main tasks of advanced training is to analyze the work performed thus far with adequate criticism, taking into account the requirements of the new curriculum, and planning more circumspectly the preparation of the educators and their continued further education. (The work has taken place in training. New notes have been, or are being, given to the students. More successful preparation can rightly be expected.)

In the past 10 years, despite many positive results, greater success has been hindered by the fact that "The defense of the homeland" subject areas had to be prepared in the framework of department chairman classes, but the subjects were not included in the department syllabuses, and even the temporary syllabuses did so only in a contradictory way. At the same time, the department manuals on methodology did not give procedural recommendations for treating the subjects. The syllabuses for military sciences, which appeared separately and later, comprised both the subject areas and recommendations. This anomaly derived from the fact that the now valid (to 1979) syllabuses were introduced in the early 1960's while the syllabuses for military sciences were introduced only at the end of the decade.

This apparently compilation fact hindered to the end "The defense of the homeland" subject area themes from fitting organically into the process and program of department work. (This despite the fact that the manuals on methodology published for military sciences called the attention of the department heads to the realization of the fullest harmony and recommended usable methods for assuring harmony.)

What can the lesson be?

In preparing the new school curriculum, we strove to avoid the disturbing duality, although in drafting the curriculum there were and are temporal distortions to the disadvantage of the educational program (military sciences). Still unified curriculum sets are being sent out to the schools. An outlook, disrupting in practice, has developed (not irreversibly) that we shall not fit the military policy subject areas into the department programs naturally. The directors and administrators of the advanced training must convincingly justify in the course of training the indefensibility of this outlook characterizing our practice.

The interim introduction of military sciences (1968) prepared those engaged in the work to draft the relatively more comprehensive goals of defense education with military sciences. The new curriculum sets can be the starting point also for correcting this misunderstanding, but only if in preparatory and continued training does not ignore attitude forming.

We still need to mention two more generally inhibiting factors for effective treatment of the subject areas.

One is that every individual subject in "The defense of the homeland" subject areas includes many new concepts, a precise understanding of which is necessary for the students to recognize and make their own essential interrelationships, and with their help understand the justification and necessity for socialist home defense, in the relations to their own lives, our people and the socialist community alike.

This places a big task on both teachers and students. And it is also time-consuming. The facts, the concepts, the processes and the interrelationships being realized among them will be clear to the students only if they are organically adjusted in the moral-political, and ideological concept system of departmental classes. Unfortunately, it is rather a characteristic practice that the subjects of "The defense of the homeland" subject areas are handled and dealt with independently of the subjects in the department classes with moral and political content, although their relationship to each other is very natural.

The other is the method used! Every individual subject of "The defense of the homeland" subject area would require the students to take active part in developing them so that they will be active participants in clarifying the conceptual system of the subjects and in recognizing the interrelationships. The handbook on methodology also suggests this--and in fact gives specific methodological advice. And still, what happens at times? The department head relates his knowledge of the subject, and with that the class ends.

Experiences With Certain Subjects of "The Defense of the Homeland"

In treating the subject that "The defense of the Hungarian People's Republic is the holy obligation of every citizen" an understanding of the basic interrelationship has not yet been realized that in our times the building and defense of socialism are an indivisible task. A significant part of the educators believe that the interrelationship--because of its abstract nature--exceeds "the intellectual development level" of the 15-year-olds. In fact, the problem is (since students deal successfully with even greater abstractions in the 7th and 8th grades of general school) that we give our students insufficient concrete (visual and audiovisual) materials. It is true that by the lecture method this interrelationship of theory and practice is "difficult and abstract" for a 15-year-old. Whereas by using educational television programs prepared in the meantime, we could make this subject very concrete and graphic.

One of the most difficult subjects is "Peaceful coexistence and home defense," and the majority of the students understand its essence very poorly. The students do not perceive the nature of the class war, the manifold antagonisms between the two world systems, and accordingly they cannot see the class war nature of peaceful coexistence in its keen international dimensions.

Latent in the subject of "the war efforts of imperialism and European security" are the newest concepts and the most complicated series of interrelationships. It can be stated that it is in regard to the requirements of this subject that the students are the least oriented. They do not understand the doctrine sufficiently well, its interrelationship with the social order, the class nature of power, and the economic system. Nor is there a great deal of time available for fundamentally developing them. One reason is that changes in the military doctrine of the United States (its phases) are too detailed, but since these are more factual the teachers expound this part of the material, and neglect the rest. (We need to reduce the volume of the material to be treated! For other reasons, too, we must review the material, for certain findings are slowly being overtaken by the changing times!) The related ITV [Enterprise of Business Machine Technology] experience attests to the fact that the success of developing a subject can be significantly increased by visual and audiovisual methods.

The treatment of the subject "The Warsaw Pact and the role of the Soviet Union in the security of socialism and peace" shows the most positive results. The students are relatively familiar with the circumstances of the creation of the Warsaw Pact, and its establishment, and the mission of the most important organs. They understand, see and can justify the role of the Soviet Union and its importance in the security of socialism and peace.

What is it that causes a special problem in a fuller understanding of the subject?

One is that there is not enough emphasis on integration, which is one of the laws of historical development, and of which the Warsaw Pact is an actualized form.

The other is that in justifying the participation of Hungary in the Warsaw Pact the only thing emerging is that because we are a small country we cannot take care of our own defense. From this erroneous summation, the students rightly draw the deduction: "Why then is there a need for us here to have armed forces, and military? Would it not be more useful if the youth worked instead of the military? etc. But it also induces the feeling that we are not equal partners of equal rank in the Warsaw Pact." And this is dangerous. (Let us note that it is for this subject that we have the most audiovisual and visual material.)

Many educators regard a treatment of the military oath as too "serious" for the 3d grade of the secondary schools. They believe that 17-year-olds are not sufficiently mature to understand the moral content of the oath as an obligation. Behind this is the faulty practice by which this unit of "The defense of the homeland" subject area is not fitted into the ethical subjects of the departmental classes. Though in this very grade, they deal with a related subject entitled: "Moral courage, responsibility, loyalty." (The oath, in essence, requires these moral-volitional virtues and characteristics of people.) The treatment of the theme recalls boundless moralizing rather than the dialectics of moral requirements and moral feelings or the social necessity and determination of moral requirements. The oath, too, has its class determination. From the experiences of the applied methods on similarly abstract subjects in the department classes, the conclusion can be drawn that the treatment of this subject also could be made more successful by introducing the so-called pre-discussion short film (5-8 minutes in length).

Experiences in the treatment of the subject "What does the army expect of the recruit?" confirm the need for the subject. The interest of the students is very lively, and they wait for answers to actual problems. (Usually, it is to these classes that they invite career officers) It can be considered as a shortcoming that the opportunities within the army (acquiring a trade, improvement of trade skills, cultural activities and sports, socialist competition movements) are in general left unemphasized.

2. Topography

Judgment on the treatment of this syllabus subject area varies a great deal from the practice aspect. Judgments are grouped around two poles. One is that the level of knowledge that was acquired in the general and secondary schools, and can be refreshed, is generally speaking good, and military topographical knowledge related thereto is of such level. This is not incidental for the refreshed knowledge must be interpreted and supplemented from the viewpoint of military purpose.

Experiences in Certain Subjects of Topography

--Topography and its elements: the kinds of terrain, military classification, configurations, landmarks and their designation, influence of the terrain on combat activity (the interrelationships of combat activity and open, partly covered, covered, related, unbroken and somewhat broken terrains), classification of landmarks and their influence on combat-- the knowledge of all these is reassuring. This knowledge is for the greater part brought with the students; their review and military interpretation do not cause students any particular problems.

Also well learned is [being able to] determine the points of the compass with the help of heavenly bodies, by day or night; the determining of

points by landmarks or natural phenomena. But the "well learned" refers to theoretical knowledge, their application in practice or their practical recognition is considerably weaker. This can be ascribed to the fact that these matters are given altogether 1 hour, and this, too, on the first military defense day. Most of the available time is concentrated on the acquisition and reviewing of knowledge. (A great deal of time is also taken up by the organization of group activity.)

The results of teaching terrain orientation with a compass are poor since there is a lack of an adequate number of [teaching] instruments. We need to press for a better supply of compasses so that there will be at least one for every four students.

--Map knowledge is good (scale of measurement, major symbols, military and civilian map types). The reason for this must be sought in the acquired knowledge that is brought with the students.

--The practical level of orientation and movement by aid of map and compass is lower than desirable.

What are the causes for this situation?

Up to now, we have been unable even to furnish schools with military exercise maps, and tourist maps are available only where these were made for the surrounding areas, but these are not available in lots that would provide one map for every three or four students.

For the most part, only students in survey trade schools have compasses, and those schools where tourism is lively and motivates the masses. This is our greatest lack in instruments.

Physical education teachers are not inclined to use their classes for topography studies. They can hardly be blamed, for they are the ones who best know that the 3 hours weekly are not enough both for balancing and countering the disadvantages nor are they enough for physical education to develop stamina and concise movements.

The first military defense day is still not clearly fulfilling its function. It does not provide adequate time for exercise and for developing practical application of acquired knowledge!

We need more wall maps and diafilms which would assure the economy of knowledge acquisition and make it possible to use the saved time for exercises.

3. Marksmanship

The syllabus subject area which calls for the most disposition is marksmanship. I will note that the attitudes--almost without exception--are today of a positive nature. The nearly three syllabus cycles demonstrate that this is the most favored and attractive part of the military defense studies.

Experiences in Certain Subjects of Marksmanship

The acquisition of material knowledge and basic concepts of sharpshooting can be graded as being at good level. The results could be improved if there were a better supply of weapons. The supply comes to about 65-70 percent. Personally acquired weapon stocks come to about 28-30 percent. The ratio of air guns and small-bore rifles is about 70:30. Thus in teaching material knowledge and basic concepts of sharpshooting, the schools are unable to demonstrate with weapons. It is true there is an acceptable number of wall graphs available. (Existing stocks of diafilm must be increased!) The students are familiar with the main parts of air guns and small-bore rifles, but the female students are uncertain about the function of certain parts. The students are familiar with obstacles, but those in the 1st and 2d grades do not undertake to remove them, leaving this to the firing leaders.

The students are familiar with the requirements and conditions for aiming and accurate shooting. However, they are not always able to make proper adjustments for their misses, corrections in aiming (the redrawing of the target). This, too, is more characteristic of the girls. (It is surprising, however, that there are quite a few schools where the females generally shoot better than the males.)

Knowledge and observance of safety rules is at a reliable level. The teachers correctly treat this subject with special care, circumspection and responsibility. It can be attributed to this fact that our students are the most disciplined in sharpshooting.

There are many different views about body posture in sharpshooting. The source of the contradictory opinions is the presently used syllabus, which does not define firing position. Thus there are some who adhere to the rules of the Marksmanship Cup Competition, which call for a standing position and regard it as an unfair advantage that other schools do the shooting in prone position. This must be attended to in revising the syllabus! Also, the required shooting distances, depending on the type of weapon, must be made clear in the syllabus.

The instructors regard the twice a year firing exercises as inadequate, claiming that the students' skill in aiming, adjusting for misses, and accurate firing cannot be developed even by the end of the 4th year. There is a great deal of truth in this. This, too, is a task that must be resolved in syllabus revision.

One hour is insufficient for treating the subject area of the submachine guns for material knowledge, since the possibilities of graphic presentation are poor.

Experiences show that where a marksmanship club is functioning, the conditions for successful sharpshooting are ideal. In such places, there are

enough weapons available for the schools, there is maximum ammunition supply, the firing range equipment is good, and the opportunities for practice are optimal. Thus annually there are about six firing practice opportunities for the students. Continued and coordinated cooperation between marksmanship clubs and schools must also be supported centrally. This combined form of activity can represent one type of solution for implementing the marksmanship subject area more successfully.

Likewise, we must centrally inspire:

- an improvement in weapon supplies,
- acceleration in shooting range construction,
- improved ammunition supply,
- the preparation of the prints and visual aids indispensable for material knowledge.

4. Military Defense Days

Though the function of military defense days is clarified and defined, practice does not uniformly bear out the necessary purpose.

The main function of the first military defense day is to practice learned and acquired knowledge in order to help prepare the students for the school competition on the second military defense day. The first military defense day was able to fulfill this function only partially. The reason was that on the first day--chiefly in the secondary trade schools it is also necessary to treat new materials, in accordance with the current syllabus. Practice showed that even with the most circumspect organization this day was not suitable for treating new material of a theoretical nature, for example, basic concepts of the compass, angular estimates, etc. The first military defense day should be used only for exercises.

5. Military Defense School Competition

Practice has also shown that the military defense school competitions are suitable and a good form of activity for measuring what has been learned in military defense knowledge.

The organization of military defense school competition is not without its problems. The performance stations do not follow one another logically. In some places, for example, they put marksmanship after some tasks requiring vigorous physical performance. There is relatively much idle time. This is particularly true of the firing station. The organizers generally do not consider that the trial sites could be doubled and even tripled, or that idle time can also be utilized.

In finalizing the military education program to fit organically into the new school curriculum, we cannot overlook the foregoing summarized experiences. Particularly not if it is our intention to see that the new programs will contribute more effectively than heretofore to shaping the outlook of our students, changing their views of the military in a positive direction, and their moral convictions that lead to action.

On basis of the foregoing causes, it is also necessary that the new, military education programs include more significant changes in the proportionate knowledge and practice materials, and also in the relationship between male and female, with all serving the growing demands in a more appropriate manner and realization of the requirements and tasks incumbent upon military education.

6691

CSO: 2500

OHP CIVIL DEFENSE, POLITICAL TRAINING INCREASING

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish No 38, 24 Sep 78 pp 10, 16-17

[Article by Arkadiusz Myszkowski]

[Text] Young men and women dressed in blue OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades] uniforms are probably a familiar sight to everyone. The first of these brigades, which were founded 20 years ago, worked in the Beskid Mountains and had barely 12 members. But as early as the end of 1958 1,900 young men were working in these brigades. In 1959, pursuant to an order issued by the Ministry of Education, service in the brigades was made an integral part of the curricula of basic trade schools. In that year 921 brigade members started their vocational training under this new system, and 688 of them graduated.

Such were the beginnings of the OHP. At the present time more than 50,000 persons are working in intramural brigades. Young men and women brigade members are everywhere. The "Leninist Komsomol Brigade," numbering 1,000 members, is working on the construction of the "Katowice" Metallurgical Works. For the past 5 years an 800-member brigade has been racking up an outstanding performance record through its work at the Small-Engine Automobile Factory in Bielsko Biala. In April 1972 brigade members were among the first to report for work at the construction site of the restored Royal Castle in Warsaw. The way in which brigade members receive their education has also changed. Namely, in 1977 the Central Headquarters of the OHP received permission to enroll adolescent brigade members in elementary trade schools, thereby fulfilling its overall plans dedicated to giving an education to brigade members that is on par with that received by all young people in this age group who are not brigade members. In 1976 the first brigades were founded for qualified applicants to institutions of higher education who were not accepted due to lack of openings.

After having been in existence for 20 years the OHP movement now reached the point where it is a powerful force both as one of the integral elements of our national economic system and as an educational institution. For example, at the present time more than 1,400 special-interest clubs and 800 athletic clubs are active participants in the volunteer labor brigade movement.

These figures may strike one as being rather dry and lifeless. One might ask whether or not all of these young people might not be able to achieve the same results through their own individual efforts. The OHP movement is after all, at first glance anyway, just one of the many forms of activity of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth.

But one can take this view only when and if one fails to appreciate the fact that, in spite of the equalization of opportunities for people to acquire an education and to find a place for themselves in society, social and regional differences in Poland are still important enough that the development of a gainful career can be a real problem. As I was informed by the OHP Central Headquarters, the vast majority of brigade members, i.e., 65 percent, come from peasant families, 32 percent from working class families, while a mere 3 percent are recruited from professional family backgrounds. Most brigade members come from regions of the country where young people have no opportunity to find a place for themselves in society other than by applying to join a brigade, thereby surmounting the obstacles that would otherwise prevent them from gaining access to culture and knowledge. For these young people the OHP represents a real opportunity to achieve success in life. This holds especially true for young men and women from places like Elk or the Suwalki and Rzeszow areas and for those who come from some areas of the Western Territories or from parts of Warmia and Mazuria.

