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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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21 February 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ WEEKLY ATTACKS 'REVISIONIST' THEORIES

AU291731 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 4, 23 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Karel Horak]

[Excerpts] At the beginning of the 20th century the international workers movement stood, figuratively speaking, at a crossroads. Right-wing representatives of the Second International were introducing revisionist and opportunist theories into social democratic parties and the proletariat's awareness. This led to a gradual degradation of proletarian parties, to the loss of revolutionary prospects, and--ultimately--to subordinating their activity to the interests of the bourgeoisie. The further fate of the social democratic movement on the international scale and in individual countries depended to a considerable degree on whether revisionism would be defeated and the spuriousness of the illusions it was spreading among workers exposed.

It was not easy to rid Marxism of the reformist ballast and to establish prerequisites for the return of the parties of the workers class to the path of class struggle with the bourgeoisie. The entire mechanism of bourgeois propaganda was comprehensively propagating Bernstein's revisionist views, presenting them as a renaissance of Marxism and its adaptation to the new conditions of capitalist development. Most leaders and functionaries of the Second International and, up to a certain time, also rank-and-file members were adopting, developing, and spreading further revisionist views. This was due, aside from the low standard of their theoretical training, to some successes of social democrats, to the numerical growth of workers aristocracy [as published], to the peaceful development of capitalism, which was said to have overcome its crisis, and so forth.

The one who spoke out openly and with all due urgency against the revisionist deformation of Marxism and against the reformist truckling to the bourgeoisie was V.I. Lenin. From the very beginning of his revolutionary activity he was waging an irreconcilable struggle not only for the purity of the theoretical principles of Marxism and for their revolutionary perception and interpretation under the new conditions of the development of capitalism, but also for the method of asserting them, for the strategy and tactics of the proletariat, and for the nature, organizational principles, and activity of a workers party. V.I. Lenin was victorious in this struggle against revisionism. He gave back to Marxism its revolutionary content and further developed the

Marxist theory in a genial way. It was in this complex struggle and in the process of a creative, Marxist solution of the new tasks with which revolutionary struggle was confronting the workers class that Leninism and the proletarian party of a new type came into being.

Just as the founding and development of Marxism amounted to the transition of socialism from utopia to science, the materialization of Leninism meant the transition of socialism from a scientific theory into reality. This truth has been proved by historical development; it is a truth that is confirmed anew by the victory and construction of socialism in every additional country. That is why in the entire period since the founding of Leninism, particularly since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we have been coming across the purposeful endeavor of the bourgeoisie and revisionism to belittle Leninism, to reject it, and to revise its essential principles.

Just the names of those who since the Great October Socialist Revolution have attempted to "uproot" Leninism and to prove that it is not the development of Marxism but its negation and that it has neither the properties of a science nor international validity would make up a long list. Kautsky, Bauer, Masaryk, Garaudy, Fischer, Brzezinski, Eurocommunists; revisionists in the CPCZ in 1968, rightwing forces in the Polish People's Republic--that is only a small part of those who attacked and continue to attack, Lenin's teaching.

Imperialism set up dozens of scientific institutes, university departments, anticommunist centers, and an extensive propaganda apparatus including a number of specialized broadcasting stations to fight Leninism and its materialization--real socialism. The people engaged in theoretically challenging Leninism are changing, old arguments are being wrapped in new clothes, and new arguments are being produced, but the goal remains the same--to discredit Leninism and real socialism, to theoretically disarm the workers class and its vanguard, to break up the ideological and organizational unity of Marxist-Leninist parties and the international communist movement, and to replace the militant, class, and internationalist teaching by some nationalist, liberally bourgeois, or reformist theory.

These facts, which we recall in connection with the anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth, are not new. Nonetheless, we must keep them constantly in mind and return to them, and must not underestimate them. This is the case because the attacks of bourgeois propaganda and ideology on the Soviet Union, our republic, and other socialist countries are not abating but, on the contrary, continue to escalate. Our enemy--imperialism--seeks ever new forms and methods of undermining socialism, coordinates its course of action, and spends ever increasing sums on antisocialist activities. It seizes every opportunity to belittle that which has been done in the socialist countries for the benefit of the working people and to prove that the experiences of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community in building socialism are not suitable for the workers class in advanced capitalist countries.

Everything is being subordinated to the attainment of this goal--politics, ideology, and propaganda. The stormy welcome accorded by the bourgeoisie to

the founding of so-called Eurocommunism can serve as an example. Bourgeois propaganda, including the broadcasting stations of ideological subversion which otherwise have nothing but insulting words for communist parties and their representatives, was raving about this "new" current in the communist movement. It was giving prominence to it as a "scientific" overcoming of Marxism-Leninism, as a theory respecting the principles of democracy, freedom, and human rights. Those representatives of some communist parties who were spreading it were being presented as foremost figures of the international communist movement and their views and positions were being widely publicized. At the same time, those communist parties and their representatives who rejected the so-called Eurocommunism and criticized its revisionist contents were being labeled as dogmatists, "Moscow's vassals," and the like. The aim of this broad-based campaign was to make communist parties renounce Leninism and replace it by "Eurocommunism."

The reason why so-called Eurocommunism obtained the support of the bourgeoisie and its ideological centers was the fact that the exponents of these views rejected the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, especially socialist revolution, class struggle, the party's leading role, and the necessity of establishing political power by the workers class, and replaced them by reformist postulates wrapped in Marxist terminology. And that which impressed the bourgeoisie most was their rejection of Leninism, the sharp criticism of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the negation of the principles of proletarian internationalism, and the putting forward of "new" models of socialism and ways of achieving it. The common feature of all these "new" models of socialism was their authors' rejection of the experiences acquired by the workers class so far in the struggles for the victory of socialism and in its construction.

The attempt of anticommunist centers to break up the unity of the international communist movement, to pit individual communist parties against each other, to isolate the CPSU, and to discredit its policy by means of so-called Eurocommunism did not come off. But the bourgeoisie and its propaganda machinery immediately launched a new campaign against socialist countries and the results of socialist construction, a campaign designed to discredit socialism and its theoretical foundations in the eyes of the world public, particularly among working people in the capitalist countries.

CSO: 2400/243

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

URBAN URGES DYNAMIC FOREIGN TRADE AT 12TH PLENUM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 84 p 4

[Speech by Bohumil Urban, CSSR minister of foreign trade]

[Excerpt] The report of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee has again documented the attention paid by the Central Committee to the problem of external economic relations. This is so because an entire third of national income produced enters the reproduction process through foreign trade. The wider participation of our economy in the international division of labor was described by the 16th CPCZ Congress as an objective necessity of further successful development.

I would like to express appreciation of the overall expansion of relations with the CEMA countries and particularly with the Soviet Union. At a time when the world trade volume has been declining by 1-2 percent annually, our commodity exchange with the CEMA countries has been increasing by 10 percent and more per year. Due to this development, Czechoslovakia has become one of the few states which has increased its share in world trade in the last 3 years. This development is primarily due to the dynamic expansion of trade which we have registered with our biggest trade partner --the Soviet Union--since the 16th CPCZ Congress.