The following comments were made by Zbigniew Tomal, director of the Stationary Brigades Department of the OHP Central Headquarters:

"At the present stage of our national development the work of the intramural brigades amounts for all intents and purposes to a process of 'introducing' our brigade members to society. The days when most of our young men started their study programs by making up for deficiencies in their elementary school training are most certainly a thing of the past. Last year only 1.6 percent of our brigade members received remedial instruction in elementary school subjects. Nowadays our most important work involves the preparation of the young people who join the brigades for entry into the national economy, i.e., finding a place for them in the national scheme of things. This is not just a matter of enabling them to pursue a trade or career. This problem is compounded by a number of other questions whose resolution is sometimes more difficult than would otherwise be the case if all that was required was the transmission of and instruction in occupational skills.

"The young men and women who join the brigades usually have been brought up under conditions that are far removed from those that prevail in an industrial environment. They are not used to working in groups, and they lack good learning habits. During the initial phase of their membership discipline is often not what it should be. It is these very norms of community life which we are trying to instill in them. Our efforts in this direction are aided in particular by the promotion of cultural, athletic, and recreational activities within the OHP framework. For example, there

is the All-Poland Spring Cultural Olympics of OHP members, the finals of which were held this year in Koszalin and attended by 260 contestants selected from among the 1,200 brigade members who started out in the eliminations. There are also the Winter and Summer Athletic Games, in addition to the other physical ability contests which are organized in order to develop proper competitive and cooperative skills. Then again there are our folklore clubs which have participated successfully in national performances. By the time when after two years of service a brigade member leaves any of the brigades he is fully able to become a useful member of society. By that time they will have made up for all educational and social shortcomings."

[Myszkowski] "Do they then have an opportunity to receive additional training and to further improve their vocational skills?"

[Tomal] "Yes, but only on their own initiative. We have already seen how, among other things, former brigade members have become officials of OHP voivodship headquarters. Former brigade members have gone on to earn engineering degrees and are now plant directors. As a rule, OHP members who stay on in the plants where they started their training eventually become master craftsmen and foremen. Any many brigade members do stay on in the plants where they started out. By continuing to work in the places where they received their training they are able to become more fully assimilated, and this in turn gives rise to the phenomenon of 'plant families,' which eliminates the threat whereby the children of former brigade members might be forced to start all over again in the same way their parents did.

"During the period 1971-1977 the OHP turned out 160,000 skilled workers, especially for the housing and rural construction industries, and of this number 53 percent stayed on in the plants where they started out as trainees. This is a very large percentage, especially when one takes into account the fact the majority of these brigade members come from rural areas. Thirty-two percent of those who return to their home regions in many areas of the country (for example, in the Goldap area) account for nearly 100 percent of the local skilled work force. While it is true that we do not stay in constant contact with our former charges, one may still assume that in a vast majority of cases they have proved to be outstanding members of the collectives which they have joined"

Working Vacations

In addition to the intramural brigades, seasonal and extramural brigades are also active within the framework of the OHP organization. At the start of this year's summer vacation season 264,000 young people were participating in this kind of brigade work. The pupils who join these brigades are assured of both pedagogical and vocational supervision. By working in these brigades they have an opportunity to receive training in various trades, and in the case of pupils coming from secondary technical schools they can also receive credit toward their vocational apprenticeship training.

"Brigade members who are employed on a seasonal basis certainly do just as good a job as many full-time workers," says Eugeniusz Wisniewski, deputy commander of seasonal brigades at OHP Central Headquarters. "Among other things, this year's brigade members are working on the construction of the Rzepin-Zbaszynek-Malaszewice railroad line. Other groups are working on the construction of metallurgical sulphur mines in the Tarnobrzeg area, and still other groups are contributing to the restoration of the Old Town section of Zamosc. Brigade members working on these projects are fulfilling their quotas by an average rate of 150 percent. For example, in Opole a 300-member brigade has completed work related to the protection of the natural environment which resulted in a project budget surplus of 0.5 million zloty.

Seasonal brigade members are at the same time pupils on vacation. This year's celebration of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Polish People's Army provided an occasion for the observance in all brigades of a "People's Defense Preparedness Day," during which most brigade members won Defensive Sports Medals. Special "theme days" were organized by groups of brigade members numbering in excess of 200 persons. A total of 36 of these "theme days" were organized by various groups. The largest such group, with 1,236 participants, put on a performance in Zamosc.

Seasonal brigades and extramural brigades (which are based on the work done by young people who attend job training classes in their home towns three days per week) began to expand at an especially rapid pace after the founding of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth. Schools now exist that have a tradition of cooperation with a particular industrial plant going back several years, and groups have been formed consisting of pupils whose vocational skills in a given specialized field are comparable to those of full-fledged specialists. Staying in constant contact with a particular plant produces advantages for both sides. There are no more assimilation problems, and emotional bonds are developed. And a given region can also benefit from this relationship, e.g., the "Working Sundays" put in by brigade members in Przemyśl have produced gains valued at the equivalent of 23,000 man hours. Schools that have remained 'faithful' to particular industrial plants over a period of several years, e.g., the Basic School of Economics in Szczecin, the School of Power Engineering in Elblag, the General Education Secondary School in Zabrze, and so on, are best acquainted with the mutual advantages resulting from this kind of cooperation."

Military Training for Brigade Members

OHP membership is not just a matter of work and not just a matter of study, rather, for members of institutional brigades, it is also a matter of military training, after the completion of which a brigade member is then given the status of a reserve member of the armed forces. The military training courses that are now being offered are in response to the order of the minister of national defense of 5 October 1973, according to which military training within the ranks of the OHP is to be geared toward civil

defense preparedness, i.e., the training of brigade members to protect the civilian population, work places, public works facilities and installations, and cultural assets against the effects of weapons of mass destruction and direct actions by enemy forces, in addition to the training of OHP members to render medical assistance.

"In accordance with the provisions of directives issued by central authorities we are conducting these training sessions twice a month, on Saturdays and Sundays," says colonel Jan Rydlinski, one of the army officers assigned to the OHP Central Headquarters. "All men and women brigade members participate in these training sessions. The men have a schedule consisting of 360 training hours (less for young people's brigades). Women brigade members have a schedule of 120 training hours. In addition to carrying out its regularly scheduled tasks, the Faculty of Defense Instruction and Training of the OHP Central Headquarters is also required to stage brigade member ceremonies and to receive oaths of allegiance submitted by brigade members. Last year 24,902 persons gave "brigade member oaths of allegiance." The importance of this function not only in relation to the OHP, but also in relation to society at large is attested to by the fact that a total of 118,022 brigade members took part in this ceremony, and members of their families often came from the other end of Poland to witness these proceedings. This year's oaths have also already been received. Brigade members from Chelm in Lublin Voivodship were the last group to take this year's oath on 12 December. We do not yet know how many persons attended their ceremony.

"Next year the number of hours set aside for the military training of brigade members in the area of ideological and political instruction is supposed to be increased. An additional 32 class hours are to be designated for this purpose. At the same time, we intend to offer this kind of training to brigade members belonging to brigades for university candidates.

"At the present time our training staff base is in good shape. This teaching staff is made up of instructors detailed from the Ministry of National Defense and 84 military officers serving in advisory capacities. It is worth adding that in 20 voivodships OHP advisors serve simultaneously as senior Civil Defense inspectors."

Women Brigade Members

The first OHP brigades for women were founded in 1968. One of the oldest of these brigades, which is celebrating its 10th anniversary this year, is associated with the "Chelmek" Leather Products Industry Plants. At the present time 1,835 women brigade members are working in 26 brigades. Most of these women are working at the 'Chemitex-Stilon' plant in Gorzow Wielkopolski and in the General Construction combine in Tychy. Last year 494 young women in these brigades found full-time jobs, and of this number 266 stayed on in the plants where they received their training as brigade members.

"There are never enough openings for all of the young women who apply to join the brigades," says Barbara Michalowska, who specializes in dealing with the problems faced by young women brigade members at OHP Central Headquarters. "For every 450 job openings that are available to men there are barely 28 available to women. For example, in the Knitted Textiles Brigade in Lubawka there are 300 applications for every 50 openings. At the 'Elan' plant in Torun there are 1,000 applications for 200 openings. This is where most young women want to go to work, since these are traditional 'women's' jobs. However, there are some women brigade members who are not afraid to take jobs typically regarded as being male-dominated. For example, at the Praszka machine building plants 100 women are working as machine operators, and for the past 6 years young women have been working as vulcanizers at the Olsztyn Tire Plant. Moreover, these women have good working records. They are doing just as good a job as the men.

"Most our young women come from very poor families. Their membership in the brigades makes it possible for them to acquire a trade and helps them to find husbands and start a family. In the very near future these kinds of opportunities will open up for a somewhat larger number of young women. It is projected that during 1978-1979, 2,290 young women will be hired as brigade job trainees. But this is still far too few. Even though it is proving to be possible to meet the demand to a somewhat greater extent, there will certainly continue to be many more applicants than there are openings."

Jubilee Celebrations

OHP members are celebrating the 20th anniversary of their movement. Men and women brigade members are employed in industrial enterprises in the jurisdictions of 21 government ministries. Last year 1,265,500 men and women brigade members were hired as job trainees. A total of 238,500 young people took part in the campaign entitled "OHP -- Summer 77." During 1977 alone membership in OHP units made it possible for more than 900 young men to be admitted to the PZPR as full members or as candidate members. It is fitting that we should extend our best wishes to those celebrating this anniversary in the hope that they will achieve equally outstanding results during the years to come both in terms of their contribution to the national economy and also in terms of their public service projects.

11813

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENCE BY ROMANIANS UNDER FOREIGN RULE

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 4, Jul-Aug 78 pp 51-84

/Article by Augustin Deac: "Moral and Material Aid Given by the Romanians Under Foreign Domination to the War for Romania's Full Independence"/

/Text/ Romanians everywhere always felt united in thought and deed in order to brave the vicissitudes of history and defend their being, which often was endangered by the oppressors, but with the tact inherited by the forefathers of this land--the Dacians--they took action to reunite all the provinces they inhabited in their ancient and beautiful land in order to develop united, as it is natural for a nation to develop, and, as the ages have proven, capable of placing all their energies, strivings and aptitudes in the balance in order to ensure continued progress in the places they inhabited and to contribute to general enrichment of their material and spiritual culture.

Thus, all the Romanians of Muntenia, Dobrogea, Oltenia, Moldavia, Bucovina, Transylvania and Banat, in continual and multilateral economic, political and cultural connection, despite the temporary divisive borders, enjoyed the successes obtained in social-economic development as brothers, aided in ensuring their prosperity and many times mutually helped each other with difficult material and human sacrifices to defend the autonomy of the ancient land and achieving unity and the full independence of this country.

Taking into account the more privileged situation of Wallachia, together with its capital, Bucharest, it asserted itself as a true mother country which, precisely due to the clear progress recorded in all areas, was the center of attraction for all Romanians. In this regard, Ioan Slavici's feeling that "the sun of the Romanians rises in Bucharest" is a fact: Romanians everywhere, but particularly those in the provinces still oppressed

by the great neighboring oppressive empires, saw in the modern Romanian state, achieved under the wise rule of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the decisive political factor which had the mission of its playing first violin in achieving the thousand-year-old dream from then on : achieving the national Romanian state by reuniting to it all the Romanian provinces still under the foreign yoke.

For that reason, even from the union of Moldavia and Wallachia not only did all the ties between the Romanian state and the historic Romanian provinces which had remained outside it intensify even more clearly, but from then on it became a support of hope and asserted themselves as an active aid deeply felt by the big oppressor powers in the struggle for the national liberation of the Romanians in these provinces. It is well known that even Mr Cuza directly intervened both to improve the difficult situation of the Transylvanian Romanians as well as initiated important steps in the arena of international life in order to demonstrate the deep interest which Romania as the mother country had for the fate of the Romanian provinces under foreign domination.

Of course, there were many delicate problems facing the modern Romanian state, particularly foreign ones that had to be resolved. Political personages in the Romanian capital, headed by Al. I. Cuza, following the union of Moldavia and Wallachia in a single state, oriented themselves very well, taking powerful action first for the domestic and international consolidation of it. From this viewpoint, the great reforms carried out by the ruler Cuza seem especially important to us, while the assertion of Romania in international relations, through his promotion of a policy of neutrality corresponding both to its interests as well as those of all Romanians under the foreign yoke, had as a direct result a clear increase in the struggle of the subjugated Romanians for their national emancipation.

Under the international conditions created by the eastern crisis of 1875-1877 and the Russian-Ottoman war of 1877-1878, as we know, the Romanian state decided to declare war, no longer having another political means to use to obtain complete independence from the Ottoman Porte. This decision, which signified a new and important step toward asserting the Romanian state internationally, naturally was felt by the Romanians in the subjugated historic provinces to be a particularly important point in the assertion of the Romanian state and in the strengthening of its international positions and actually those of all the Romanians, an occasion which allowed them to intervene more decisively in defending their basic problems, going so far as to consider it the decisive factor in their liberation from the foreign yoke. For that reason, the 1877-1878 war to gain the complete state independence of Romania found a powerful response in all the oppressed Romanian provinces, which heartily approved this decision

taken by Bucharest, with its enjoying an important moral, material and human aid from Romanians of all ages and from all social strata in these provinces.

Response to the Declaration of Romania's Absolute Independence In the Oppressed Romanian Provinces in the Bucharest Parliament

A decade had passed since establishment of the dualist Austro-Hungarian monarchy, with which occasion the Austro-Hungarian dominant classes divided their domination in the monarchy: the Austrians to the west of the Laitha River and the Hungarian dominant classes to the east of it. At the same time, with the agreement of the Habsburgs, the Hungarian reaction forcibly annexed Transylvania to Hungary, which led to a halt to any trace of autonomy for this old Transylvanian principality, representing an obvious danger for the very fate and being of the Romanians there. During the period of time which had passed since this arbitrary act, the reactionary Hungarian state promoted an open policy of the forced denationalization of the Romanians there, who formed the great majority. Their social and national exploitation became accentuated, a policy of colonization with Hungarian elements intensified and a wild terror and sharp punishments were instituted for those who claimed democratic and national rights. Despite all this, the Romanians there, feeling themselves aided by those on the other side of the Carpathians, were more decisive about braving the infamous policy of the reactionary governments of Budapest. It became organized politically, while the two Romanian cults--Orthodox and Greek Catholic--promoted a united policy of decisive resistance. While this fight between the Hungarian reaction--decisive through fire and sword, as its ideologist Ludovic Kossuth had ordered, about achieving "the great Hungarian nation" through forced denationalization of all the non-Hungarian peoples in the so-called kingdom of Saint Stephan, temporarily carried out at the start of our century by invasions--and the Romanians, in a struggle to defend their national being and the achievement of their legitimate rights, was increasing, the news of the outbreak of war to achieve Romania's complete state independence was received in Transylvania with hatred and hostility by the Hungarian potentates and with cries of joy by the Romanians, cries which went with the speed of thunder from Brasov to Carei, from Orsova to Sighetul Marmatiei.

This time, too, the Hungarian dominant classes showed their deeply reactionary position on their face. Accustomed for centuries to invade and oppress other peoples, they were not able to look well on the rise to struggle of the oppressed peoples for their rights. For that reason, even from the start, they disapproved of the Romanians' struggle to achieve their independence, totally correctly seeing in Romania's war for independence a real danger for

the very fate of the dualist monarchy, this motley conglomeration of peoples achieved by domination and petty thievery, according to Engels' opinion. Despite the fact that Austro-Hungary formally had become committed to promote a policy of strict neutrality through the agreements of the Reichstadt (November 1876) and Budapest (January 1877) with tsarist Russia, the dominant Hungarian classes, which asserted themselves as the most reactionary component of the dualist monarchy, still supported an open policy of aid for the Ottoman Porte in this war and one of smothering any actions contrary to this policy in those parts of the monarchy where they dominated. As Baritiu felt, "More than a hundred Hungarian newspapers sounded as one in unanimously combatting the independence of the Romanian state."¹ HON, MAGYAR FUTAR, MAGYAR POLGAR, KELET and other newspapers termed Romania's just war "an act of rebellion." MAGYAR FUTAR, which appeared in Budapest, demanded that our monarchy "strangle Romanian independence."²

The decree for Romania's mobilization was commented on by NEUE FREIE PRESSE, closely tied with the reactionary circles in Budapest, ironically in the sense that this concentration of Romanian troupes "will not hinder the Turks from crossing the Danube and chasing the Romanian infantry and cavalry up to Transylvania." GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI retorted to this slander by noting the heroism of the Romanian army and its determination to fight. "We do not dispute that such a thing could happen," the newspaper emphasized, "but we think that we still are within the bounds of possibilities if we admit that the Romanian infantry and cavalry can head for Transylvania even without being chased by the Turks."³

Hungarian reaction went so far with its aid to the Ottomans as not only to send help in the form of money, materials and army detachments to aid the Ottoman army,* but also to secretly organize in Transylvania mercenary units financed by certain reactionary European circles intended to cross the Carpathians and attack the Russian-Romanian troupes from the rear.⁴

Under these conditions all the more important and of great help was the action of the Romanians in the dualist Austro-Hungarian monarchy of solidarizing with the Romanians on the other side of the Carpathians who were in battle in a brotherly and multi-lateral way and counteracting the propaganda and actions against the Romanians organized by the reaction in the dualist Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

* See the address of the Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs No 3239 of 11 September 1877 sent from Vienna to the president of the Hungarian Council of Ministers Tisza Kalman (Archives of the Museum of the History of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca, manuscripts on the National Problem).

The Romanians in the oppressed provinces totally became part of the action to support the great cause of all Romanians. This also was recognized by the cabinets in Budapest and Vienna. In an address of the Hungarian minister of the interior of 20 October 1876 sent to the counties in Transylvania, he pointed out the concern for this fact: "According to the experiences up until today, there is no doubt of the preference of the Romanians in Hungary for their relatives in the principalities of Moldavia-Wallachia as well as the fact that the Romanian agitators in Hungary will take action and will try to take action in the direction which the government of the principality will adopt."⁵

Five days later, on 25 October 1876, that same Hungarian minister of the interior informed the counties in Transylvania that Dimitrie Petrino of Bucovina "is attempting to disseminate a 'Call' to the Romanian residents of the country for them to free themselves from slavery and join with the principality of Moldavia-Wallachia⁶ The minister requested that the local authorities arrest those distributing it and confiscate "Call."

The proclamation of complete state independence on 9 May 1877 in the Romanian parliament in Bucharest was for all the Romanian people a magnificent historic point and gave rise to elevating demonstrations of the national sentiment and patriotic enthusiasm similar to those of 5 and 24 June 1859.⁷ That moment of supreme joy was shared by the Romanians in the provinces subjugated by the neighboring empires. As TELEGRAFUL ROMAN stated, "All Romanian hearts are full of joy and enthusiasm; in Transylvania, in Banat and Bucovina enthusiasm reigns and many letters, the publication of which would fill an entire volume, clearly proves to us what enthusiastic dispositions reign among the Austrian Romanians (in the dualist Austro-Hungarian monarchy)."⁸

The Romanians in the provinces under foreign domination were informed of the decision of the Romanian Government by many reports coming from Bucharest and published in all the newspapers and magazines on that side of the Carpathians: "The absolute independence of Romania is officially established and proclaimed both in the House of Deputies as well as by the Senate on 9 May. At the same time, the state of war of Romania with the Ottoman Empire is officially proclaimed! All Romanians are shouting: Long live the absolutely independent Romania!!!"⁹

Acting as a voice for the entire oppressed Romanian population, the editors of GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI headed by the eminent publicist George Baritiu wrote in the editorial: "We salute it with our hearts full of joy since it is hurrying to tell us that from now on Romania will start a new life, a new life of liberty and independence. Long live free and independent Romania!!!"¹⁰

The prestigious magazine FAMILIA, led by Iosif Vulcan, wrote concisely about the historic news: "The most important news for us lies in the words : 'Romania has proclaimed its independence' and at the same time has declared war on Turkey. This act occurred on 9 May 1877 in Bucharest, with both the house and senate unanimously voting for it."¹¹ In the next issue, the editors reported at length on the decisions of the Romanian parliament as well as the active help of the Bucharest population: "Monday, 9 May 1877, around 12 o'clock, hundreds of people with their hearts beating fast ran toward the Hill of the Metropolitanate to be present when the act they wanted for centuries took place: 'the absolute independence of Romania.' It was not quite 1 o'clock and the tribunes and galleries were crowded with the impatient multitude, and even the yard of the Metropolitanate was no less crowded with people. The session opened. When Mr Fleva took the tribune a deep silence reigned throughout the hall and everyone's gaze was fixed on the speaker; one could read an uneasiness on everyone's face but, at the same time, joy as well. 'These are solemn moments in the life of the peoples,' Mr Fleva said at the start, 'when any hatred and discord must be stilled, must be expressed and everyone must think on the fate of the mother of all, the country, and on making it greater and securing it.' After he had presented relations of Romania with the Porte, which had attacked it, the speaker concluded: 'We cannot hesitate before them; I as a Romanian and representative of the nation am able only come out loud and clear that this country is free and independent and the ruler of Romania is the ruler of a free and absolutely independent country.'"Upon hearing this," FAMILIA reported, "the entire hall had erupted into frenetic applause which lasted several minutes and there even were tears in the eyes of many of them. A sublime moment!"¹²

FAMILIA then reported on the enthusiastic reception given by the parliament and the crowd present to Mihail Kogalniceanu, prime minister, "the great diplomat," as it called him, who, "amidst the applause got up and with a calm heart stated in his powerful voice that Romania was in a state of war with Turkey, that ties between Romania and Turkey were broken and that the government would do everything so that at the future peace Romania would be recognized as a country with free and independent development."¹³ There was prolonged and enthusiastic applause, FAMILIA reported. It then continued, reporting the decision of the Romanian parliament, by which "Romania's absolute independence received official sanction."¹⁴ FAMILIA also made references to the decision of the Senate on that same day, where Senator Dimitrie Gr. Ghica, "with that patriotic instinct characteristic of him, made a motion like the one in the House, which was received with applause unanimously."¹⁵

The motion, a declaration of the Romanian House and Senate of Bucharest on 9 May 1877 on the absolute independence of the country, caused boundless enthusiasm among the Romanians in the oppressed provinces. This same magazine reported: "On Monday, 9 May an act occurred in the capital of Romania which has been desired for centuries and which will be written in letters of gold in Romanian annals. The idea for which so many illustrious men fought, so many great patriots and so many generations has been fulfilled."16

Other Romanian newspapers in Transylvania also published materials on the work of the Romanian parliament, the speech of foreign minister M. Kogalniceanu and the proclamation of independence of the Romanian Government. Emotionally referring to that historic act of 9 May 1877, TELEGRAFUL ROMAN made the following statement: "Saluting a free and independent Romania with brotherly heart. Long live Romania. Long live the Romanian army."17

The Romanian press on the other side of the Carpathians and in Bucovina regularly published the decisions and communications of the Romanian Government and army command, letters and news from the front, many official speeches and speeches of certain persons, presenting broad commentaries on the correctness of the Romanian action. TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, FAMILIA and other newspapers opened permanent columns in which public opinion in the provinces under the domination of the great neighboring powers was informed of the struggles of their brothers across the Carpathians to eliminate Ottoman sovereignty and of the soldiers' selflessness and spirit of sacrifice. At the same time it published appeals and calls of the Romanian counties formed throughout the country or those of private persons, reports of the sacrifices of Romanians devoted with all their hearts to support the just war, the names of volunteers as well as many other actions which all contributed to conducting the war to achieve Romania's complete independence more decisively. In all these ways the press in this part of the country contributed to informing the residents of these Romanian provinces promptly and truthfully of the development of military and political events in the country and abroad, broadly popularizing all the actions of brotherly solidarity with those in the struggle.

Several commentaries in Romanian journals across the mountains stressed the international conditions which caused the Romanians to resort to the path of arms in order to ensure their absolute state independence. Presenting Romania's relations with the Porte, the Transylvanian newspapers noted that only after Romania had done everything possible by political means for the recognition of this complete independence did it declare war upon the direct attack of the Ottomans. In presenting the arguments for this act, GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI published the speech of M.

Kogalniceanu, "the celebrated Romanian diplomat and current minister of foreign affairs," who stated among other things: "When I saw the Turkish bombardment, I said to myself and had to say 'we must defend ourselves' and also because Turkey declared itself in a state of defense, in a state of war . We occupied Calafat; the cannon of Vidinul roared and the cannon of Calafat answered. We sent troupes to Oltenita; being attacked from Tur-tucaia, we in turn also bombed them and burned a portion of Tur-tucaia."¹⁸ As GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI stated in another commentary, "That is how what was foreseen to occur took place; since the Romanians were provoked, they began the war against Turkey and are fighting courageously and with resoluteness. The beginning is good, but the finish should be brilliant. Forward then."¹⁹

In another commentary, after it had presented the policy of the big powers toward eastern Europe, GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI concluded that "without a struggle, it will not be possible to defeat tyranny and barbarity which for centuries has settled in eastern Europe and the peoples' freedom will not be able to be achieved. Analyzing the nature of the Russian-Turkish war which broke out in the spring of 1877, the reasons which caused Romania also to declare war, in the article entitled "Russia and Romania, George Baritiu felt that Romania's policy "was exclusively dictated, formulated and imposed by the particular interests of the country and nation."²¹ Taking that same idea in the article entitled "The Action of the Romanian Army" written on the eve of the entry of the Romanian soldiers into battle, Andrei Muresanu found: "The hour for the entrance of the Romanian army into action has sounded. The Romanians must enter into action in order to speed up a war which has imposed the great sacrifices on it and which steadfastly are imposing them on it and in the end fight to honor Romania's flag which has not wavered victoriously on the banks of the Danube for 200 years full of humiliation and plunder."²² With faith in the force of the Romanian army, the Transylvanian patriot concluded: "Forward with God! Brave Romanians! The best and most ardent wishes of your brothers on the other side of the Carpathians go with you. Let heaven fulfill the prophecy of the national poet. Let freedom ring on the shores of the Danube."²⁵

The fact that the Romanian army crossed the Danube at the order of the grand duke Nicholas, supreme commander of the Russian armies, did not escape the newspapers on the other side of the Carpathians. As GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI wrote, "The Romanian troops really crossed the Danube. This news of great political and military importance is fully confirmed from all sides. The Romanians crossed the Danube to give aid to the Russian armies."²⁴

The fact that the country's army was not subordinate to the great tsarist commanders at the insistence of the Romanian ruler and that it kept its full independence brought special appreciation:

"Prince Carol took command of the combined Romanian-Russian armies from the mouth of the Plevna. From a military and political viewpoint this fact is of the greatest importance," GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI stressed with particular determination.

Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crisana, Maramures, Bucovina and Bessarabia, despite all their oppressions and troubles at home, contributed to the extent of their modest powers to aiding the war to regain the country's absolute independence. As GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI confessed, echoing Romanian public opinion across the mountains, "We would deserve to be branded with the stigma of infamy if we were not concerned with all our love and moral pain for the fate of Romania, our blood and the inhabitants of that country who have gone through problems and calamities without name and number."²⁵

The Role of the Initiative Committees in Aiding the War To Regain Romania's Absolute Independence

Committees were established to collect money and donations given by the population for the Romanian army in many locations throughout the provinces under the domination of the dualist Austro-Hungarian monarchy on the initiative of some ardent men and women patriots. Thus, two days after the declaration of complete independence, a committee to aid the soldiers formed of 15 members was established in Brasov under the presidency of Diamandi Manole.²⁶ In Sibiu the committee to aid the war of independence was established on 17 May 1877 under the sponsorship of the Society of Romanian Women. Iudita Macelariu was elected president.²⁷ FAMILIA wrote: "The Romanian ladies of Clusiu even before the ones in Sibiu formed a committee for what is called the national goal. The president of this committee was Mrs Maria Ilisiu."²⁸ A committee composed of 12 members, under the presidency of Anastasia Popescu, was formed in Fagaras.²⁹ In Nasaud, the central committee from the entire territory to aid the Romanian wounded was headed by Elisabeta Pop-Pacurariu and was formed at the 3 June 1877 meeting. The Oradea committee was presided over by Veturia Roman, the one in Timisoara by Iulia Rotariu, in Suceava by Elena Popovici and in Cernauti by Natalia Hurmuzachi and Elena Petrino.

Similar committees also were established in other centers, such as Abrud, Orastie, Deva, Curtici, Oravita, Alba Iulia, Simleu Silvaniei, Hateg,³⁰ Storojinet and many, many other locations.

Committees also were formed of Romanian students from Vienna³¹ and Budapest.³² More than 350 committees were formed in all.

The various appeals and manifestos sent by these committees to the Romanian population in the oppressed provinces are moving. They express the powerful national consciousness of the Romanians here,

who felt themselves at the same common front of battle with the Romanian army against the enemies. In the appeal of the committee of Romanians of Brasov for aid to the Romanian soldiers, for example, given two days after the historic declaration--that is, 10 May 1877--the call to aid Romania's war was argued in this way: " Our brothers over there, faced with the harsh need of defending their belongings and existence with weapons, the voice of charity is coming and claims aid and comfort from humanity. This sacred voice is especially required of us, where it at the same time is the voice of blood because they are our brothers. And if the lights of civilization have reached a point where a real cult is made of care for and soothing the pains of those who have fallen in war, can we remain indifferent to those who are closest to us, who have risked their lives for the law, honor and existence of the Romanian people? History is a witness and even many of us are witness to the fact that our brothers over there during bad times accepted us and sheltered us in their homes without regard for nationality and they aided our imperfections and soothed our pains."33

The appeal of the society of Romanian women of Sibiu noted: "Faced with the conflagration in eastern Europe, a conflagration which will touch and already has touched our brothers and sisters in Romania, led by the feeling of our hearts and always inspired by the sublime instinct of humanity, we cannot remain indifferent to what our brothers and sisters, what they, our blood, will have to bear in this great drama being prepared and one which already has begun on the beautiful, historic and old steaming lands of the Danube. For this reason the Romanian women of Sibiu today have joined with the resources they have possible to aid the wounded Romanians and to ease the suffering of the families of those soldiers who have fallen or who will fall in battle and for this purpose they have formed an executive committee. So with love we invite all our sister Romanians who agree with the goal we have proposed to be so kind as to make their own contribution."34

In "A Respectful Letter to Our Women," G. Baritiu, publishing the appeal of the committee of women of Sibiu, noted the just, progressive and national nature of Romania's war as a rebuff to the Ottoman attack, which also explained the action of all the social classes to aid it: "Today, during these days of supreme crisis and testing, we also see our women washing and binding the wounds of those Romanian soldiers, our brothers, who, provoked and drawn into battle by the Ottomans, are fighting and spilling their blood not from vanity and arrogance but in the most concise sense of the word for the existence of the country and nation, for liberty and against the old wild tyranny which so many times had made their country a universal grave. All the recent public acts

from the legislature and from the Romanian Government as well as the events of past days can convince all of us that Romania is determined to defend its existence and rights up to extreme limits. If we were to have no other proof of the firm decision of the country's inhabitants to defend themselves, those long lists of extraordinary donations would be enough--beautiful horses (now more than 2,000 of them), wheat for bread, money, barley, oats, wine which are coming steadily from all regions of the country of their own will so that the law of requisitions used in all states and also voted on in Romania is being applied much less than some feared. In short, the entire nation, men and women, young boys and girls have decided to sacrifice everything--wealth, health, life--in order to save the most sublime goods in the world."³⁵

Congratulating the initiative of the Romanian women of Sibiu, the great patriot stated: "The honor of the initiative is for the women of Sibiu, who have taken upon themselves the job of accepting and forwarding the donations for the wounded. We do not doubt for one minute that our women from other villages, especially the urban and large rural ones, will form small committees of three or five persons in order to consult on the quality of the gauze, the shape of the bandages and other things, for example, as well as the way the packages are sent to their destinations."³⁶

ROMANUL, the prestigious newspaper, giving reasons for the powerful brotherly solidarity with the Romanian army, stated: "The holy obligation which each Romanian has to jump to the aid of their brothers in blood who are suffering and especially to the aid of the Romanian heroes who are bleeding anywhere in the struggle to defend the national Romanian existence."³⁷

The memorandum of a group of intellectuals from Salaj, sent from Zalau on 25 May 1877 to vicar Alimpiu Barbuloviciu on the need to organize an action to aid the Romanian soldiers, mentioned: "The events in eastern Europe, which have forced Romania to go to war and sacrifice the lives and wealth of its sons in order to defend the forefathers' hearth urgently requires that we, too, do something to soothe the pains of our wounded brothers from the viewpoint of our Romanian nature as well as from the blood ties which we have with our brothers on the other side of the Carpathians."³⁸ Also, the "Appeal to the Romanian women of Cimpia" signed by Anulia Crisianu (nee Maior) and Carolina Pop (nee Papiu) mentioned: "Our sisters from all the districts where we hear the Romanian language have understood this wish for a long time; help is coming from all parts for the Romanian who has fallen in battle against the half moon. Cimpia always has distinguished itself by its pure Romanian nature; thus, it would even be an outrage against us if we Romanian women from

'the Transylvanian grainary' were to stand with our arms crossed and look indifferently on the shouts of pain from the wounded Romanians and the sacrifices which others of our sisters are making at the altar of the Romanian nation."39

The entire Romanian population from the Romanian provinces under the domination of the great neighboring empires responded to the emotional appeals. From the first moment that the committees to aid the Romanian soldiers were formed, large amounts of money and big quantities of donations needed to carry on the war were collected. In the cities and villages, the teachers, priests' wives or simple peasant women often went from house to house, collecting money and provisions for the Romanian soldiers.