The share of the Soviet Union in the total Czechoslovak foreign trade volume amounts to approximately 45 percent today. It is significant that the share of cooperative deliveries with the majority of our socialist partners has also been increasing. The congress also directed us to expand economic relations with the nonsocialist countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. Trade with the nonsocialist countries represents approximately 25 percent of the total Czechoslovak foreign trade volume at the present time.

I would like to mention three problems: exports to and imports from both socialist and nonsocialist countries, and the urgent problem of profitability of commodity exchange with foreign countries. Czechoslovak foreign trade is oriented 75 percent toward the socialist countries.

This year represents the continuation of the favorable development in which all sectors, particularly the engineering industry, participate.

We expect the export targets to be exceeded and the export margin indicator to be fulfilled. Nevertheless, I must state that some production enterprises have not scrupulously observed the principle that the socialist markets' demands have been changing. In the first place, there are stricter requirements on the quality and technical standard of our products. The investment structure has also changed in most countries. This has also been reflected in the demands on us.

If we want to secure a dynamic expansion of trade with the socialist countries in the future, we must switch more rapidly from simple commodity exchange to economic and industrial cooperation. Some of these aspects are not specifically Czechoslovak. In accordance with the recommendations of the summit meeting of CEMA representatives, we are ready to make systematic use of the advantages of our community.

As to the nonsocialist states, we continue to encounter discrimination and various administrative obstacles. The EEC countries in particular continue to apply quantitative limits to Czechoslovak products, pertaining to textiles, shoes, clothing, metallurgical products, electric motors and approximately 20 other basic groups. Sometimes they try to restrict Czechoslovak exports by setting up various price, technical, customs or sanitary obstacles. As to the import of new equipment and technologies, there are steadily increasing lists of merchandise which cannot be sold to Czechoslovakia for so-called "political reasons". The demand for nonengineering products has particularly increased in the course of this year. The products of the textile and leather industries, glass and artificial jewelry began to be sold more easily. The revival of market interest has as yet not been fully reflected in the engineering sectors. The stagnation has been particularly marked in the area of machine tools and molding machines, but also in machinery for the textile industry.

We want to expand trade with a number of developing countries further. Their [financial] situation, particularly their indebtedness, however, undermines their capacity to pay. Those developing countries that do not possess crude oil have virtually stopped investments and considerably restricted their imports. On the contrary, they insist on achieving a trade balance. This calls as well for a changed attitude on our part. Despite the problems just mentioned, we will meet this year's export targets set for the nonsocialist countries. However, the targets will not be met in the originally planned structure and this will affect the profitability of our exports.

An important task is to reduce our import requirements and to ensure economical and rational use of all foreign exchange earmarked for purchases. Imports from the socialist countries are well balanced. In imports from the nonsocialist countries we try, in addition to securing indispensable raw and industrial materials, to use foreign exchange for purchases of machinery and equipment of high technical standards. We try to spend these funds prudently in order to avoid purchases of products which we can manufacture ourselves or import from the socialist countries.

The principal task of Czechoslovak foreign trade and production is to render foreign commodity exchange more profitable. This is a task which was and has been particularly recently more frequently emphasized by the CPCZ Central Committee in the contexts important for the growth of the national economy. This is a correct and logical requirement. Recently we have been dealing with these problems more frequently both in the management of foreign trade enterprises and in production organizations. We all agree that despite some positive results in the price area we still have not achieved the necessary effects everywhere. There are several reasons for low profitability of some products and assortments--technical standard, poor merchandising, the level of steadily increasing wholesale prices, and many others. We know that as long as our products do not match world competition we cannot achieve world prices.

It is imperative that our enterprises ask themselves more frequently questions concerning production costs, their level with reference to competition, labor productivity and overhead, what prices we fetch and at what price our competition sells similar products.

Everybody who wants to compare must know the situation on the foreign markets. Enough people from the production sector and trade travel abroad. The measures which we, together with the production sector, have adopted recently will make it possible for us to send the right people on foreign trips whose purpose is the acquaintance with the latest technical standard--the chief design engineers and chief technologists. Several days' and sometimes even several months' visits with selected world-renowned firms in both socialist and nonsocialist areas should result in the future in better knowledge of technological standards and also in more concrete proposals for production cooperation. Here we still have reserves which must be more effectively utilized.

The congress also instructed us to act more aggressively in the function of a stimulating customer and to improve cooperation with the production sector. Many measures are being implemented in this direction according to a program. Various forms of closer linkage between production and foreign trade enterprises are being experimentally tested at the present time. Together with the production sector, we are in our second year of training selected cadres from practice for work in foreign trade, and we are also trying to improve cooperation between the two sectors through the temporary exchange of personnel on a mutual basis. I want to state quite frankly that from the production sector we demand more flexible reaction to the customers' demands, shorter delivery periods, improvement of service and solution of other problems. We must apply to ourselves what we demand from the production sector. We must get rid of routine and stereotypes in the procedures of some trade organizations and put more emphasis on results.

Trade agreements for 1985 have already been signed with the Soviet Union and most socialist countries, which according to the plan create favorable conditions for increased commodity exchange. If we are to implement the resolutions of the CEMA summit practically, this requires--as we realize--a new approach.

The next year's plan for the nonsocialist countries calls for a change in the structure, reduced exports of fuels and timber and increased exports of final products. This is a demanding but realizable plan even in the engineering sector. It is important for effectiveness to change in the desired direction. We want to contribute to the achievement of this goal by more active work on the part of our trade departments abroad, and also of foreign trade enterprises in our country, by proper professional and political qualifications of commercial apparatus. We have a program in this direction and know what we want to achieve.

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CSO: 2400/164

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MEASURES AGAINST JUVENILE CRIME IN SSR EVALUATED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Nov 84 p 1

[Unsigned editorial]

[Excerpts] The contemporary period shows that the multifaceted development of socialist society does not automatically affect the morals of each and every individual. It has also failed to bring about a general improvement in the public behavior of our citizens. We have not yet succeeded in abandoning all negative social phenomena. Among us also there are "individuals" who lag behind as far as their moral consciousness and the realization of conscious and well-thought-out forms of behavior are concerned. Delinquency and criminal activity are phenomena which also threaten our juveniles. A poor upbringing, parental neglect, school truancy, and petty theft by children are the initial small steps leading to deterioration.

The anticipation of these phenomena, evidencing the first manifestations of misdemeanor or violence and depriving irresponsible parents of their control over their children--these are the tasks of our society. The system of sociolegal prevention and the measures whose aim is to protect children and adolescents effectively are broad in scope. They concern a wide range of institutions--central organs of state administration, national committees, schools, social and health care facilities, social organizations of the National Front, cultural organizations, etc.