It should be noted that even by 13 May 1877 the committee from Brasov sent the Romanian Red Cross in Bucharest monetary aid totalling 7,125 gold florins. On 17 May the National Committee of the Romanian Red Cross answered the aid which has come from the Brasov Romanian women, thanking them "not only for the large amount of the donation," but, especially, for "the speed of the act," which showed "clear proof of their sympathy and love."40

Proving their deep patriotism and determination to contribute to the victory of the Romanians, hundreds and thousands of peasants, workers and intellectuals from the oppressed provinces answered the appeals of the leaders of the Romanian national movement. For example, on 7 May 1877 Sevastiana I. Muresanu promptly answered from Brasov: "The undersigned, invited by the sense of obligation which every Romanian has to jump to the aid of their brothers in blood who are suffering and especially to the aid of the Romanian heroes who are bleeding anywhere in the struggle to defend the Romanian national existence," offer to the brave wounded soldiers of Romania 30 kilograms of gauze and bandages, inviting all our Romanian sisters to similar offers which we owe to our blood brothers wounded in battle."41

The Austro-Hungarian authorities and, in general, the dominant reactionary classes did not like the action to collect materials and money, an action headed by the wives of some of the leaders of the struggle of the Romanian masses--Iudita Macelariu, Emilia Ratiu, Maria Baritiu, Maria Cosma, Elisabeta and Elna Pop, the wife and daughter, respectively, of George Pop of Basesti, Natalia Hurmuzachi. While they were releasing lists of subscriptions to aid the Ottoman army, the reactionary newspapers of the monarchy launched a vehement press campaign against the Romanian committees, demanding that they be dissolved. KELET, a reactionary magazine, rose up against the Romanian committees to aid the wounded soldiers, writing at the start of June 1877 that "aid to an army which can endanger even the existence of Hungary

and to soldiers who, when healed, could bear arms against it cannot be tolerated."⁴² Local Hungarian authorities, in their reports to the Hungarian Government in Budapest, were frightened by the scope of the Romanians' action, they too demanding dissolution of the Romanian aid committees. All this demonstrated the fear of the dualist regime that the complete independence of Romania would give even greater scope to the movement for the national liberation of the Romanians from the double monarchy. For that reason, the central and local Hungarian authorities strictly followed the activity of the Romanian committees formed with a view to aiding the war for Romania's independence as well as of private persons who took action in this regard.⁴³

Coming to meet with the Hungarian reaction, governor Tisza, himself a reactionary, ordered dissolution of the committees formed for the reason that they were carrying out agitational activity.

In a circulating order sent on 12 May 1877 to the commissioners of counties, Tisza Kalman, the Hungarian minister of the interior, informed them that "formation of aid committees is not permitted; however, private persons may collect for the wounded of either of the warring sides aid in the form of rags, linens, and even money, but the original dockets of the aid gathered are to be presented each time to the authorities before they are sent, and they will receive full assurance that the aid collected really is being sent to the wounded. Each such dispatch is to be reported to me at the same time as the copy of the docket is forwarded."⁴⁴

The Romanians studying in Vienna had their request rejected by the central authorities to start their activity as "the central committee of Romanians in Vienna to aid the Romanians in the Romanian army" formed of 10 persons. Collections were not approved to be made since, according to the reason given by the Hungarian minister of internal affairs, "the activity of public aid through collections is being requested too much for internal reasons of all types."

In light of this order, the city hall of Brasov brought M. Diamandi to responsibility for the appeal he started, and the supreme committee of Sibiu County informed Macelariu on 30 May 1877 that in order to investigate the need for the status of neutrality it was not permitted to establish committees but rather only the individual activities of private persons.

* Octavian Blajan, Mihail Lascar, St. Ciurcu, I. Popescu, C. Pop, Ion Cornea and others were part of the committee. ROMANUL expressed its reproof of the Austrian Government, which tried to hinder the Romanians there "from fulfilling in full freedom that sweet blood obligation: helping the soldier who fell for the cause of the Romanian people" (ROMANUL, year XXI, 14 July 1877).

KELET of 23 May 1877 noted with satisfaction that this measure was taken everywhere in Transylvania where the Romanian committees had started to be established.

These measures were intended in particular to hinder the activity of the Romanian committees and their provisions sought to also intimidate private Romanians who were initiating such an action.

Leaders of the movement for the national liberation of the Romanians, among which George Baritiu was in the forefront, spoke out courageously, protesting energetically the measures taken by the Hungarian authorities against the committees for aiding the Romanian army and the reactionary press campaign. For example, in the article entitled "For the Benefit of Wounded Romanians" published in GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, G. Baritiu branded the measures taken against the Transylvanian Romanian committees to aid the Romanian army: "The impartial and just judgment of Christian and civilized Europe would brand us Romanians in this empire with the stigma of being traitors of our blood if we did not jump to the aid of our brothers who have the same origin, nation, language and religion as we do, at least with three pieces of linen which are placed on the faces of the deceased when they are placed in the casket." Conscious that the obstacles and pressures would not have the effect counted on, Baritiu wrote: "The Romanian women will go forward on the path shown them by their hearts, by the national will and the example of enlightened Europe, scorning any passions of tyranny and terrible egoism of country."⁴⁵ In the same article, supporting the just cause for which the Romanian army was fighting, Baritiu stigmatized the newspapermen placed in the service of the Austro-Hungarian governing circles, showing that while they were accusing the men of state (of Romania) of felonies and treason because they were fighting for the freedom of their country," the Romanian newspapermen would have "accused them of treason and poltroonery if they had stood with their arms crossed, while today we are congratulating them and encouraging them for their patriotism."⁴⁶ G. Baritiu's article brought lively response among public opinion in Transylvania. However, the author's courage did not remain unobserved by the authorities of the Hungarian dominant classes which opened up a resounding press process against him.*

At the same time, other patriots also protested the decisions of the government in Budapest: N. F. Negrutiu in Gherla, Francisc Hossu-Longin in Deva, Iuliu Porutiu and Clemente Aiudeanu

* After 3 years of delays, the judge and jury in Sibiu rejected the accusations made about the old fighter, bringing a verdict of acquittal which was accepted by public opinion with satisfaction.

in Cimpeni and many others. On 1 June 1877, Iudita Macelariu in an address to the prefect of Sibiu County protested: "Cannot these committees be left to work freely since they are acting for the Romanians who are suffering? Our state has friendly relations both with Russia as well as with Turkey; if it is not a crime to have sympathy for the Turks, then it cannot be a crime when the Romanian women demonstrate their sympathy for the ones in whom the same blood flows! On the contrary, esteeming the activity of the Romanian committees is a violation of neutrality."⁴⁷

Unmasking the decision to dissolve the committees, an act which hurt the Romanians,⁴⁸ in a letter of protest of 18 June 1877 sent to the mayor of Brasov, Diamandi Manole asked: "I would like you to tell me what difference there could be between the collections which a committee makes and those which private persons make. Why would the collections made by the committees hurt strict neutrality and the ones made by private persons not? Faced with these reasons, are not the Romanians right in saying that this police measure basically has no other purpose than to stifle the Romanians' expression of feelings of humanity and to hinder the collection of donations? Because a committee, with more prestige and truth and being able to develop greater activity, can operate with more success, while a private person could obtain only some very pale results or no results. I feel justified in maintaining this especially since the Hungarian committees, established in May earlier for collections for the Turks and receiving softale/unknown/ not even today have been dissolved, while the Romanian committee here was dissolved with the speed of electricity."⁴⁹

Dissolution of the Romanian committees to aid the wounded by the Hungarian government was a new chance for demonstration of national solidarity by all "those in whose breast beats the ardent heart of a Romanian," all "those fighting for the glory and future of the Romanian people," all those tied "through the nation and blood ties," ties which "will dissolve only with death."⁵⁰

With the formation of committees to aid the Romanian army prohibited in Transylvania by the Hungarian authorities, private persons took on the task of collecting donations for the Romanian soldiers wounded and sending the donations to the Red Cross in Bucharest. The "Appeal to Romanians" of 7 June 1877, signed by a number of Brasov patriots, mentioned: "The Hungarian Government, through its organ, has dissolved the committee established here to receive the donations for our brothers in Romania who have been wounded in the war. But the feelings of humanity, love and blood ties dissolve only when life dissolves! In the name of these high and holy feelings, we as private persons are coming to appeal for aid for our brothers wounded in the war to all those in whose breasts beats the ardent heart of a Romanian, to all those in

whose breast burns the sacred fire of humanity and, in the end, all those who hope for the triumph of civilization over barbarity for the honor of the century in which we are living. If brotherly love makes us beg Almighty God that our brothers from Romania return from the field of honor loaded with success and glory, that same love demands that we come to the aid of those who have fallen for the glory and future of the Romanian nation. Romanians! It is not only the blood duty, not only the voice of charity which demand this aid from us; the high obligation imposed on us by civilization requires this. Our brothers from Romania fought for entire centuries for light and law against barbarity! A Mircea, a Stefan, a Mihai lived and died at the gates of Europe with their weapons in their hands, defeating the torrent of barbarity and darkness. History is a witness that all the enlightened peoples of Europe admired and blessed these heroes of the Romanians just as they did the cavalier heroes of Christianity."51

In the "Appeal to Romanians" published on 10 June 1877, Haretia Stanescu of Brasov appealed to all Romanian women wherever they may be "to hurry and contribute by surpassing the next one to soothing the pains of those brave brothers of ours who have gone to spill their blood in order to defend civilization and raise our Romanian nation."52 That appeal noted, "Our brothers in Romania have grabbed their weapons in order to participate in this war. They are resolved to struggle with the price of blood for the complete liberty of the nation and the complete independence of their country."53

The Bucharest newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA, regarding this appeal sent to the Romanians in Transylvania to aid the soldiers, reported that "the voice of blood and humanity stoutly are heard here." For that reason the newspaper sent "honor and recognition to our sisters across the Carpathians."54

Despite all the obstacles imposed by the Hungarian authorities, as is seen from a private letter of ROMANUL from Brasov of 26 June 1877, it found that "the more bitter and arbitrary oppressions we experience, the more our hearts urge us to participate according to our material power in soothing the pains of the soldiers, who are placing the rights of the Romanian nation above their lives."55 And the newspaper added: "The people from Brasov were right when they said in their appeal the other day that 'the Hungarian government can dissolve the committees although the feeling of humanity, love and blood ties dissolve only with death.'"

This truth, delivered from deep within the hearts of those who selflessly established the most solid cradle of culture and national education in the city of Romanian trade in Transylvania,

who by the sweat of their brows maintained more than 34 men and women professors in order to sow in the hearts of the young people the feeling of what a Romanian can be if he becomes enlightened and has the will, did not go unanswered in the mountains and fields of Transylvania so that today the city man and the village man, the poor man and the rich man are placing their contribution on the altar of the holy Romanian cause.

"There is a collector persisting everywhere; as soon as he collects a certain amount or objects, he immediately sends them either to Mr Diamandi Manole or to Iudita Macelariu in Sibiu or Haretia Stanescu in Brasov for them to be sent to their destination.

"The collectors' task is tiring since they must go the prefect of the local police, according to all the Hungarian constitutional forms, for each dispatch and present in the original the lists of subscription, postal receipt and then the nature and purpose of the donations. Despite all this running around, the collections go uninterrupted and the other day the Romanian residents from Lapusul Unguresc, one of the poorest villages in northern Transylvania, sent 200 lei to Mr Diamandi Manole to be sent to Bucharest."⁵⁶

The police restrictions gave rise to varied and interesting episodes. A collector went one day to the prefect of the local police to present his papers and the policeman began to give him a lesson on patriotism, saying among other things that "the Transylvanians would be better off looking out for their poverty than sending all these nothings to Bucharest."⁵⁷ And the collector answered him: "You are right; however, although you are the ones who made us poor we still remain rich in Romanian feelings."⁵⁸

A collection center for aiding the Romanian wounded was established in Baia Mare. The subscription lists circulated for this purpose found a powerful response among the residents of Baia Mare, Baia Sprie, Somcuta Mare, Chiuzbaia, Sisesti, Ilba, Grosi, Chechis, Busag, Sacalesti, Remetea and other locations. Similar centers still operated in Basesti, Tirgu Lapus and other cities and villages in Maramures County. In one document dated 27 June 1877 drawn up in Tirgu Lapus, showing the result of the collection made in the Lapus zone for the "Romanian soldiers wounded in the struggle for Romanian independence," there also was mention of the joy which could be read on the face of each Romanian "when he hears about the brave Romanian army and the spirit animating it." The meeting of Romanian women in Simleu Silvaniei (Salaj County), at the call of and under the leadership of Clara Maniu, took intense action which brought brilliant results in collecting donations and money.⁵⁹ In the magazine entitled BOOKS OF THE ROMANIAN VILLAGER which appeared in Gherla, Ludovica Borgevan asked the population on the Somes to come to the aid of the

Romanian soldiers.⁶⁰ In an "Appeal" by Terentiu Pucea of 19 June 1877, Romanians in Bichis County were informed about collecting donations for the soldiers of Romania. The appeal mentioned "that appropriate thanks will be given."⁶¹

In an appeal sent on 24 May 1877, Ersilia Sturza, wife of the priest in Sepreus, noted: "The Romanian men are doing battle and we are the Romanian women. These ties take our hearts to our brothers in battle on the other side of the Carpathians and they make us put on mourning clothes for the ones who will fall victim to the enemy and weave crowns of flowers for the ones who will return victorious. These ties demand that each true Romanian woman make sacrifices and offers according to her power to aid the brave soldiers of Romania."⁶² During the big battles, Iudita Macelariu wrote in an appeal: "Thousands of Romanian heroes already lie wounded in the hospitals of Romania and the Transylvanian Romanians now on the other side of the Carpathians tell us that the aid collected up to now does not even come close to covering the unforeseen lacks. Romanian matrons, young wives, gentle daughters and you, the Romanian public, do not hesitate in contributing money, rags, linens, bindings, in a word, anything."⁶³

In an open letter published in GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, the instructor Ilie Pop of Somcuta Mare urged his guild colleagues to collect donations for the Romanian soldiers who were fighting for liberty. As the instructor noted, "The Romanian name I wear with pride and which today is attracting the attention of all Europe, the duty imposed on me by the blood tie, human and philanthropic feeling, the circumstance whereby the exceptional heroism of the brave descendants of Trajan, Stefan and Mihai have revitalized the ancient glory in Grivita--all these obligate me to fulfill one of the most sacred duties of contributing according to my power to soothing the pains of our dear brothers of free Romania, who are bleeding in the struggle against oppressive despotism and against the half moon. I am an instructor and, as such, must say loud and clear that we instructors on the other side of the Carpathians are living in such circumstances whereby most of us cannot even contribute 'the widow's denar,' not even in the case of the most lack. But another means is open to us in order to extend aid to our brothers over there: to acquire rags. And any of my instructor colleagues can do this. This is what I did: After I got the rags, I found a place where the young people get together--either on the eve of a holiday or even Sunday following vespers. After I showed them what to do, you should have seen how they were making them. I was so successful that I made 9 kilograms and 80 deca, which I sent to Mrs Iudita Macelariu to be sent on to the Red Cross society. In closing, I recommend at all costs that my colleagues use this way of extending aid to those in battle, since the Army is Christian, the slogan is liberty and the goal is 'all holy.'"⁶⁴

Sending the money collected, the vicar Ioan Georgiu wrote to Manole Diamandi in Brasov: "I have the pleasant happiness of sending you 101 florins for the Romanian soldiers wounded in the battle for Romanian independence. This little sum was collected around the village of Lapusul in the county of Solnoc-Dobica. The Romanians around here felt it their holy duty to help their blood brothers across the Carpathians according to their possibilities. We love our brothers on the other side of the Carpathians as our own brothers and you can read the joy in the face of each Romanian when he hears about the brave Romanian army and the spirit animating him. I love each one and wish him the most favorable success and brilliant victory against the centuries-old enemy; and, at the same time, with an aching heart we hear about the calumny against our brothers, who the more they feel it the more it comes from those who together with us should jump to their aid, who, if they want to do something good would leave the Turks to be lost in their barbarity and become allies with the Romanian nation, beside which and with which they can share good and bad in the future."⁶⁵ In Oradea, the lawyer Roman, brother of the deputy Alex Roman, made a collection of 152 florins to aid the Romanian soldiers.⁶⁶

Many documents tell of the large monetary donations of Romanians from various cities, Brasov,⁶⁷ Sibiu,⁶⁸ Abrud,⁶⁹ and Caransebes;⁷⁰ in Cehul Silvaniei,⁷¹ a collection belonging to Elena Pop, daughter of Gheorghe Pop of Basesti.⁷²

The supreme court of the small rural district of Tasnad reported on 9 October 1877 on the result of the collections made in the district to aid the wounded on the front for independence. In turn, the report of the supreme court in the small district of Jibou on 13 October 1877 was accompanied by a list of the materials collected to aid the wounded on the front for independence.⁷³

The annual report of the Committee of the Romanian Auxiliary for gymnastics and singing in Brasov of 17 March 1878 mentioned the association's contribution of 240 florins sent to the Red Cross Society of Bucharest to aid the Romanian soldiers wounded in the war for Romania's state independence. People in Nasaud sent their aid in money and donations to the Romanian field hospital in Iasi.⁷⁴

The large sum of 124,700 gold francs was collected from Romanians in the provinces oppressed by Austro-Hungary, which today would be equal to several tens of millions of lei, an amount substantially increased by various kinds of donations. In order to get a more striking picture of the avalanche of donations and contribution it is enough for us to refer to the note of the GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI editors in which the donors who sent lists for publication were asked to be patient since they would be published

gradually. The editors said that the number of these lists was so large so "we could fill many printed sheets just with them."

It should be noted that one of the carriages which was part of the first convoy formed of carriages of the Red Cross Society field hospital in Bucharest, which left on 10 June 1877 for the battlefield bore the following inscription: "The Romanian women from Transylvania." As Teofil Frincu reported at this time in GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, "The Romanians' hearts were beating with joy, seeing that faced with the inhuman obstacles meeting our men, they still did not stop from running with their contributions and from joining with their hearts and souls their sisters and brothers from independent Romania in order to soothe the pains of the wounded Romanian soldiers."⁷⁵ "The Romanians of Transylvania," he noted, "still prefer persecutions over being strung in the century of lights among peoples of darkness who live only for their stomachs."⁷⁶

The material aid collected by all segments of the Romanian population was appreciated as was appropriate on the other side of the Carpathians. There were many letters and messages of thanks in this regard. In one letter dated 28 October 1877 from Bucharest it was pointed out: "We thank our brothers across the Carpathians for their generous offers which show that their warm hearts beat with wishes which are identical to those in our hearts. The little they have has tenfold value for us, knowing the circumstances in which they are and the difficulties they are encountering in demonstrating their feelings for us!"⁷⁷

Many Romanian patriots from the oppressed provinces were decorated with the order of "Dame Elizabeth" for the extraordinary enthusiasm they showed while collecting money and objects for the war to gain complete state independence. Among them were Iudita Macelariu, Maria Cosma, Maria Hanea, Ana Moga, Ioana Badila--Sibiu, Maria Iliescu--Cluj, Carolina Balint--Rosia Montana, Elena Taranu--Lipova (Banat), Aurelia Jurca--Sighetu Marmatiei, Sevastia Muresan and Victoria Iuga--Brasov, Emilia Ratiu--Turda, and Elena Pop--Basesti (Salaj).⁷⁸

It should be noted that 300 Romanian notables from Bucovina, with its center in Cernauti--among which, as DER OSTEN pointed out, were leaders of the province--gave an important declaration to the central and local newspapers for publication on 24 May 1877, in which they decisively asserted their solidarity with the political action of the Romanian government: "We salute a free and independent Romania with brotherly love and we wish its army glory and success and we pray in all the churches of our provinces that God's blessing descend on our dear country. We also hope that societies to aid the Romanian wounded will be formed. Long live Romania! Long live the Romanian army! Cernauti, 24 May 1877."⁷⁹

Aid committees as well as other Romanian societies, among which the "Arboroasa" Society, established in 1875, were in the forefront, organized collections to gather funds and other materials. A large amount of money was collected, contributing to which were students, professors, Romanian politicians, among which were Archimandrite Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici, George Flondor, Nicolae Hurmuzachi, Iancu Zotta, I. Cintea and others. With the amounts collected the group of Bucovina students which were to enlist in the Romanian army was armed and they aided the Romanian students from Valea Timocului and Banat who had taken refuge in Bucharest in order to enlist in the Romanian army and with whom the students from Bucovina had close ties.

"Arboroasa," the Romanian student society which was carrying out intense cultural-national propaganda sent a telegram to the Iasi city hall in the fall of 1877 in the name of detruncated Bucovina on the occasion of the commemoration of the 1774 assassination of Moldavian ruler Grigore Ghica; it had the following text: "'Arboroasa,' the society of Romanian youth from the detruncated part of old Moldavia, offers condolences to its members for the decapitated tutor."⁸⁰ Members of the leadership committee--Ciprian Porumbescu, Z. Voronca, C. Moraru, O. Popescu and E. Sireteanu--were arrested and sent to trial for high treason. The trial which took place in 1878 led to the abolishment of the society.⁸¹ It should be noted that this trial was not the only one during this period. George Baritiu in Brasov, N. F. Negrutiu in Gherla, Fr Hossu-Longin in Deva and many other Romanians, leaders of the national liberation movement were brought to trial.⁸²

A contribution to the action of aiding the war of Romania was made by Transylvanian and Bucovina Romanians present in the country, who in large part enlisted in the army, while others were in Bucharest, Iasi, Braila, and so forth in committees to receive donations from across the Carpathians for their wounded brothers.⁸³

Transylvanian and Bucovina Volunteers Enlisted in the Romanian Army

Proclamation of full state independence and Romania's entry into the war against the Ottomans caused many young people from the oppressed Romanian provinces to cross the temporary border "by mountain paths," enlisting as volunteers in the mother country's army. Former military in the Austro-Hungarian army, workers, peasants and intellectuals were among the Romanian volunteers participating in the war for Romania's complete independence. Officer Moise Grozea, the son-in-law of Iacob Muresianu who earlier had left the Austro-Hungarian army, enlisted as a volunteer, providing proof of great manhood and initiative in leading some units in the assault on Grivita on 30 August 1877. But the majority of volunteers came from the young men not yet enlisted in the Austro-Hungarian army. Some documents even mention the establishment of a secret committee of Romanians in Cluj, whose task was to recruit soldiers for Romania's war.⁸⁴

On 1 June 1877 the commander of the recruiting circles of the 31st infantry regiment of Sibiu informed the higher authorities that "certain persons in the military service illegally crossed the border."⁸⁵ It stated that 1,657 persons had crossed from this region alone by the end of 1877.⁸⁶

The same situation was determined by the authorities of the dualist monarchy in Brasov, Fagaras, Tirgu Mures,⁸⁷ and so forth. On 31 May 1877 the Austro-Hungarian general consulate found that "many young Romanians, mostly students coming from Transylvania through Timisul de Sus, are coming here to Bucharest to enlist in the Romanian army."⁸⁸

Tisza Kalman, Hungary's premier, in a telegram sent to the county commissioners, along with the fact that he drew attention to the fact that "young men of compulsory military age from Fagaras and Sibiu have fled without passports to Wallachia in order to enlist there in the Romanian army in a planned way," also added: "They were received in Ploiesti with demonstrations of joy."⁸⁹

On 5 June 1877 the imperial vice consul of Ploiesti informed the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that "recently young girls in great number are clandestinely crossing the border and many young men are coming into Romania without authorization. It would be very useful if the high Hungarian government directed the supervisory authorities to give this special attention."⁹⁰

The powerful inflow of volunteers to the mother country even caused a harsh exchange of notes between the Austro-Hungarian and Romanian governments. Andrassy, Austro-Hungary's foreign minister, demanded that the Romanian Government send back the young men from Fagaras and Sibiu who had crossed the border without passports in order to enlist in the Romanian army and who were "the object of a demonstration in Ploiesti."⁹¹ In this Andrassy saw "a goodneighbor act." In turn, the Hungarian Government in Budapest held that "we should discourage all those who wish to follow them by sending back these first volunteers," as the diplomatic representative of Romania in Vienna mentioned.⁹²

On 13 June 1877 Kogalniceanu as foreign minister, referring to the young volunteers from across the Carpathians, formally communicated to the Austro-Hungarian Government that "orders were given a long time ago to the competent authorities to refuse all who presented themselves with such a demand," this being "from respect for the neighboring power, with whom we have and maintain the most cordial relations." At the same time, the Romanian Government drew attention to the fact that "most regretfully we learned of the incomprehensible harshness to which the Romanians from Transylvania are subjected to by the Hungarian authorities."⁹³

Refusing to extradite the volunteers, Mihail Kogalniceanu stated that he had not proceeded in this way even 17 years earlier "when the so-called accused were not some Romanian young men from Transylvania, but rather many groups of Hungarians of various ages and social conditions. In 1860, at the time of the war between Austria and Piemont, the government in Vienna, then very distrustful of the Hungarians, had demanded that we turn over several hundreds of Hungarian emigrants who had come to Moldavia to form a contingent intended for the Piemont armies. We did not do this," M. Kogalnicdanu noted. "Count Andrassy will judge and will understand that what we did not do in 1860, when it was a question of the Hungarians being persecuted we are not about to do today, when it is a question of Romanians."⁹⁴

Despite all the obstacles, thousands and thousands of volunteers reached the country from the provinces oppressed by Austro-Hungary. Among them were pupils from Blaj--N. Calutia and Astimon Pop; from Baia de Cris and Orastie--N. Ciureanu; from Saliste the young men were refusing Hungarian recruitment and were crossing the mountains. And those from Siria and Curtici as well. Nichita Ignat and Petre Catul arrived from Nasaud.

Even in May 1877 Vincentiu Grama, together with five other youths from Risnov, Fagaras, crossed the Carpathians.⁹⁵ Ion Popovici, Alexandru Blaiu, functionaries from Fagaras, reached Cimpulung "in order to enter the Romanian army," Farcasan the Romanian commissioner in Cimpulung informed on 26 May 1877.⁹⁶

In a letter of 18 June 1877 by the president of the Romanian Red Cross sent from Bucharest to George Baritiu, he requested medical personnel from Transylvania in order to cope with the needs created by the 1877 campaign: "My dear sir, you know that the number of wounded in a serious battle can be so great that our medical personnel is totally insufficient to provide first aid. With this situation, I feel I am carrying out a holy obligation by addressing you, whose fame as a good Romanian is well known to us, too, and asking that you make an appeal to the Romanian surgeons you know to come and make their patriotic contribution in this situation."⁹⁷

Some 15 Transylvania Romanian physicians who had settled earlier in the country enlisted in the health service on the front. Also enlisting as a volunteer was Gh. Diamandi of Brasov. He took part in the campaign at Plevna. Nicolae Gancea of Fagaras, a medical student in Bucharest, accompanied the famed 2d hunting battallion to the trenches of the fortress. It was decorated with the "Military Virtue" and the "Star of Romania."

Young men from Cirtisoara and Blaj as well as many others decided to participate in the Romanian army.⁹⁸ Old man Gheorghe Cirtan,

together with Ion Cetiga, were with their herd of sheep in Ciulnita when the war broke out. He donated 1,200 sheep and fodder gathered for the Romanian army and enlisted as volunteers in Rosiorii de Vede.

Many volunteers arrived from Bucovina. The pupils Partenie Sireteanu, George Levescu and Ilie Gherghel from the Cernauti secondary school crossed the border into Romania on 7 May 1877 through the Cozmin forest; another group, comprised of Alecu Giurgiuveanu and Emilian Huidei crossed the border around Burdujeni on 8 May. The two groups met at the Veresti station, then taking off for Bucharest. The Romanian authorities and population in Pascani and in Roman greeted them with cheers of sympathy, feeling that they were real heroes. Once they arrived in Bucharest they participated in a patriotic demonstration organized at the university in their honor. Then they enlisted in the 2d artillery regiment--Gherghel and Giurgiuveanu in the first battery and Huidei, Levescu and Sireteanu in the second. Also in the regiment was a young volunteer from Radauti in Bucovina--Apostoliuc. And other young people from Bucovina enlisted under the banner of battle for independence; among them were Ion Fongaci, a pupil at the normal school; functionaries Bodnarescu and Emilian Savescu; veterinarian Dionisie Bucevschi and so forth.⁹⁹

In "Notes on Bucovina," Gheorghe Sion wrote in connection with the decision of the Bucovina Romanians to enlist as volunteers in the Romanian army. "At the sound of the bugles from Plevna many young men from Bucovina ran in one blood with that of our heroes who fell on the battlefield. But we should not forget the feelings of affection and sympathy shown us by the Romanian women from there, sending so many donations to sooth and console the wounded."

Aid Given to Romania's War by the Cohabiting Nationalities

Many residents of other nationalities--Hungarians, Saxons, Serbians, Szeklers and Jews--from the oppressed Romanian territories who had close ties with the Romanians and with the Romanian state spoke out against the reactionary policy of the Austro-Hungarian dominant classes toward the Romanians, also contributing with certain amounts to the lists of Romanian subscriptions.

As was stated in a report of the imperial military headquarters in Sibiu and forwarded to the Ministry of War in Vienna, it should be remembered that when the reaction, headed by the landowner Ugron Gabor, tried to organize legions of mercenaries on the territory of Transylvania for the purpose of penetrating into Moldavia in order to blow up the railroads there and hinder the joint actions of the Russian and Romanian armies, these plots

"found general sympathy only among the intelligentsia and the landowner class (Hungarians)," and "the population in the countryside (Szeklers and Saxons) had no sympathy for this undertaking."¹⁰⁰

This reactionary action, discovered in time by former Romanian tribunes from 1848 with the aid of some residents devoted to the Romanian cause among the nationalities, was made known to Bucharest which, through C. A. Rosetti, informed St. Petersburg, from where Chancellor Gorchyakov sent a protest to the emperor in Vienna,¹⁰¹ forcing him, on the basis of secret treaties, to take measures to crush this pro-Ottoman action of the Hungarian reaction.

Objective observers of the time from among the other nationalities thus appreciated the proper place for Romania's war for its absolute independence and the particular favorable effects of the victory of the Romanian army on the fate of their still subjugated brothers. "Millions of Austrian Romanians in Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina, DER OSTEN, the Austrian newspaper stated, "are following the glorious struggle of their brothers and even the Slavic populations in Austria with the most ardent feeling of brotherly solidarity; they are closely tied with the Romanians in Austria through their common sufferings and struggles and are praying from deep within their souls to God the master to bring the Romanian armies who are fighting on Russia's side against the barbarians of the half moon to victory and triumph. The world never has seen a more just struggle and never has a more just cause attracted the sympathy of peoples and the all-powerful heavenly aid. The organs of dualism have only to laugh at Romania and the powerless Hungarians have only to threaten the Romanians--everything is in vain. Romania will conquer and as a phoenix will be reborn to a new and brilliant life. Ardent prayers in all Romanian regions of Austria will rise to heaven for God to bless the Romanian armies and He, God of the peoples, cannot help but bend his ear to the prayers of millions."

In the article entitled "General Political Survey," the Austrian newspaper DER OSTEN, reflecting the position of the progressive grouping among the German nationalities who were living alongside the Romanians in the provinces oppressed by the monarchy, presented a real picture of the importance of the Romanians' victory by declaring in the parliament of Bucharest the country's total independence and cementing this declaration through struggle: "Romania is free and independent. It has freed its feet from the chains of slavery and, with weapons in hand, has risen to prove to the world that it has the right to a dignified future. All Romanian hearts are full of joy and enthusiasm; in Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina an elevating state of spirit reigns and a large number of letters, the publication of which would fill a huge volume, offer clear proof of the enthusiasm reigning among

the Austrian Romanians."102

After giving room to the important "Declaration" of the representative of the population of Bucovina in its pages, with special sympathy for the Romanians' cause the editors add: "The Austrian Romanians, who wish to join the declaration of the 300 Romanians from Bucovina, may communicate this to us. We also ask that they give us news of any help for the Romanian wounded as well as any service done for the Romanian army."103 Returning to the European importance of the action to consolidate Romania's independence, the same editors concluded: "Let these words of sympathy, which are deeply felt, find a powerful response wherever Romanians live. The day of renaissance has arrived for eastern Europe and for all the east European peoples as well as for the eastern church. Romania's independence will be followed by Serbia's independence and healthy new states will rise in the remains of the rot and impotence. The Turks and Hungarians will not be able to delay this process."104

Laszlo Sami, a Hungarian publicist and history professor from Cluj who was noted for the democratic ideas he supported very assiduously, positively assessed Romania's desires for total independence at a popular meeting in August 1878: "Our words and actions must be led by our faith and political convictions, while our political faith and convictions are as follows: Liberty is powerful and certain only when it is available to everyone and everyone must cooperate to achieve this goal. Thus, we wish, and it is in our interest for our liberty, as well, that Romania, Serbia and the other southeastern European countries be free and powerful."