It is necessary to state that we have expanded our moral effort, that recently we have been able to give a sufficient number of illustrations proving its need and also positive results. The effectiveness of our measures to protect children and adolescents against negative phenomena has increased. However, we cannot afford to ignore shortcomings and mistakes which still exist in this area. We must not close our eyes before them or remain indifferent. The letter of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee calling on all of us to look for more effective organization and more intensive use of the entire range of measures to prevent antisocial activity by our young people, to prevent delinquency by children and juvenile crime, is for this purpose.

In spite of the fact that juvenile crime has declined somewhat this year, there are still problems. Young people commit crimes primarily against property, working mostly in groups and often resorting to violence. We can witness

alcoholism, the use of drugs, and the inability of some of our young people to use their spare time constructively. Another warning stems from the fact that unskilled and uneducated juveniles commit antisocial acts much more often than those young people who are trained, well brought-up, and prepared for life and work in our socialist society. A factor which also contributes to juvenile crime is an unstimulating family life and the high divorce rate. However, there is also juvenile crime in completely different cases, in those cases where all the conditions (material prosperity of the family, status and occupation of parents) for the proper upbringing of children are present. Last but not least, juvenile crime is also a result of curiosity and boredom interwoven with a drive to show off, to do what is "expected." We have failed to eliminate smoking, vulgar behavior, alcoholism, and promiscuity among our juveniles. These phenomena are often in evidence here and there, especially among juvenile "gangs."

In this connection it is necessary to ask to what extent we are implementing the tasks spelled out in the Set of Measures Concerning the Improved Protection of Juveniles Against Negative Phenomena adopted for the 1983-1985 period, which was approved by a resolution of the Slovak Government in March of last year, in the resolution of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee, as well as in the system of other measures adopted by the organs and organizations associated with the National Front. It is obvious that the initial results of the fulfillment of these tasks cannot offer a complete picture, especially when we talk about long-range measures. However, as was also confirmed at a meeting of representatives of all involved parties at a seminar organized in Trencianske Teplice by the coordinator of the tasks, the Slovak Ministry of Justice, not all the tasks of the resolution are being satisfactorily fulfilled.

Our efforts in the struggle against the negative phenomena among some of our young people and the preventive measures we have undertaken are more extensive than intensive and deal with the problems in depth.

Increased activity of the pertinent organs is manifested in the work with juveniles who need personal counseling. However, the basic problems, namely the shortage of juvenile institutions and correctional homes, remain unsolved.

These facts, as well as many other prevailing problems in the improvement of marital relations and family upbringing, indicate that even when the activity of individual components of the system of avoiding negative phenomena is stepped up, its effectiveness is not commensurate with the efforts made. More could also be done by social organizations, especially the Socialist Youth Union, to encourage artistic and sports activities and the constructive use of leisure time by our young people. They must pay more attention to the role of clubs and dormitories. Similarly, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement must be more active and pay more attention to the reserves of socialist labor brigades. These two organizations can also do more in terms of social education when they offer social guaranties. According to an investigation conducted by the Slovak Supreme Court, the participation of those vouching for adolescents involved in juvenile crimes is still very low. The fact that last year the basic organizations of the Socialist Youth Union offered to the courts only 11 guaranties

speaks for itself. The social organizations fail to send their representatives even to trials. (Last year, they did not send their representatives to a single trial.) Thus, it is up to the Socialist Youth Union and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to make better use of their legal options, help the young delinquents in their group activities and criticize shortcomings in the educational work of employees and parents.

The tasks in complex work-political evaluation also to take into account the profile of a parent are not a matter of form but real political tasks. Unfortunately, many ministries and institutions neglect to supervise this task. It is up to the party organization to pay better attention to this situation and evaluate its members in a sophisticated manner. Attitudes of many parents who claim that they have not enough time to bring up their children because of responsible jobs and too many functions in public and social organizations smack of alibis by party members, of double standards which are incompatible with a socialist way of life.

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CSO: 2400/140

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COLOTKA EVALUATES ECONOMIC GOALS AT 12th PLENUM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 84 p 3

/Excerpts/ In the preparation of the plan, an active part has been played by the communists of the party, state and economic offices of Slovakia, and they did it with an awareness of the decisive importance of the year 1985 for the completion of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. We in the SSR try to strengthen in the first place the positive sides of the previous development, to solve problems and remove shortcomings more decisively, so that the contribution of Slovakia toward achieving the decisive goals of the Czechoslovak economy would be most outstanding. Following the decisions of the 16th Party Congress, as well as the decisions of the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia and the pertinent proceedings of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, we in the SSR orient our economic development toward the key tasks of the united Czechoslovak economy. We enforce a marked growth in intensification, an increase in effectiveness and quality, we try to make maximum use of the natural, geographical and economic conditions to achieve greater dynamism in the economy and to enhance further the share of Slovakia in the creation of nationwide resources. We are striving toward a development of material production which, through a faster growth of the resulting delivery of goods, would markedly contribute towards improving the balance, especially toward enhancing the export capacity of the Czechoslovak economy.

We are happy that even after the renovation of the dynamics of the development of the Czechoslovak economy we in Slovakia are still capable of sustaining the planned trend in production of the national income. Going by the results of the past years and the plan for the next one, in 1981-85 our share in the nationwide growth of the national income will amount to 45 percent. The growth thus achieved is based partly on higher growth of the labor resources and basic productive assets, but the main resources of the dynamics are the intensive factors, in particular a higher valorization of raw materials, fuel and energy. At the same time, we are strengthening the efforts to implement progressive structural changes in production. According to the plan which pursues this goal, the industrial production in Slovakia next year will go up 4.3 percent.

In the sectors controlled by the Slovak Government we particularly stress the higher valorization of raw materials and the adjustment of the structure and the assortment of production according to the consumer demand. Even if we cannot be satisfied with the condition achieved in certain enterprises and

industrial sectors, still, according to the previous development and the plan for the coming year we will significantly improve the perfection and the exportability of products. Export from the enterprises of the Ministry of Industry of the SSR will grow in the Seventh 5-Year Plan roughly by 43 percent. Especially high growth of export is observed in the lumber industry. It will grow (in foreign prices) by 115.4 percent for the socialist countries and by 90 percent for the nonsocialist countries. It is true that in the lumber industry and in some other sectors we have even further reserves. We must, therefore, continue to struggle for a higher quality and assortment in order to improve exchange relations in export and, to a fuller degree but above all more qualitatively, to satisfy the needs of our domestic trade. We place, therefore, particular stress on the growth of the share of high technological- and economic-level goods in the overall production. Since the beginning of the 5-year plan their value has grown and their share in the total production of goods will increase according to the plan for the coming year from the current 13.76 percent to 14.84 percent. We cannot, however, remain satisfied with that. In particular, the results of state tests always indicate a large share of the product of the second degree of quality, even among new products. At the same time, a substandard level is encountered in the food, lumber and light industries, i.e., branches producing consumer goods.