We also meet realistic assessments of the need to strengthen Romanian, Hungarian friendship in some Hungarian parliamentarians. In a memorandum initiated by deputies in a number of counties, among which was also Arad, and forwarded on 10 April 1877 to the Chamber of Deputies in Budapest and referring to this problem, it stated: "Having learned from their own loss, it is time for the two fraternal nations--Hungarian and Romanian--which are obligated to the closest possible solidarity to finally unite in mutual respect and love. This is urgently required by the community of interests for one not to desert the other and for one to help the other in the difficult hours of the ordeal."105 The same memorandum mentions the need for "everything possible" to be undertaken together with other powers "so that the independence of the Romanian people is kept and so that together with us (with Hungary) the expansion of pan-Russianism is stopped in the east and, in this connection, absolutism, too."106

There was a favorable evaluation of the memorandum sent to many officials in the cities of Transylvania; it was sent for them

"to favor it and aid it." For example, the municipality of the city of Tirgu Mures, in agreement with all the ideas in the memorandum, also forwarded a similar one on 7 May 1877 to the Chamber of Deputies in Budapest.¹⁰⁷

KELET, a newspaper in Pest, published a note on 4 August 1877 which made it known that Hungarian craftsmen in Banat had collected 500 francs for the Romanian soldiers. In turn, TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI and others inserted news about the donation made by the Hungarians of Alba Iulia,¹⁰⁸ Lugoj,¹⁰⁹ Baia Marie,¹¹⁰ as well as other locations in western Transylvania.

Along with the Transylvanian Romanian doctors who enlisted in the health service on the front there also were some who belonged to the cohabiting nationalities. Thus, Johann Altstadler, who left for Bucharest on 9 September 1877, was the head physician in the field hospitals.¹¹¹ Following him were the physicians Eduard Copony and Karol Beldi.¹¹² Other Saxon physicians from Transylvania who had settled in Romania a long time before also participated in the war; this was the case with Wilhelm Fabricius, who was the head physician for the hospitals in Craiova.

Many Szeklers participated alongside the Romanian army, offering various services--carters, blacksmiths, carpenters, locksmiths.

Lajos Fialla, of Hungarian origin, who had settled much earlier in Bucharest and was a participant in Romania's war, stated: "I am proud of everything I could do and that I could contribute with my body and soul to achieving Romania's independence."¹¹³

The participation of many volunteers from Transylvania and Bucovina "who enlisted under the Romanian flag in the war to achieve independence," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "was an impressive page of national solidarity in achieving one of the most important hopes of all our people."¹¹⁴

Victories of Grivita, Rahova, Plevna, Smirdan, Vidin--Times for Joy and Intensification of the Struggle for National Liberation in the Oppressed Romanian Territories

We find ample commentaries in the press across the mountains regarding the especially high morale of the Romanian army, formed mostly of peasants and workers who were determined to defend the achievement of Romania's absolute independence on the battlefield at the cost of the most difficult sacrifices.

Just like their forefathers, all the Romanian people were ready for the supreme sacrifice for the country's complete independence. "Each day which passes in lack of action heightens our impatience,"

wrote Transylvania Cap Moise Grozea to Aurel Muresianu on 13 June 1877. "The Romanian brave young men, full of selflessness, are sighing on the banks of the Danube, wishing for the moment when the hopes of the nation will be achieved, when its faith is documented, placing green crowns on the old edifices of our forefathers Mihai and Stefan, whose grand shadows instill them with courage, while their memory shows them the way and path by which, led by 'The Star of Romania,' they arrive at the desired goal: saving the country." Showing that the participation of the brave young Romanians in the war would excite all of Europe, "especially those who for centuries did not want or were not agreeable to seeing us free and independent and provoked us to become this through arms," Grozea exclaimed: "Let us give everything we have for our brave soldiers" is the slogan for each Romanian citizen; he concluded: "Thus, with such voluntary blood and materials sacrifices success cannot be far behind. You hear only sounds of joy and war songs in the Romanian camp and see only long hora lines and enthusiastic games so that it does not seem as if you are on the eve of a battle, but rather the eve of the Easter holidays. Also you cannot believe that in this camp are those whom a part of the so-called big world was ridiculing and insulting up until yesterday. Also, as a Romanian viewing the camp, it does not seem to be real, but more as if, going through the history of our forefathers, you have come across the pages which describe the spirit of the soldiers of Calugareni, Neamt and so forth."

In that regard, FAMILIA published a special letter from Oltenia which noted, among other things: "The capital of Oltenia for some time presents a superb view. Feverish movement, an impulse of extraordinary life, an agitated joy which perhaps for centuries has not been as strong in the breasts of the Oltenia people. We feel like we are living, we are proud of having been born Romanians, we are proud of our army. The infantry and the cavalry, the foot soldiers and the superb rosiori -- all are animated by the most holy patriotism, all leave for the front crowned with flowers and singing. The ancient courage has been reborn and the spirit of Mihai and Stefan the Great animates our brave and young army."¹¹⁵

And the Transylvanian and Bucovina volunteers were happy they could participate in achieving the country's absolute independence with weapons in hand. On 25 June 1877, before crossing the Danube, Moise Grozea wrote to his brother-in-law: "Today is an important one in my life. It is 11 years since the battle of Custoza, where I did my duty without knowing for what. Now I know why I am going to fight."¹¹⁶

In a correspondence from the Apuseni Mountains, GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI put this: "You even hear sighs and ardent prayers for the

victory of the Romanian armies in the poor peasant's hut. In the Apuseni Mountains the people have an unspeakably big interest in the fate of the brave young men of Romania and they are enthusiastic any time they hear of an heroic act committed by the Romanian soldiers."117

The Romanian victories recorded against the Ottoman armies were an occasion for broad commentaries and demonstration of explosive sentiments of satisfaction and joy for the Romanian publications in Transylvania. "The largest fortress in Grivita has fallen into the hands of the Romanian-Russian troops after a three-fold attack. Taking the large 'Grivita' fortress and maintaining this hard position," GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI reported, "is to be thankful for the admirable heroism of the brave Romanian soldiers who, braving death, attacked the formidable fort repeatedly and, climbing the enemy trenches with ladders, rebuffed him from that fortified nest. The victory of Grivita made the broadsword shine again in its ancient splendor."118 The totally extraordinary distinctions which the Romanian commanders and soldiers received from the tsar of all the Russias, according to the newspaper, "were able to make a sensation throughout the world, since nobody expected a young army like the Romanian army to prove so much military virtue and so much heroism in battle."119 The enormous losses which the brave Romanian battalions suffered for the brilliant successes of the Romanian standard, the first of which was planted in the enemy trenches of Grivita, made the newspaper make another appeal for aid with all the further forces of the Romanian army: "Aid for our brothers! Jump to the aid of the brave men of Grivita who spilled their blood for their country! These exclamations are today being heard all over Romania and they are making their way to us!"120

The conquest of Plevna was for the Romanian provinces across the mountains the culmination of admiration for the Romanian army's heroism and spirit of sacrifice. As GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI wrote, "The whole European press today is admiring the heroic attitude of the Romanian troops in the bloody battle of Plevna." Noting the decisive contribution of the Romanian army in the battles of Plevna with satisfaction FAMILIA noted that "the Romanian army did honor to our nation at Plevna."121

With the title "Laurels to the Romanian Army," this same journal valued the great victories won on the battlefield by the Romanians: "The Romanian army won for itself an undying name in this war and, thus, did everlasting honor to the nation." GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI added: "According to the actual testimony of British correspondents, the Romanians fought beyond expectations. The aid which the Romanians are giving the Russians is an important gift and counts for a lot."

Referring to these battles of "the brothers" which "are so many documents of the devotion and courage and heroism of the Romanian people,"¹²² GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI described the most dreadful battles around Plevna. "Plevna," GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI felt, "can compare with another Sevastopol, for which dreadful battles occurred. Nobody expected such heroism on one hand and such resistance on the other."¹²³

Returning to considerations on the great brave Romanian soldiers, GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI wrote: "The Romanian soldiers fought like real heroes. Witness is the 40 decorations of the great Cross of St George given to the brave men of the Romanian army by Emperor Alexander. He personally had occasion to be convinced of the exemplary braveness of the Romanian soldier."¹²⁴

As another issue of GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI wrote, the news of the Romanian victory at Plevna produced "the greatest joy among the Romanian people and was received enthusiastically."¹²⁵ "The great news that 'Plevna has fallen' has gone around the world, wherever the telegraph reaches. It will go from person to person and even will reach the smallest hut of a peasant. Everywhere a Romanian heart beats there will be only happiness and joy, since Plevna fell through the participation of the valuable Romanian army who braved all the dangers and carried the Romanian standard on the fields wet with the blood of unhappy Bulgarians."¹²⁶ This same journal pointed out: "In Bucharest and all Romania enthusiasm is at its peak. Would anything else be possible after such a great victory? And would it have been possible for the powerful flame of enthusiasm not to include the hearts of our Romanians in Austro-Hungary? Participating with all our heart in the general joy of our brothers in Romania, we extend our fraternal and warm congratulations and hope their wish is fulfilled and from the bloody hands at Plevna let the much loved peace rise and let Romania's independence, recognized by all of Europe, rise."¹²⁷

In turn, TELEGRAFUL ROMAN concluded: "What was much awaited has happened. Plevna, that giant who swallowed the lives of many thousands of men, fell on Monday, 28 November, into the hands of the allied army,"¹²⁸ and on 4 December the newspaper stated that "the Romanians entered first into Plevna."

The newspapers wrote the following about the Romanians' victories in the battle of Rahova: "The Romanian standard waves on the Turkish citadel of Rahova";¹²⁹ "the Romanian flag waves for the first time since Mihai Viteazul over the walls of Rahova."¹³⁰

Answering those foreign reactionary newspapers which had slandered the heroism of our people, in several letters Baritiu popularized the great qualities of the Romanians soldiers: "Today, after

the victories of Grivita, Rahova and Plevna," Baritiu noted, "I feel particular and proud satisfaction in being able to tell you, my dear sir, that all those sinister and hardly flattering statements of NEUE FREIE PRESSE were belied most brilliantly by the Romanian army. The Romanian army was advised to leave its weapons home. It did not follow this advice, but, instead, fought until it has brilliant and glorious victories and the capture of a large number of weapons from the enemy so that today it is capable of arming several regiments with them and even selling them if necessary."¹³¹ In closing another letter, Baritiu sang a real hymn to the Romanian army: "Long may it live! The brave and heroic Romanian army. Long may it live! The much ridiculed and slandered infantry which, although it is still wearing the ancient peasant sandals, still was able to demonstrate to the whole world and, in particular, to the sworn enemies of the Romanian nation, that it still has not forgotten how to fight bravely and die with heroism for the liberty and independence of its much loved country!"¹³²

While the Romanian newspapers were writing with satisfaction about the contribution of the Romanian army to obtaining the final victory against the Ottomans, many circles of the Romanian population of Transylvania were celebrating the event with enthusiasm. In Brasov, Blaj, Sibiu, Arad, Nasaud and other locations spontaneous demonstrations of sympathy were organized and broke out.

The commissioner for Turda County reported to the minister of cults and instruction in Budapest that on 2 and 3 December 1877 "antipatriotic demonstrations took place" in Baia de Aries and Cimpeni "with the occasion of the fall of Plevna," during which the participants toasted Romania and the armed victory for 1878. In this same report, the commissioner for Turda demanded that measures be taken against the village teacher and the priest, who were the organizers of these "demonstrations against their protector, the Hungarian state."¹³³ In connection with the holiday demonstration in Cimpeni, the location's mayor informed the county commissioner that "the villagers from the location celebrated the event with enthusiasm so that, beginning with sundown and throughout the night until around 9 in the morning they walked the streets with music, candles, cannon roars and shouts of joy."¹³⁴ As that same Turda commissioner expressed it, the demonstration of the residents of Baia de Aries as well as the one of those in Cimpeni was felt to be "an antistate demonstration" and, as a result, measures were taken against the participants in such a way that "the functionaries, small businessmen and managers from the Ottoman exchequer lost their appetite for any type of political demonstration for a good time to come."¹³⁵

In Nasaud the victory of Plevna was the occasion for a broad holiday demonstration. An organizational committee was formed in the

place for celebrating the event; on 17 December 1877, in the appeal to the population, it mentioned with satisfaction that "the victory of the Romanian armies which culminated at Plevna will be celebrated here in Nasaud on Thursday on the 20th of this month."¹³⁶ The great festivity was followed in the evening by a banquet and musical program.¹³⁷

Enthusiastic over the great victories of the Romanian army in Rahova, the Nasaud Romanians as a sign of special respect gave the name "Rahova" to the place where the Virtus Romana Redivivus Society of Romanians held its public celebrations; at the news of the victories of the Romanian army in Grivita, the Nasaud people gave the name of this fort to a building and a street.

Concerned with the proportions which this demonstration was being forecast to take, the director of the secondary school there prohibited participation of the professors in "the planned demonstration which is taking place without the knowledge and concession of the component authorities." The secondary school director expressed his concern in connection with the "general enthusiasm which would be caused by this demonstration organized with little cannons, illuminations, street parades, music, slides and so forth, having the nature of a public demonstration in which professors, too, could participate and their attitude undoubtedly would also bring the pupils' participation."¹³⁸

In Brasov, on the night of 14 December there was a real celebration for the Brasov Romanians. The university students gathered in front of maps with little flags marking the great victories of Grivita and Plevna. Secondary school pupils, each child and everyone were singing "Over in Plevna at the fort" and other songs and poems. The whole Schei neighborhood was on its feet. The hills around the city lit up at sundown. Many flares were set off from the peak of Timpa.

As was written in a correspondence from Blaj on 14 December 1877 with reference to the enthusiasm and general joy: "Just as it would not even be forgiven to say that there is a Romanian heart beating which does not leap at hearing of the brilliant success of the old Romanian valour, so, too, the hearts of the people of Blaj could not remain unmoved. The word of the day is only about the fall of Plevna. The subject of discussion is only the military valour of our brothers and the wisdom of their leaders."¹³⁹

On the occasion of the great armed victories of the Romanians, Maria Iliescu wrote from Cluj: "The valour of the young Romanian army is being recognized by the whole world, our hearts are full of the most justifiable national pride and again the most lively sympathy is aroused for our brave Romanian brothers across the Carpathians."¹⁴⁰

At the Theological Academy in Gherla, someone wrote that "the joy was so great that a human pen cannot describe it" and that everyone had faith that "our dream will be realized and that Romania has a golden future."¹⁴¹

A number of persons from the cohabiting nationalities also were happy about the Romanians' victory over the Ottoman troops. In the book entitled "Memories of Turkey: 1875, 1876, 1877-1878" which appeared in 1895, Lajos Lakos, a Hungarian author originally from Oradea, wrote: "It would be unjust not to remember that Romania was a warring side and, more importantly, that the valour of its army contributed to the victory of the Russian armies when the final result of the war was decided." ALFOLD, a newspaper in Arad, reporting on the moral qualities and battle qualities of the Romanian army, emphasized that "the Romanian troops have the best state of spirit and appropriate military bearing. They are well maintained and supplied with weapons. Their order and cleanliness are exemplary." KELET, the Cluj newspaper, which in general did not favor Romania's participation in the war, still wrote this about the contribution of the Romanian army: "One cannot deny that without the collaboration of the 30,000 Romanians the attack on Plevna could not have begun."

Popular demonstrations also took place in many other locations, such as Turda, Deva, Hateg, Lugoj, Zalau, Simleu, Beius, Arad and so forth.¹⁴²

The Romanians' victories brought telegrams and letters from prominent political authorities and personalities from the other side of the Carpathians, in which the Romanians across the mountains expressed their deep sentiments for their brothers.

In a telegram of congratulations of the Romanian students in Pest sent to the Romanian Government on 4 December 1877, "proud of the national triumph on the battlefield" by the brothers on the other side of the mountains, they sent their homages and congratulations for "the glorious successes of the Romanian army. Glory for our people rises from the independence of the Romanian country. 'Long live independent Romania.'¹⁴³

On 14 December 1877 Emilia Ratiu of Turda sent the following telegram to C. A. Rosetti: "The Romanian women from Turda and surroundings salute the Romanian legions with their hearts for their admirable bravery."¹⁴⁴

Teacher Eliseu Barbosu from Gelu sent a letter to the GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI editors on 27 December 1877 in which, after saying that "the brave Romanian army has won the people's admiration, proving in fact that the Romanian knows how to use weapons,"

he expressed his "great joy over the bravery of the Romanians."¹⁴⁵ In a letter by teacher Ilie Pop of Somcuta Mare sent to his colleagues and published in GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI of 25 December 1877 he stressed that the rare heroism of the brave descendents of Stefan and Mihai "refreshed the ancient glory at Grivita and all this required me to fulfill one of the most holy obligations of contributing according to my ability to soothing the pains of our dear brothers from free Romania, who are bleeding in battle."