In consumer industry we must more emphatically enforce an increased share of newly-introduced products. This is particularly important since some manufacturing sectors of this branch partly fill with their export deliveries some gaps in the export of machine-tool production.

In the chemical industry we have attempted to substitute lower kinds of crude oil with higher quality raw materials and with the development of light chemistry. We will try to do the same in the next year when the growth of the productivity of the chemical industry will have to provide, besides an increase in the production of polymers and rubber goods, new cyclohexanon capacities in Chemek Strazske and agrochemicals and antioxidants in Dusel Sala. Those new products, indispensable for the improvement of the quality of rubber products and for fiber production, as well as for an intensification of agricultural output, are essentially based on the results obtained by our research base. They make it possible to reduce our import dependency on nonsocialist states; they are also a result of the division of labor and production within the framework of CEMA.

The export of our products to the Soviet Union and the GDR in exchange for other needed chemical products is profitable for us nationwide. Speaking of that, it will be necessary to solve completely on the central level certain standing problems in the economic mechanism, so that something profitable for the entire economy would not contradict the interests of the enterprise ensuring this production. Leaving those questions not completely solved could in the end hamper the effort for technological progress, for strengthening the international socialist economic integration, for which the summit economic conference of the CEMA countries opened new possibilities.

Agriculture in Slovakia will keep taking part in the key problem of Czechoslovak agriculture: to improve self-sufficiency in the production of principal

foodstuffs. The farm workers of the SSR completely support the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and the goals of which Comrade Strougal spoke with such urgency at the 10th Congress of the United Agricultural Cooperatives. While securing those goals we will take particular care to fulfill the adopted provision to use part of the above-plan cereal production in 1984 to strengthen the reserves in order to reduce the consumption of rich fodder further and accurately to observe a balance between the available sources of fodder and the number of farm animals, particularly pigs.

We are also facing demanding tasks in capital construction. We are making progress in concentrating our supplying capacities for completing constructions, for new and modernized productive capacities, for continuing progress in the construction of large and important facilities, such as nuclear power stations and the waterworks on the Danube. We would like further to fulfill our task successfully in the localities where priority constructions are concentrated, in Prague and in the North Bohemia Kraj, as well as to improve the progress at the construction in Bratislava.

In our investment activities we must put more stress on protecting and creating residential space.

Within the framework of our federal system and on the basis of the united Czechoslovak economy we would like, from the position of the Slovak governing authorities, to render assistance in the development of the federally managed sectors as well. The development of those sectors in Slovakia is connected with asserting progressive structural changes. This is attested, for instance, by increasing the overall share of nuclear energy production, of the technique of continuous steel founding in the steel industry, and especially in the development of the technologically demanding production in the machine-tool industry. Production of petroleum engines, tractors, hydraulic elements and assemblies, textile machines, robots and robot arms, microelectronic circuits, color televisions and other contemporary products is developing at an accelerated rate.

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CSO: 2400/168

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PIRC SPEAKS ON EASTERN SLOVAKIA AT 12TH PLENUM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 84 p 3

/Excerpts/ The kraj party committee and its presidium have regularly occupied themselves with the fulfillment of their tasks, have been increasing the requirements for the leading workers, for their responsibility for the quality and the effectiveness of production. Such purposeful progress has brought good results. Since the beginning of the year industrial enterprises of the East Slovakia Kraj have been fulfilling all the leading guidelines of the plan. Adjusted individual achievements are fulfilled by 101.5 percent, gross production and the production of goods by 102 percent. Targets are being reached in the sales for the domestic market and in the export to socialist and capitalist countries. Making production more effective is attested by the achievement of 8.5 percent further gains, i.e., Kcs 245 million. In the effectiveness of exports the targets are being met as well.

After several years of rightful criticism directed at us the situation in the kraj agriculture has improved substantially. The kraj committee and the okres committees of the party paid this sector exceptional attention. We have fulfilled the production quotas for grain by 119 percent. For the first time in history we have produced 745,000 tons of grain. We have fulfilled our obligations in the production of turnips, potatoes, sugar beets; and we are going to fulfill those concerning corn, harvesting over 5 tons per hectare. The situation in livestock-raising has fundamentally improved, especially the milk productivity of cows and calf raising. Agricultural enterprises have turned in a profit of Kcs 150 million more than in 1983.

In spite of these positive developments, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSL is assessing the situation with a critical exactitude. In our kraj, too, we have no ground for complacency. We still have enough resources for a more dynamic development of the economy. Nine enterprises are not fulfilling the plan of adjusted individual achievements by Kcs 63 million; in gross production seven enterprises do not fulfill the plan by Kcs 55 million; and in the production of goods nine enterprises are Kcs 70 million behind.

Experience shows that the new exacting stage of the development of the economy has not yet reached the awareness of many ranking leading functionaries of the party organizations. Many of them cannot get rid of the old management methods, of the old approaches toward planning, are not willing to take the risk of

decisionmaking upon themselves. We sharply criticize this situation and in cases where certain comrades do not want to join wholeheartedly the demanding party line, we are also making personnel changes. At the local party meetings in January and February we will consistently assess all positive tendencies in the economic development of our kraj and will severely criticize all ailments which slow down our progress. The main stress will be put on the condition that local party meetings should analyze in detail the tasks assigned by the plan for 1985, and that both communists and those outside the party ranks should consistently adopt them.

Without a consistent development of science and technology, without a deliberate implementation of their findings into practice, it is impossible to increase labor productivity, the quality of production, to reduce the consumption of all kinds of fuel, energy and raw materials. This has been already understood in many of our enterprises: in the East Slovakia Foundry in Kosice, Heavy Mahince-Tool Factory in Kosice, ZPA Presov, Chemek Strazske, Hemlon Humenne, Vihorlat in Snin, etc. Through the consistent application of scientific and technological findings good results are obtained in the quality of production and in the upgrading process.

Since the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPCZ we have made progress in the metallurgy, chemical, consumer and electrical equipment industries. Since 1983 the entire volume of production for technologically advanced products has grown by more than three-quarters, and 14 times for new products. This situation, however, does not leave us satisfied, since products listed in the category of advanced products constitute less than four percent of the value of the entire production of goods. Therefore, we are organizing analytical discussions at enterprises, involving prominent workers and research and development institutions, to enable them, together with the primary party organizations, to find the reasons for falling behind and to propose measures that would improve the quality of the manufactured product.

In the field of capital construction we are faced by urgent tasks. The situation there is not satisfactory. On many construction sites, both industrial and otherwise, the plan is not being fulfilled. Because of this and of the bad economic situation, the Presidium of the Kraj Committee of the CPSL has, in the last and in the current year, released from their jobs heads of foundry construction in Kosice, chemical construction in Humenne and land construction in Presov. It turns out that our decision was correct. Those enterprises are gaining tempo and already in this year will show much better results.

We would like, in cooperation with the Ministry of Construction of the SSR, to achieve an improvement in the use of the basic funds, of the working time, and a more consistent implementation of research findings in practice. The Presidium of the Kraj Committee of the CPSL regularly occupies and will occupy itself with the implementation of the targeted state program 07, i.e., the development of robotization. We are creating conditions in order that the joint venture for the development of robots in Presov, newly created by the Soviet Union and the CSSR, could have good conditions for its work. We are working on the basis of the joint socialist undertaking, including VUKOV Presov, ZPA Presov, ZTS Kosice and Vihorlat in Snin, in order to create 150

automatized workplaces and to implement 300 industrial robots in the production. We are occupied with installing comprehensively automatized production lines at the newly-built factories of the machine-tool and electrical equipment industry.

Our investments in the East Slovakia lowlands, the arrival of the personnel with higher education, a higher quality of work and management--all this is beginning to bring the expected results. We consider these results a good starting base for the realization of the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. However, we are not satisfied with our achievements. We know that much more should be done in this sector, in order to catch up with the nations working in similar production conditions and climate. We would like, therefore, to discuss consistently the 1985 plan for the development of agricultural production and the decisions of the 10th Congress of the United Agricultural Cooperatives not only with the communists, but also with all cooperative members and workers of state farms at local and open party meetings. For 1985 we are coming up with more exacting tasks than those in the state plan. We would like to fulfill our production quotas for densely sown cereals and potatoes for the entire 5-year plan. For the 4 years we owe 50 tons of grain and about 20,000 tons of potatoes. We would like, however, to come to the 17th Congress of the CPCZ with our quotas fulfilled in grain, corn, leguminous cultures, potatoes and sugar beets. In animal farming, in the coming year we would like to surpass 3,000 liters per milking cow and to make a further step toward improving the productivity of animals by, first of all, producing more bulk fodder. We know that those are urgent tasks, that they will not get done by themselves. To fulfill them, one must do a lot of political organizing work.

12758

CSO: 2400/168

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NORTH BOHEMIAN COAL MINES GENERAL DIRECTOR REVEALS PLANS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 84 p 3

/Excerpts/ The production of soft coal, of which a decisive share is done in the North Bohemian soft-coal mining district, is a fundamental precondition for the required production of electric energy and customer service. For this reason the working collective of the North Bohemian soft-coal mining district puts its primary effort into securing the further development of the fuel and energy base of the nation.

From the beginning of the current year till the end of November the district overfulfilled the plan of coal production by 3.03 million tons and the plan of stripping by 21.1 million cubic meters. This year we will reach a total coal production of about 72.5 million tons, and in stripping we would like to cross for the first time the limit of 200 million cubic meters. Those will be the highest yearly achievements in the history of the North Bohemian soft-coal mining district.

During the 4 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan our production tasks will be fulfilled and overfulfilled. The same goes for the production of natural gas. The volume of stripping will further increase through the implementation of decisive technological units, those of the second line TC 2 represented by excavators KU 800.

Together with the suppliers we are taking necessary measures to increase the productivity of the above-mentioned technological units further. This concerns, in particular, the operational reliability and, by the same token, productivity of the long-distance conveyor belt, of which already 200 km have been installed in the district. We are taking complex measures in earth removal, which in their totality could be designated as automatized operation systems. We are also consistently preoccupied with the influence of the personnel, its qualifications, age structure and social-psychological factors on the achieved efficiency and the utilization of the technological equipment.

This year, due to a slip in construction, the electricity production plan for nuclear power plants will not be fulfilled. In order to avoid excessive regulation in consumption, the shortage must be filled by a considerable over-fulfillment of the production norm in thermal power plants fed by soft coal. And although this year we are managing, by the high production of coal, to

satisfy the needs of the national economy, particularly those of the energy industry, it brings us some operational technical problems as a result of the more rapid exhaustion of the reserves in worked-out mines.

The preparation of the productive capacity for the Eighth 5-Year Plan requires a timely and consistent establishment of tasks in the construction of developing pits in the district to replace in time the losses resulting from exhausted mines. Nevertheless, it is necessary that the suppliers eliminate as soon as possible the miscalculations in the construction of nuclear power plants so that the latter will fully participate with their planned output in the national electric energy balance. This is necessary because shortages in the production of electricity by nuclear power plants cannot be filled for a long term with the production of soft coal. Since some mines are worked out, it is impossible to count consistently on increases in the production of soft coal similar to the current year's increase. We also consider it desirable that in the coming years, through the indisputable contribution of the rational management of fuel and electricity, a fundamentally higher level of fuel and energy savings might be achieved.

The first thing is to increase further the productivity of large-scale machinery and to introduce on time planned technological units into operation; to introduce new types of large-scale machinery corresponding to the worsening production and geological conditions in the mine occurring when the cutting front is moving deeper into the mine.

In the coming years a high rate of capital construction will continue in the district due to the inevitably extensive reconstruction of the existing pits, to the creation of new production capacities and to the reconstruction of technical equipment. For this purpose we have adopted and implemented certain provisions. Together with the local authorities we are trying to create a complex of investment and production conditions to provide for a market production of 70 million tons of coal in 1985. Compared to the original figures of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we will overfulfill in the coming year the coal production plan in our district by three-quarters of a million tons. This will not be easy, taking into consideration the shortage of production capacities due to the exhaustion of coal reserves in the Obrance Miru, Smeral, Lezaky, Prunerov, and Emeran pits and the deep mines of Vitezny Unor and Pluto. The total reduction of the productive capacities for 1985 is 4.5 million tons. At the same time, there are no plans to open a single new pit in the coming year or in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, and all shortages must be covered by the intensification of production in the existing developing pits.

One of the decisive factors for securing the stripping and, by the same token, the coal production is the timely introduction of reliable technological units and long-distance conveyor belts into operation, in agreement with the construction plan. In this area in the second half of the current year some important terms are not going to be observed in the Ceskoslovenska Armada, Sverma and Maxim Gorkij pits.

In the coming years coal mining in the North Bohemian soft-coal district will become highly concentrated, which will impose considerable demands on the

management of the entire production process. The North Bohemia Kraj Committee of the CPCZ is evaluating the organizing and ideological-educational work of the mine party organizations. Complex plans for uniform progress in attaining short-term and long-term aims projected into the yearly programs of the primary party and economic organizations have proved valid and have played their positive role in solving a very complicated operational and technical problem at the beginning of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, resulting from the delay in capital construction and the lower reliability of the technological units introduced into operation.

I would like to praise the important measures adopted by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the party, by the Government of the CSSR and the Central Council of Trade Unions, for further improvement in social care concerning the living and working conditions of the mine workers--those measures have helped to stabilize the work force. There are more than 3,000 transient workers employed in our mining district. We are, therefore, creating the conditions for their gradual replacement, among others, by the graduates of our own trade schools. We are building a new educational facility with the capacity of 4,500-5,000 students. Depending on the conditions of each particular workplace, we will further utilize the experience of the experimental implementation of the brigade method for the organization of work and remuneration, thereby creating new opportunities for the employees to participate in management. We are connecting the development of employee initiative with the development of interenterprise khozrascet.