The newspapers from across the mountains, noting the heroism and determination of total selflessness of the Romanian soldiers, also brought out the bravery of the Russian soldiers, who "were fighting no less heroically than the Romanians."¹⁴⁶

The brilliant victories of the Romanian army against the Ottomans were a happy occasion for the newspapers across the mountains to show that these successes would contribute to asserting the prestige of the national Romanian state in the international arena, with their also being a decisive factor in hindering the great powers from further promoting a policy of force and dictate toward the smaller peoples.

In April 1877 the Brasov newspaper wrote that "the future of the Romanian people and fortification at the lower Danube and in the Carpathians still will depend much on the result of the eastern fire. So let us be serious and prepared to meet any event with resoluteness and strength in our Romanian consciousness."¹⁴⁷ Then, at the end of 1877, of course having in mind the resounding victories of the Romanian army, it concluded: "Heading 1877 was written the regeneration of the east and the resurrection of the old glory of Romania. No matter how big and hidden the plans of the allied empires are, no matter what Russia's final goal is, this war will bring its beneficial and saving results. The blood which was shed on the fields of unfortunate Bulgaria never will be able to forward the cause of despotism but, rather, from this noble brave blood will come only liberty and the independence of the eastern people."¹⁴⁸

In turn, commenting on the importance of the successes of the Romanian army for asserting Romania in international relations, TELEGRAFUL ROMAN wrote: "Romania's manly attitude on the war field has changed the entire situation all at once. The power and vitality of the Romanian element have been found before Europe. From now on European policy must account with Romania and the Romanian people as a weighty element and an important one for the European east."¹⁴⁹

For the new year of 1878, Nicolae Cristea painted a comprehensive picture of the place and role of the war for independence in the struggle carried on by the Romanian people for liberty and

national unity throughout the centuries. "1877 is ending," the Romanian patriot noted. "This was a great year in the lives of the European peoples, a decisive year in the lives of the peoples of the east and it was one which divides the lives of the Romanian people in two. Nearly 300 years have passed since the news of the manly acts of the Romanians spread through all the European countries and the world was amazed at Mihai, the brave ruler who knew how to stand straight and daring between two powerful empires. The world still was feeling that the Romanians were a people who had rejected life and, after having seen them stay for entire centuries indifferent, there was no doubt that they had forgotten greatness and had lost the valour of the past. Several short months have barely passed since nobody dares laugh at the entrance of the Romanian army into action. However, several months have passed and the name "turkey" has become popular in Europe: At Plevna, Rahov, Palanca, the Romanians have proven they are the true descendents of their forefathers, that they know how to defend a cause, that they are a people of men. And today, nobody dares distinguish Romanians from Romanians anymore; no matter where, in Moldavia, in Muntenia, Transylvania, Banat, Bucovina, Bessarabia, when it is a question of a manly act the Romanian is a Romanian like all Romanians. This binds us, joins us and knits us together; this forces the world to see in us a people composed of people who are equally blessed. And soon this people will prove that, besides knowing how to defend a border, besides knowing how to maintain order, they also know how to accept the results of the work of centuries and communicate culture to the societies touching and they will demonstrate that they carry the rich treasure in their souls. We strongly believe that Europe, even in its own interest, will protect this people and create for them a position so they can fulfill the jobs appropriate for them in European society. However, in particular, the men of state of Austro-Hungary now will understand that Romanians, be they on this side or on that side of the Carpathians, are the boundary of order; they will understand and will not seek to disturb their natural development anymore. However, if they still do not want to understand, then we will be more patient and console ourselves with the hope that it will come once it has to come."¹⁵⁰

So the victories of Plevna, Grivita, Smirdan, Rahova and on other battlefields strengthened the faith of all the oppressed Romanians separated by unjust, temporary political borders at the long wished for dawn of the great celebration of national unity, the nearing of which was hurried by the war for independence nearly a hundred years ago.

The war to achieve Romania's full independence gave particular impetus to the national struggle of the Romanians in the oppressed provinces. The observations of the Hungarian deputies

also referred to this; they stated that many Romanians from Transylvania crossed the border and enlisted in the Romanian army, that independent Romania had decided to unite Transylvania with Romania and that this type of agitation was being carried out among the Romanian population in Transylvania.¹⁵¹ Really, in Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina during those months of the war there was a general enthusiasm for the heroic struggle for independence by the Romanian soldiers, at the same time strengthening the hope in the success of the struggle for liberation from Austro-Hungarian oppression.¹⁵² During these months in Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina national movements could be seen and the failure to subject to the orders given by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. Confidential reports of the local and central Austro-Hungarian organs recognized the open demonstration of sympathy of Romanians in the dualist monarchy for independence of Romania as well as intensification of the resistance movement of the Romanians to the dualist power.¹⁵³ "In general," the Brasov County commissioner reported to the Hungarian minister of the interior, "the Romanians are demonstrating great sympathy for the events in Romania and there is a rumor spreading among the population that Transylvania will be annexed to Romania and such opinions can also be heard in public and in the circles of the more cultured class."¹⁵⁴

This situation caused intensification of the reactionary, nationalist-chauvinist measures adopted by the Hungarian bourgeois-landowner government. On 9 May 1877, the very day that Romania's full independence was proclaimed in the Romanian parliament, the royal Hungarian minister of the interior demanded the imperial minister of war place "military assistance" at his disposal, along with the Transylvanian gendarmes, "which does not have enough power to fulfill its tasks fully under the exceptional circumstances which have appeared."¹⁵⁵ On 21 May 1877 the Hungarian minister of the interior gave a circulating order regarding the Romanians' agitation and the anxiety of the Hungarian authorities due to the position of the United Romanian Principalities on the Russian-Turkish war. Supervision of foreigners (!) arriving or refugees to the country was ordered and, at the same time, supervision of the population's state of spirit.¹⁵⁶

In order to ensure "the calm" of the Austro-Hungarian dominant classes, Hungary's minister of the interior, Tisza Kalman, in a report to Emperor Franz Joseph on 27 May 1877, after informing him that "the events which have occurred following the Russian-Turkish war have produced some disturbances among the Romanian-speaking inhabitants of Hungary," requested "that small military detachments, consisting of two companies, be detached to the Transylvanian territories, particularly Aiud, Bistrita, Deva, Nasaud, Fagaras and Valea Jiului in Hunedoara to maintain order and suppress any eventual disturbances."¹⁵⁷

The Hungarian minister of the interior on 22 May 1877 drew the attention of the county commissioners in Arad, Bistrita-Nasaud, Bihor, Brasov, Hunedoara, Sibiu, Caras-Severin to the problem of the distribution of maps "oriented toward making Romania round" with the occupied portions of Austro-Hungary. "Recently," the Hungarian minister noted, the disseminators of the Daco-Romanian plots illegally have introduced maps whose purpose is to round up the principalities of Muntenia and Moldavia,* including a part of Hungary, as well." As a result of this fact, the minister demanded that "the introduction and dissemination of such maps" be followed "with the most vigilant attention" and, in case they are discovered, that they be confiscated, "sending us an example," while "regulatory measures of investigation and repression be taken" against the illegal persons and disseminators" and "that I be informed of what has been found."158

As a result of the proclamation of Romania's full independence, intensification of the movements of national liberation of the Romanian population was reported in a particularly blunt way in a 7 June 1877 report of the supreme committee of Turda-Aries comitat Gh. Kemeny to Tisza Kalman, minister of the interior: "1. Since Romania obtained its independence from the Ottoman Empire, the Romanians in Turda-Aries comitat are jubilant but it is not yet a threat. The Romanian people hope and believe that in the near future the Romanian Kingdom will be created. The Romanian people feel that uniting Transylvania with the Romanian Kingdom is only a matter of time. 4. Since Romania won its independence, in the village of Barbosi in Turda-Aries comitat there have been many demonstrations by Romanians from there, while at the proposal of archpriest Bazil Crisan the villagers refused to elect the deputies proposed for the election of deputies from the village."159

Taking into account the scope taken by the national movement of Romanians from here, the supreme leader felt that "the calm of the Romanians from Transylvania could be obtained with very much ease (sic!) in case several regiments are established."160

On 5 August 1877 the Hungarian minister of the interior prohibited appearance of the publication entitled "Bee of Dacia," because "in the title the word 'Dacia' cannot be conceived of, that this word in general has no justifiable meaning, and that, further, this expression also belongs to those words which have been taken out of the lexicon of agitations hostile to the Hungarian state."161

* It should be remembered that the Hungarian authorities did not even use the term of Romania for the principalities which had united in 1859.

On 12 March 1878 the Royal Hungarian minister of internal affairs gave categorical instructions to the commissioners to drastically crush the national liberation struggle. As Tisza felt, "Following the war which can now be considered over, in conformity with the information arriving from many regions, the antipatriotic plots at the level of the nationalities is continuing with an even greater intensity than before, while in some places it has even reached the point of open demonstrations. The nationalist instigators are holding meetings and creating plans with a view to an antipatriotic movement they are to organize and with a view to misleading the gullible, insufficiently informed people.

"Faced with all these plots and plans, the urgent patriotic duty first is the most vigilant possible supervision of the movements, national plots and leaders of them, as well as exemplary punishment of the organizers of the antipatriotic plots discovered and of those participating in them without delay, thus preventing inciting and instigating of great proportion, by virtue of what has been said above, and taking into account the exceptional importance of this problem and seriousness of the situation, I ask you please to take measures so that, in the country's interest, action be taken in the two directions mentioned above--supervision and penalization--with the greatest severity and strictness each time and that each individual case be reported to me regarding what has been found and the measures taken."162

The Habsburg authorities in Bucovina also followed with particular attention the state of spirit of the Romanian population which was openly demonstrating its wish to unite with the country. In the fall of 1877 the persecutions against the Romanians came one after another. The reports of the repression organs informed the higher authorities that "the peasants say outright that they understood with the priests and Romanian landowners that Bucovina should be snatched from Austria and joined to Romania." Many priests and peasants were arrested and then expelled from Bucovina, accused of being agitators hostile to the Austrian state. Among them were Ion Vasiliu of Verpolea, Vasile Paznic of Volcivet, N. Cozmei of Serbauti.

Despite all the measures taken by the Austro-Hungarian authorities, the national movement of the Romanians under the domination of the double monarchy intensified, while together with the national movements of the other oppressed peoples would contribute to deepening the crisis of the dualist regime, a regime which after several decades would fall under the powerful blows of these peoples, which would cause the break up of Austro-Hungary.

FOOTNOTES

1. G. Baritiu, "Chosen Portions of the History of Transylvania 200 Years Ago," Vol III, Sibiu, 1891, p 490.
2. MAGYAR FUTAR, No 109, 13 May 1877.
3. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 28, 14 April 1877.
4. Archives of the Museum of History of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca, "National Problems," Document No 3414. The imperial foreign minister to the Hungarian premier Tisza. This action was made known to Vienna through a secret note. In September 1877 Austro-Hungary's foreign minister drew attention of the Hungarian premier to this, pointing out that "The head of the expedition coming on the scene just left for Brasov." At the same time, he stressed that "the danger for the Russian and Romanian armies is very great. Tomorrow morning another four officers are leaving and several others tomorrow for Brasov. Everything is being kept very secret. They will receive more detailed orders only in Brasov. The action will be led to completion with more than 2,000 people and its goal is to destroy the railroad and railroad bridges with dynamite so that the wounded cannot be transported up and the supplies cannot go down. Most of the participants in the action are Hungarians." The note also included the information that "further north, the same action is being carried out from Poland on the same day. Horses, men, arms, munitions, dynamite, incendiary rockets are now standing ready at the border." (Archives of the Museum of History of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca, "National Problems," Document 3414).
5. Archives of State of Tirgu Mures, "Commissioner's Office of Mures County, Supreme Leader," Document No 307/1976.
6. Loc. cit.
7. Stefan Pascu, "The Grand National Assembly of Alba Iulia," Cluj, 1968, p 140.
8. TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, No 39, 19 May 1877.
9. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 36, 12 May 1877.
10. Ibid.
11. FAMILIA, No 20, 15 May 1877-

12. FAMILIA, No 21, 16 May 1877.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibidem.
15. Ibidem.
16. Ibidem.
17. TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, No 39, 19 May 1877.
18. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 34, 4 May 1877.
19. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 27, 10 April 1877.
20. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 42, 2 June 1877.
21. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 51, 3 July 1877.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 56, 21 July 1877.
25. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 37 and 66, 15, 25 August 1877.
26. Archives of State of Brasov, "Presidential Acts," 1877, Figure 232, sheet 5.
27. TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, No 36, 8 May 1877; also see ROMANUL, year XXI, 15 May 1877.
28. FAMILIA, No 22, 17 May 1877.
29. FAMILIA, No 24, 19 May 1877.
30. FAMILIA, No 31, 31 July 1877.
31. Elisabeta Ionita, "The Contribution of Women to Aiding the War To Achieve Romania's State Independence" in REVISTA DE ISTORIE, No 4, 1976, p 971.
32. ROMANUL, year XXI, 14 July 1877.
33. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 37, 15 May 1877.
34. Archives of State of Nasaud, "Dr A.P. Alessi."

35. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 35, 8 May 1877.
36. Ibid.
37. ROMANUL, year XXI, 12 May 1877.
38. "Marmatia II," Baia Mare, 1970, pp 183-184; also see "People of Salaj," Zalau, 1937.
39. FAMILIA, No 31, 31 July 1877.
40. V. L. Bologa, "The Aid of Transylvanian Romanians to the Wounded in the War for Independence " in TRANSILVANIA, No 5-6, July-August 1941, p 46.
41. ROMANUL, year XXI, 12 May 1877.
42. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 43, 3 June 1877.
43. Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, "Romanian Manuscripts," Vol 989, Sheet 243. The commissioner of Brasov County, for example, on 14 May 1877 informed the Hungarian minister of the interior that he had employed two agents with 150 forints a month to supervise the Romanians' activity very closely.
44. Archives of State of Salaj, "Commissioner's Office of Salaj County," year 1877.
45. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 39, 22 May 1877.
46. Ibid.
47. SIEBENBURGER DEUTSCHE TAGEBLATT, 11 June 1877.
48. Archives of State of Brasov, "The City Hall," 1877.
49. Ibid.
50. ROMANUL, years XXI, 27 and 29 May and 10 June 1877; GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 42, 2 June 1877, No 46, 16 June, No 70, 8 September 1877; TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, No 43, 2 June and No 47, 6 August 1877, No 48, 19 June 1877; FAMILIA, No 25, 19 June 1877.
51. ROMANIA LIBERA, No 34, 23 June 1877; also see TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, No 47, 16 June 1877.
52. ROMANIA LIBERA, No 43, 5 July 1877.
53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.
55. ROMANUL, year XXI, 29 June 1877.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Valeriu L. Bologa, Op. cit., p 46.
60. Ibidem., p 405.
61. "Church and School," year I, No 19, 12 June 1877.
62. "Church and School," year I, No 18, 5 June 1877.
63. FAMILIA, No 39, 25 September 1877.
64. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 101, 25 December 1877.
65. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 50, 30 June 1877.
66. MAGYAR POLGAR, year XI, No 129, 8 November 1877.
67. MONITORUL OFICIAL, No 183, 14 August 1877, pp 5060-5061 and No 219, 29 September 1877, p 5684.
68. MONITORUL OFICIAL, No 210, 10 September 1877, pp 78-80, pp 5539-5541, January 1878, pp 103-140.
69. MONITORUL OFICIAL, No 5, 5 January 1878, pp 78-80 and No 6, 6 January 1878, pp 103-104.
70. MONITORUL OFICIAL, No 18, 24 January 1878, pp 379-380.
71. MONITORUL OFICIAL, No 21, 27 January 1878, p 461.
72. "Documents on the History of Romania. The War for Independence," Vol III, Publishing House of the PRR Academy, Bucharest, 1953, p 370.
73. Archives of State of Salaj, Zalau, "Commissioner's Office of Salaj, Supreme Leader," Package 4, File 323, 325 and 332/1877.
74. Archives of State of Brasov, "Romanian Auxiliary of Gymnastics and Singing, Brasov," File 80, Sheet 8.

75. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 46, 16 June 1877.
76. Ibid.
77. ROMANIA LIBERA, No 136, 28 October 1877.
78. Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, "Romanian Manuscripts," No 276, Sheet 424.
79. DER OSTEN, No 21, 27 May 1877.
80. R. Cindea, "The Arboroasa Members. Austrian Traitors and Romanian Nationalists," Cernauti, 1937, pp 22-48.
81. Ibid. The accused were acquitted to a large extent due to agitation among the Romanians in Bucovina but also to the position which free Romania had obtained through its war for independence.
82. Stefan Pascu, "The Grand National Assembly of Alba Iulia," Cluj, 1968, p 142.
83. TELEGRAFUL, year VII, No 1521, 7 May 1877; also see ROMANUL, year XXI, 25 and 26 June 1877.
84. ROMANIA LIBERA, 24 June 1877.
85. Paul Cernovodeanu, "Aspects of the Aid Given by the Romanians from Transylvania to the War To Achieve Romania's State Independence " in REVISTA DE ISTORIE, No 4/1976, p 588.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Archives of State of Bucharest, Microfilm Austria, negative No 175.
89. Loc. cit., negative No 260.
90. Loc. cit., negatives Nos 266-267. It should be mentioned that Tisza Kalman, Hungary's premier, informed the foreign minister in Vienna that even before the Russian-Turkish war broke out the border authorities from Transylvania "were directed to pay strict attention that unauthorized passage toward the United Principalities was hindered."
91. DRI, Vol III, pp 427-430.
92. DRI, Vol II, p 276.

93. DRI, Vol III, pp 709-710.
94. Ibid.
95. Sextil Puscariu, "Response to the War for Independence in Transylvania" in "The War for Independence," Bucharest, 1927, p 201.
96. DRI, Vol III, p 313.
97. Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, "Romanian Manuscripts," No 989, sheet 247.
98. Paul Cernovodeanu, "Aspects of the Aid Given by the Romanians from Transylvania to the War To Achieve Romania's State Independence" in REVISTA DE ISTORIE, No 4/1976, pp 590-591.
99. "Tribuna Almanac for 1976," Cluj-Napoca, p 84.
100. Kriegsarchiv Wien, K. M. 1877, Praz; also see the Archives of the Museum of History of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca, "The National Problem." Letter No 115 of the Imperial military headquarters in Brasov to the Hungarian minister of the interior.
101. HISTORICAL RESEARCH, Iasi, year IV (1928) NO 2, pp 115-116.
102. DER OSTEN, No 21, 27 May 1877.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Archives of State of Tirgu Mures, "Commissioner's Office of Mures County, Deputy Leader," File No 4147, July 2-4.
106. Archives of State of Tirgu Mures, "Commissioner's Office of Mures County, Deputy Leader," File No 4147.
107. TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, No 52, 3 July 1877 and No 23, 25 February 1878.
108. TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, No 69, 1 September 1877.
109. TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, No 16, 9 February 1878.
110. In Baia Mare, among the lists of donors for the Romanian Army also were Koszka Arpad, Takacs Karoly, Toth Rosa and others (see GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 95, 4 December 1877).

111. KRONSTADTER ZEITUNG, No 142, 7 September 1877.
112. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 75, 15 September 1877.
113. La Fialla Lajos, "Reminiscences of the Romanian-Russian-Turkish War."
114. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Road to Completing the Construction of Socialism," Vol 3 Political Publishing House, 1969, pp 710-711.
115. FAMILIA, No 20, 15 May 1877.
116. Sextil Puscariu, "Twenty Letters of Moise Grozea From the War of 1877," in "Yearbook of the Institute of National History," year IV, 1926-1927, Bucharest, pp 229-246.
117. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 79, 20 October 1877.
118. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 69, 4 September 1877.
119. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 70, 8 September 1877.
120. Ibid.
121. FAMILIA, No 38, 18 September 1877.
122. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 71, 11 September 1877.
123. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 70, 8 September 1877.
124. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 68, 1 September 1877.
125. Ibid.
126. FAMILIA, No 28, 18 September 1877.
127. FAMILIA, No 31, 14 May 1877.
128. TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, 4 December 1877.
129. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 89, 13 November 1877.
130. FAMILIA, No 47, 20 November 1877.
131. ROMANIA LIBERA, No 177, 6 December 1877.
132. Ibid.

133. Archives of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies at the RCP Central Committee, "National Problem," File No 3, sheet 272. The commissioner noted that the Romanian priest Ajudan Clementin and the teacher Ion Palade played a main role in these demonstrations (loc. cit.).
134. Loc. cit, sheet 75.
135. Loc. cit., sheet 77; also see GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 82, 13 November 1877.
136. Archives of State of Nasaud, Vol Dr Titus Pap, inventory No II/11/17.
137. ROMANUL, year XXI, 10 December 1877.
138. Archives of State of Nasaud, "George Cosbuc Secondary School," inventory No IX/II-5.
139. Sextil Puscariu, op. cit., p 27.
140. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 89, 13 November 1877.
141. Archives of State of Nasaud, "The National Problem."
142. Sextil Puscariu, op. cit., p 27.
143. Library of the University of Cluj, "Francisc H. Loghin," Vol I, sheet 193.
144. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 96, 8 December 1877.
145. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 99, 12 January 1878.
146. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 74, 22 September 1877.
147. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 27, 10 April 1877.
148. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 105, 18 December 1877.
149. TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, No 82, 16 September 1877.
150. TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, No 103, 29 December 1877.
151. "From the History of Transylvania," II edition, Vol II, p 283; also see S. Puscariu, "Response to the War for Independence in Transylvania," in DEMOCRATIA, year XV (1927), No 6, p 26.

152. "From the History of Transylvania," II edition, Vol II, p 283.
153. Historical archives of the Cluj branch of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, "The National Problem," file No 99, sheet 723, 1877.
154. Archives of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies at the RCP Central Committee, "The National Problem," document No 359/1977.
155. Loc. cit., document No 31.08.1877.
156. Archives of State of Salaj, "Supreme Leader," file No 141/1877, sheet 2.
157. Archives of State of Bucharest, Microfilm Austria, Fond Militarkanzlei Seiner Majestat, 1877.
158. Archives of State of Sibiu, "Sibiu District, Structural Part, Deputy Leader," File No 15/1877.
159. Archives of State of Cluj-Napoca, "Commissioner's Office of Turda-Aries Coutny, Presidential," file No 144/1877.
160. Ibid.
161. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, No 63, 24 August 1877; also see ROMANIA LIBERA, No 78, 17 August 1877.
162. Archives of State of Sibiu, "Sibiu District, The Districts," file No 50/1878i.

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CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic decrees that Comrade Teodor Coman is released from his position as minister of the interior and Comrade George Homostean is appointed minister of the interior. Comrade Ion Savu is released from his position as deputy minister of the interior and secretary of the Political Council of the Ministry of the Interior. Comrade Nicolae Girba is appointed deputy minister of the interior and secretary of the Political Council of the Ministry of the Interior. Comrade Romus Dima is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 81 5 Sep 78 p 2]

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

VRHOVEC DISCUSSES FOREIGN POLICY WITH LEADERS OF BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 78 p 16

[Excerpts] Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who is on a 2-day visit to the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, following a meeting on 24 October with representatives of the state and party leaderships of this republic, held discussions on 25 October in the Presidium of the Republic with Raif Dizdarevic, president of the Presidium, Nikola Stojanovic, president of the Republic LC Central Committee, and Milanko Renovica, president of the Executive Council [of the republic], in which opinions were exchanged on achieving the nonaligned foreign policy and developing Yugoslav international relations, as well as on the participation of the socialist republics and provinces in this, in accord with their constitutional obligations and rights. [The above sentence appears as corrected in the 26 Oct 78 issue (p 6) of BORBA.] In addition to members of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and president of the Executive Council--Ivo Jerkic, member of the Republic Presidium and president of the Republic Council for International Relations, also participated.

The discussion examined Bosnia-Hercegovina's participation in determining and implementing the unified foreign policy of nonaligned Yugoslavia and in developing international relations. It was said that the constitutional position of the republic is being successfully realized, as are the obligations and rights in this area of self-management and development of Yugoslav society. Especially emphasized was the republic's action in promoting and enriching the various forms of cooperation with partners from the nonaligned and other developing countries.

It was stressed that important results have been achieved in this republic in the process of socializing our country's foreign policy; this is seen in the fact that a large number of organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities [opstinas] are participating in various forms of cooperation with foreign partners. However, the judgment was made that all opportunities have not been used, considering the interests of this republic's economy and considering the need in the coming period to expand all forms of cooperation in accord with total Yugoslav relations with the rest of the world.

It was also stressed that the republic is developing various forms of cooperation with neighboring countries which is contributing to promoting friendly and good-neighborly relations by the SFRY based on the principles of our foreign policy.

It was said that further efforts are needed in fulfilling the cadre [personnel] policy in the field of international relations. The discussions pointed to the need to improve the system of cadre rotation, expand the cadre base, and permanently train cadres for effective functioning in Yugoslav foreign-policy action and international relations.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

UNION OFFICIAL EXAMINES CAUSES OF WORK STOPPAGES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1441,
20 Aug 78 pp 6-7

/Article by Zoran Sekulic: "Four Responses by Neca Jovanov"; for related interview, see JPRS 48075, 27 October 1978, this series, pages 16-25

/Text Neca Jovanov is a person in his 50's. He is a former metalworker who decided at the age of 33 to enroll for university study. Ten years later, he earned his doctorate from the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana. His topic: "Workers' Strikes in Yugoslavia from 1958 to 1969."

On his calling card, his present position is listed as follows: Secretary of the Commission of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia for the Political System and the Political/Organizational Buildup of Trade Unions. He smiles and says, "It's so long that not even I can remember it."

In a recent television interview, Jovanov advanced the following thesis: "The number of blue-collar workers in workers' councils is constantly declining." He illustrates his thesis with figures: of the total number of members of workers' councils, 76.2 percent were blue-collar workers of all skill levels in 1960, 73.8 percent in 1965, 67.6 percent in 1970, 65.5 percent in 1972, and only 54.5 percent in 1976.

Unfortunately, that is not the end of it. These are often blue-collar workers only by occupation and not by job. In the meantime, many have become managerial personnel or white-collar workers. Again figures: of the 65.5 percent blue-collar workers in workers' councils in 1972, only 54 percent were actually doing blue-collar jobs.

In 1976, the representation of blue-collar workers in workers' councils had fallen to 54.5 percent. And this in spite of the constitutional requirement for the social makeup of workers' councils to match the social makeup of jobholders. Since we know that 78 percent of the total number of jobholders in the economy are blue-collar workers, the strict application of this requirement would produce 78 percent blue-collar participation in the workers' councils.

Why has this not been the case? Jovanov states that the data reflect a continuing concentration of power in the so-called bureaucratic/technocratic structure that "pushes" primarily "its own" into the workers' councils. Of course, they may be members of workers' councils in a formal way.

What does this "concentration of power" look like in practice?

Decision-making Instead of Voting

"Five or six managerial personnel get together at an enterprise, the director with his assistants, the chairman of the workers' council, the secretary of the LCY organization, the president of the trade union, and the president of the youth organization, who usually acts as an 'extra'. There, mainly under pressure from the managerial structure, a political stand is defined that is actually a decision already. At this meeting of activists, the chairman of the workers' council is charged with formally 'pushing through' the stand (decision) at the meeting of the workers' council; the LCY secretary is charged with providing political support for the decision of the workers' council; the trade-union president does the same at the trade-union meeting, and the president of the youth organization does what he can...."

In this way, the whole self-managing and political structure is mobilized to provide formal support for a decision by what is, from a sociological standpoint, an informal and extra legal group in which the concentration of authority is great.

"Theory and practice have demonstrated a hundred times," says Jovanov, "that he who holds the initiative in his hands to bring about the discussion of a problem and to formulate a draft decision has the decision itself in his hands." He demonstrates by example that this is no empty phrase: "Of the total number of questions considered at sessions of opstina assemblies, 95 percent were not only submitted for discussion by executive councils and the governmental administration but were also the subject of draft decisions formulated by the same entities. Questions and problems from the so-called 'delegate base' arrived at opstina-level and republic-level assemblies only in rare, exceptional situations."

Is not the decline in the number of blue-collar workers in the workers' councils a result of this phenomenon?

"To a large extent, yes. The 'quorum crisis' occurs primarily in the workers' assemblies, workers' councils, and councils of associated labor. Naturally, the workers are no longer suited by such a position, which clearly demonstrates their lack of motivation to participate in the work of workers' councils in which they will be just a 'voting machine'. Election to a workers' council is a great obligation and burden to be endured."

Jovanov speaks about the roots of an absurdity: workers voting against their own interests.

Voting Against Own Interests

"We analyzed a certain number of perfectly legal decisions adopted with participation by worker-delegates in basic organizations of associated labor, in workers' councils, in the council of associated labor, and in the assemblies of interest communities. The consequences of those decisions directly contravene not only the particular interests of basic organizations of associated labor but also, I am absolutely convinced, the class interests of the working class as a whole."

An example follows: the index of the gross income of the economy is 1976 was 113, that of earnings 118. Yet the index of assessments against the economy (Jovanov points out this statistic) was 132. The earnings remaining at the disposal of the economy rose over 14 percent.

At the same time, society is opting for the idea that assessments against the economy ought not to exceed actual earnings. All assessments, however, have formal backing in decrees by assemblies of interest communities and opstina-level and republic-level assemblies. This is all the more absurd in the sense that the assemblies have been adopting decrees that directly conflict with proclaimed common policy. Once the consequences are understood, decrees are issued to return funds to the economy.

Jovanov cites another example. At present, there are approximately 29,000 investment decrees in effect, under which chiefly new economic facilities are being built. These "ask for" 596 billion dinars. From a legal standpoint, none of these investment decrees can be disputed. In relation to the economy as a whole, however, a question mark indeed hovers over them. The first reason is that we do not have the 596 billion dinars. Accordingly, we cannot implement these 29,000 investment decrees. There is another reason: as an example, the construction of 199 new textile factories is planned. According to official data covering the first nine months of 1977, the Yugoslav textile industry was holding stockpiles of goods valued at 1.8 billion dinars. The textiles are not of poor quality; rather, the existing capacity of the textile industry exceeds market demand. What is involved, therefore, is the duplication or even triplication of capacity.

Against "Universal Self-managers"

In relation to a large team of specialists, Jovanov continues, the worker becomes a "universal self-manager" who slowly but surely changes into a "universal ignoramus." The reasons should be sought in the inability of any one employed person to master the "materials" that are set before him. To accomplish this and to accept responsibility for the decision for which he is voting, a worker must have an awareness of the consequences of the decision for which he is voting and not just an awareness of the contents of the decision.

The idea of a "universal self-manager" and theses to the effect that everybody ought to decide on everything made some sense when the number of issues

for decision-making by workers' councils was very small and when the questions themselves were much simpler. Today, says Jovanov, we have enterprises employing 60,000 workers, in which neither a blue-collar worker nor a doctor of science can be a "universal self-manager."

Medicine for Papers

Jovanov says: "If we wanted not only to interpret but also to expound Kardelj's thesis about pluralism of interests, then that thesis presupposes two steps to be taken in relation to the system and institutions in which decision are taken, viz., to reduce the number of universal institutions and to diminish the number of issues about which all decide.

"All of us create the earnings of basic organizations of associated labor, and we must all decide on the distribution of earnings. For the sake of example, I set apart the common consumption fund. All of us decide how much to give for housing, how much for specialized training for workers, how much for recreation, for nursery schools, etc. In my opinion, that ought to be the end of decision-making by everybody. If we decide to set aside a certain sum to build housing, then the decision on what kind of housing units will be built and who will receive housing units ought to be in the hands of those who lack housing of their own. Self-management, as a system, presupposes that 'I' am going to be a decision-maker when 'my' interest is in question. For any other institution to decide on 'my' interest, without me, would amount objectively to the alienation of my influence.

"If a commission for the assignment of housing units consists of persons who possess housing units, then persons whose interests are in question are being excluded from decision-making. A commission for the assignment of housing units ought to consist of persons who lack housing units. The unrest that will probably be present at the meetings of a commission so composed is certainly better than illusory peace."

And there is a medicine for "papers," too: "A multitude of diverse and contradictory interests must show how a problem can be resolved in a variety of ways. Several different interests exist. Elements 'pro' and 'contra' ought to be measured against every variant. What is most important, the consequences of every variant ought to be shown. Everything can be put on one page of paper." Jovanov is categorical on this point.

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END