12758

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CONFLICTING OFFICIAL, PRIVATE OBSERVATIONS NOTED

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE SONDAG in Danish 30 Dec 84 p 2

[Article by Hanne-Vibeke Holst: "Happy New Year, Mr. Gummich!"]

[Text] In the fall Hanne-Vibeke Holst was invited to spend 10 days in the German Democratic Republic by the East German state travel agency. This led her to write a New Year's letter to the leader of the tour, describing her impressions of the country with no graffiti.

Dear Karl-Heinz Gummich,

Many thanks for the tour. You may have wondered why I have not written before now. But you know yourself how quickly time passes.

It may be some consolation to you to know that I have thought a great deal about you and your country after the 10 day round trip. Therefore I will use the end of the year to send you a New Year's greeting and tell you something about my impressions of the GDR.

I know that you often lead tours of this type, so let me specify which group I belonged to.

We were 10 European journalists from Belgium, Holland, Italy, Sweden and Denmark on a tour arranged and financed by the GDR Travel Bureau, the only travel bureau in the country. We stayed at the best hotels in Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig, ate at the best restaurants, went to the theater and concerts, went on numerous sightseeing trips and met directors and people in responsible positions at a fairly high level. We were accompanied by a permanent chauffeur with bus, two young female interpreters, a woman in charge and you yourself, Herr Gummich, the bureau's press chief.

The program was a rough one, we were on the go from 7 in the morning until around midnight. You apologized several times because we were so rushed and had to run from one thing to the next but as you said yourself, "We would like to show you as much of the GDR as possible." We had almost no time on

our own to conduct the research in the field that you, as a journalist, may realize is necessary.

Six Taxis in All

Therefore we got most of our information from you, usually while we were waiting to eat or had just finished a meal. Of course we were curious and asked many questions and took many notes. I myself took five full pads home with me. You were very patient with us and answered each question conscientiously. Especially in the beginning. When we asked you, for example, why freedom is so restricted that GDR citizens cannot travel abroad, you always began your reply by saying: "You see, Mrs Holst, it is different here."

But as time went by and all of us became a little dissatisfied at hearing that things are different in the GDR and were more critical, you seemed to get a little irritated with us. Or disappointed perhaps, because we were being treated so well and still went around whispering and giggling among ourselves on the bus or making jokes about you (forgive us) when we were sitting by ourselves and having a nightcap in the hotel night club.

We behaved somewhat like a school class at camp when the teachers think the students are asleep. Maria from Sweden counted taxis; she saw six during the entire trip! They have to be ordered a day ahead of time and we laughed a lot about that. We looked at clothes in the stores and at radios and television sets. One could buy a lot of things but they were incredibly old-fashioned. The latest thing was black transistors which one could get at any radio store in a small Danish provincial town 15 years ago.

In the foreign currency stores, on the other hand, one could get anything from the decadent capitalistic hell. Coffee, detergent, licorice, Walkman sets, perfume, cigarettes, yogurt. As long as one had the currency. Wherever it came from, since we were told that there is no black market in currency.

No Graffiti

Johan, the Belgian, who was gay, tried to flirt with all the men. He did not get very far so he thought that East German gays must be so repressed that either they didn't recognize their own preference or they wore wedding rings as a formality.

I looked for signs of rebellion, especially among young people. On Berlin's Alexanderplatz I saw a group of young people in sneakers with spiky hairdos. I did not discover whether this was an East German variant of punk culture or West German students on an excursion. But I did not see as much as the traces of graffiti at bus stops, in subway stations or on public buildings.

Do you know what graffiti are, Herr Gummich? The German Democratic Republic is a country without graffiti. The young people are crewcut soldiers in uniform who eat ice cream cones on Sunday afternoon and take walks with their

girl friends and in-laws. Or go bowling, frequent bars or see the Olsen Gang at the movies. (Every child is familiar with Ove Sprogø and Company.) Apparently the young people are adjusted to society, at least the rebellion is not visible.

We wanted to know something about everything we saw. But the interpreters in particular got very tired of us and our eternal questions, which they also had to translate. They were constantly on the defensive; we could not pry a single critical word out of them. They did not even deplore the fact that they as French, Italian and English interpreters respectively had only seen France, Italy and England in pictures. They will probably never eat spaghetti in Rome or see Paris from the top of the Eiffel Tower. But on the other hand they do not expect to do these things either.

Living in Reality

I do not know if the interpreters' irritation with us was due to prejudice, complexes or lack of understanding. But you, Herr Gummich, have traveled. You told us a lot about your trip to Cuba, but from what I understood you have also been to the West, including Scandinavia. I am guessing that you bought some of your clothes in the capitalist countries. Your long dark-brown leather jacket was so fancy at any rate that I did not see anything like it during my 10 days in the GDR.

Therefore it is also my impression that you understood us better than you were willing to admit. I think you could hear the hollowness when you embarked on your long explanations. I think that you do not practice your own theory. If this is not the case you are really so permeated by the system that one cannot even accuse you of being a hypocrite.

Let me repeat some of your explanations so that you may be better able to understand my skepticism.

"The only difference between us and other countries lies in production. Otherwise we are the same. But of course freedom must be restricted as long as the country is being built up. We regret that people are limited in their opportunities to travel freely but the people are so aware that they understand.

"We live in reality, not in illusion. We know that West Germany would do anything it can to harm us, so we must be extremely vigilant. West German agents are constantly after GDR citizens. They seek them out on the autobahn if they visit the Federal Republic and there are West German specialists who manufacture false passports for GDR citizens. A doctor can get one for 60,000 German marks and enter West Germany without interference from the government.

"The West German intelligence service reads letters from GDR residents to West Germans and the Americans do the same thing. Just think how much information on factory organization, etc. would be taken along to the Federal

Republic if we allowed people to travel freely. We are engaged in a class struggle with the people over there and we must prepare ourselves for it. And if the individual citizen does not understand that, society must do so for him.

"We were glad to get rid of the people we allowed to leave in the spring. They were a problem here and they will be there too. Many of them have already changed their minds and would like to come back, but they will have to stay away. That is a decision and a choice one must make once and for all--whether to dedicate oneself to the GDR or not."

"We have no unemployment. In our society it is most immoral not to want to work when one can. Then one is a parasite and is ignored. On the other hand no one runs the risk of coming home from vacation and finding out that he has been fired."

"We have more important things to think about than the Berlin wall. We have become used to it but of course it is painful to have one's city divided in two. You would feel the same way if Amsterdam was cut in two. But we are not isolated. We are not as isolated as the West Berliners who are caught in the middle of this pocket. All their energy is turned inward. That is why West Berlin is wallowing in criminality, drugs, pornography and prostitution. We have no organized prostitution as you do in the West. We may have a few 'loose women,' but otherwise prostitution is nonexistent.

No One Talks about Biermann

"We trade a great deal with West Berlin. For example we take their trash and they buy most of their meat from us. We know more about them than they do about us. They say so themselves. That is because we are better educated, read more books, etc. It is part of socialist philosophy after all to make people wiser. In that way socialism is a kind of Messiah--we believe in human beings. Every GDR citizen must have a place to live, something to eat, an education."

"When you mention that there have been corruption scandals in the Soviet Union I must say that we have not had economic crimes of that magnitude. We have no major crime, no underworld, no burglaries, thefts, drug smuggling or rape. There may be one or two murders committed a year in Berlin. That is all. One of the reasons why crime is so limited is that people are supposed to keep an eye on each other and report anything unusual that they notice. We have strict supervision so no one can start using a lot of money from one day to the next without its being discovered. We have a saying that trust is good but supervision is better."

"Wolf Biermann is past history. No one talks about him any more. He always criticized socialism from a capitalist point of view. But he does not understand either capitalism or socialism. He would like a different socialism than the one we have, but which one?"

"We say that our socialism is the only right one. We do not have a socialist god we can turn to for advice. We are proceeding on an experimental basis in an effort to make our own kind of socialism. So we find it intolerable that a foreign guest should come and criticize us from the stage with which we have provided him. In other words, Biermann is over and done with."

"Robert Havemann is tragic. He was a wise man but the political direction he took was out of line. He abandoned the revolutionary course and became a state's witness for western correspondents. From an objective point of view he was a traitor, but he himself would never look at it that way."

"Soviet sensitivity is due to this war with the Americans."

Imperialistic United States

You may remember some of these answers which were given to our questions. If we tried to ask in-depth questions or asked questions from a different angle you were ready with the same speech, perhaps with a different twist. Honestly Herr Gummich we could not get anything out of you one way or another. The GDR is a paradise, as far as you are concerned.

But now I will tell you what I experienced on the few occasions when I was not in official hands. What I saw, what I felt and thought.

I was one of the few people in the GDR to see East German television (most East Germans prefer the West German channels) when I had an occasional break at the hotel. One of the things I saw was a news broadcast on peace demonstrations in Europe, Canada, Japan and the United States.

"Hundreds of thousands demonstrated yesterday against the aggressive arms buildup policies of NATO and the United States," said the speaker while the picture showed demonstrators with banners. Not a single word or picture indicated that the demonstrations were directed equally against Soviet missiles.

In all the TV news broadcasts I saw there were long sections on the "peace-loving brother land, the Soviet Union" and the "anti-fascist GDR" as opposed to the "imperialistic United States."

Boll Unavailable

Do you want to know something, Herr Gummich? I have never felt that the world was so sharply divided as when I saw your television and read your newspapers. Maybe I am naive but although, like so many other people, I am afraid of the big bang I never really felt that we were just waiting for a war. But when I was there I almost had the impression that we are already in the middle of a war.

Everywhere in the country one can see slogans on posters and banners to the effect that: "The stronger socialism is, the stronger peace is," "Socialism triumphs," "Everything for the good of the people, everything for peace," "Down with U.S. missiles, free Europe of nuclear weapons."

Two GDR refugees were interviewed on West German TV. One of them, Rainer Krebs, said: "I love the GDR. It is my fatherland, I have my family and friends there. If I could travel where I want to and express my views I would stay. If only there was a little receptiveness. But that would take a change in conditions there and I cannot accomplish that alone."

I spent half an hour going through the shelves of a book store in Dresden to see what was available and what was missing. There was quite a bit of Scandinavian literature--Andersen Nexø, Herman Bang, H. C. Andersen and Asta Nielsen's biography, just to pick out the Danish names.

Of course I did not find Biermann, but neither did I find Boll, Grass, Lenz or Thomas Mann. I asked a somewhat nervous clerk who was putting books away about their works.

"We do not have them just now, but perhaps later," she answered and looked at me distrustfully.

Herr Gummich's Speech

At a cafe in Leipzig when we had a few hours on our own I met two journalism students from the university. A pretty girl in a sweater and cowboy pants and an enthusiastic young man with an earring and long hair. They were knowledgeable, curious, open.

We had a quiet conversation for an hour about their country and journalism in the GDR. I asked if they had censorship.

"Yes," they answered. "Don't you?"

They are familiar with the big international newspapers, HERALD TRIBUNE, THE TIMES, NEW YORK TIMES, etc. "We have heard about them."

They said that major western writers also had their works printed in the GDR. "But the editions are very small, so one must have good connections and know the book dealers well to get hold of them. Even banned books, such as Biermann's, can be obtained if one knows someone who knows someone."

It was my intention, Herr Gummich, to tell you something about my experiences and thoughts at the last press conference which was held on a cruise boat, with several directors invited to attend.

I wanted to tell you about the many good impressions I had of the GDR. There was considerably more prosperity than I had expected, there was hardly any shortage of goods, culture and basic foodstuffs were incredibly cheap, there are lovely towns, attractive landscapes and a lot to see.

But I also wanted to tell you about my impression that everything was wrapped in lies, hypocrisy and self-deception. That I feel you are living in a closed collective tin can to which the can opener has been thrown away long ago.

I never did get around to making that speech to you. Every time I opened my mouth I was given some new exotic dish, coffee and cognac, accordion music and "Now let's have a good time." The afternoon ended in a great spirit of brotherhood with dancing and group singing. The "Internationale" on the Spree River.

"We who are gathered here have a great responsibility for making sure that the missiles do not explode but that the dialogue continues. This trip has probably shown you that we in the GDR have achieved a great deal. But we still have a lot left to do and we can assure you that we are doing everything on German soil to avoid another war. Let us drink to peace."

I did not want to be rude, Herr Gummich, but when we drank our toast I was looking forward to coming home.

Happy New Year, Herr Gummich!

6578

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HUNGARY

SECONDARY JOBS HELD BY 75-80 PERCENT OF ADULTS

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 20 Dec 85 pp 36-37

[Article: "Instead of Congratulations"]

[Text] On 1 January the various small business organizations, in popular parlance the small enterprises, already celebrated their third birthday. It can be established that last year has not brought a breakthrough in the lives of the small enterprises. The basic valuation remained unchanged, the results and the worries--so it seems--are the old ones, i.e. they appear in connections like those last year, plus the front lines of the arguments seem to be growing rigid.

The directing principles of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which relate to the 13th congress of the party, concern the small business organizations as follows:

"In the last two years new forms of supplementary and auxiliary economic activities took shape. The new organizations are gradually finding their place in the system of socialist economy and contribute to the successes of enterprise economy and to supplying the needs of the population on a higher level. The unfavorable phenomena showing themselves in this area must be fought off, the regulations must be consistently enforced, and the point must be reached where personal incomes are proportional to accomplishment!"

As far as the facts are concerned, development--above all in a quantitative sense--has indeed been impressive. The number of participants in the various small enterprises has grown more than one and a half times; the number of enterprise work associations (VGMK), and thus the number of people participating in them, has doubled. At present about 200,000 people are active in about 20,000 VGMKs. Also the number of the GMKs [work associations] and of the

various special groups has increased at a good pace. In the opinion of some people this growth is much too fast, and this fact causes certain worries. Many accusations are leveled against overburdening, but neither does the income or, rather, buying power flowing out here mean a point of view that can be neglected.

It was perhaps in this latter question--that is, in the relationship of income outflow to production--that it was best possible to reveal the true situation and thus bring the differing standpoints nearer to each other. At the beginning of the year the highly dynamic, 40-50 percent increase in the incomes flowing out toward the small enterprises and here primarily toward the VGMKs and the special groups drew attention to certain dangers from the point of view of the harmony between the existing goods and the buying power of the population, that is, from the point of view of the consumer market balance. In the dispute which flared up very heatedly at the time one could even hear an argumentation to the effect that the "activity" of the VGMKs creates an increased burden for the entire population and, what is worse, in the form of price increases. This was a serious accusation demanding thorough analysis by experts.

The multidirectional analysis carried out simultaneously by several organizations concluded with a most instructive result. It has been unambiguously verified that the small business organizations--overwhelming majority of them VGMKs--are acquiring their income in exchange for a highly intensive and useful activity. There are enterprises, on the other hand, which call into being work associations (GMK) in order to evade legal regulations. It is also true that in the VGMKs and in the industrial and special service groups one forint personal income is burdened by much less central deduction (the sum total of the taxes to be paid by the workers and the business units) than is a wage forint in a primary job.

While the number of VGMKs has most vigorously increased also in the second 6-month period, the level of income received by an individual member has become strongly stabilized. There are more and more enterprises today which set a limit (mostly 50-70 thousand forints a year) to the income that can be earned in the VGMKs. While this solution to the problem may indeed relax the internal income tensions, it may also reduce production-trends, since, after all, the earnings that can be acquired are already limited.

Thus we have reached the most sensitive group of problems, about which people are the most emotional, the relationship between the small enterprises and income distribution. We have read, heard and seen the most this past year, so much so that we have almost lost sight of the decisively important fact that we are talking here about income gained by working obtained in exchange for goods and services, even if in some cases the proportions appeared in a distorted manner, indeed.

When analyzing this dispute, let us start with the emotions, so that we can see later the economic relationships lying more deeply. Undeniably one

must admit the fact that public opinion (or, at least, a part of it) still has difficulty tolerating the extended and legalized activities supplementing income. Whether this fact has its origin in the so-called "E" (envy) factor, or whether its roots extend deeper down--the present writer is of the latter opinion--this is a question which cannot be answered within the space constraints of such an article. But, at any rate, it would be worth one's while to explore it!

This sort of result arising from intolerance is the one--after lots of support taking sides on principle, decisions and encouraging words--that, even today, has a feeling of uncertainty for the person who decides to work some kind of supplementary activity or in a small enterprise. This is bad mainly for the reason that more and more of us are forced to perform such tasks in order to maintain the kind of standard of living we have already attained, to acquire a home of our own at last, to supplement the child support money of 1,120 forints. According to recent statistics, 75-80 percent of the adult population is engaged in some sort of income supplementing activity. And, if we do work evenings or Saturdays, Sundays: why should we do so with a bad conscience that we are sinning against some kind of a norm that has never been exactly defined? We must accept the fact that the supplementary activities appear not only as a production factor but also as one of the highly important components of maintaining the standard of living. The overwhelming majority of the 200,000 people active in the VGMKs work in large enterprises; they are skilled workers and engineers. It is their income that can be supplemented by 60-80 thousand forints a year, through their exhausting and successful supplementary work! One can argue about how transitional or lasting this phenomenon is--our historical experiences seem to support the latter view. But it is an indisputable fact that this activity here and now--together with all its contradictions--is indispensable both for production and standard of living. This is an additional reason why the operation of the organizations should even more serve the interests of the people's economy. By necessary modifications of the practical regulations the existing tensions must be relaxed from time to time, changing circumstances and demands must be adjusted to.

The income tensions created by small enterprise activity undoubtedly have a very important objective component. This is the moderation of real wages, that could be experienced in the last years. Although the overwhelming majority of the participants in the various forms of small business are workers living on wages and salaries, which means that they are "enterprising" while keeping their primary jobs, it is much more difficult to maintain the already obtained standard of living for those workers who, for various objective or subjective reasons, cannot carry out some kind of income-supplementing activity, or can do so only to a small extent. This truly serious contradiction will be alleviated by the new form of earnings regulation (individual earnings-level regulation) to be introduced in 1985, as well as by the trend of the 1985 people's economy plan trying to make it possible to lay the foundations for maintaining the real wages on an average level. Moreover, there is undoubtedly a need for a more proportionate distribution of burdens as well and a heightening of the demands for small enterprises to produce income. This, however, is a question of regulation, it does not touch upon the existence of the supplementary activities, and a greater contribution to public burdens may make general opinion more favorable about them.

POLAND

PROSPECTS FOR YOUTH ORGANIZATION CONSIDERED

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish 23 Sep 84 pp 5-10

[Interview with the newly elected chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), Jerzy Szmajdzinski, by Ludwik Luzynski and Henryk Urbanowski: "Today's Youth, Tomorrow's Adults"]

[Text] [Question] Do you believe that you were elected chairman of the union at a good time?

[Answer] There's no such thing as a good moment, for in the union there's always something important to do, something that has to be taken care of, that one has to keep an eye on, that one has to participate in. It's possible to be elected at a meeting and to accept the results of the meeting as a point of departure for beginning one's activity in this position, but it's also possible to embrace it when the organization takes stock. Then there's still time to take care of the business that hasn't been dealt with fully.

[Question] Yet the political situation today is easier, is more favorable to the union's activities, than it was 3 years ago.

[Answer] There's a calmer atmosphere, which doesn't at all mean that there have been some effects in society and among the youth, that our Polish problems have been eliminated. There's no open political battle today, but then, the battle over the value of socialism, the concept of the development of democracy, the improvement in the conditions of life continues. In many areas everything is open to discussion and for a long time yet we'll have to talk about the means of growth chosen by Poland.

[Question] Don't you think that together with the subsidence of the political atmosphere in our country there has arisen a silence concerning youth? Until recently youth were a regular topic of public discussion. Are its problems already solved, or is the fashion or the topic of youth over?

[Answer] Unfortunately, that's a characteristic trait of our Polish life, that the more difficult and complicated the situation in the country,

the more readily people see methods to solve it by raising the issue of youth to the level of the most crucial matters. Then various solutions are proposed--not only those which are in fact important for youth, but also those which, for example, are tied to reshaping the youth movement. History shows this. And today? We're at a moment in which all the problems of the young generation, all issues--ideological, political, social and cultural--have been articulated. All that was said both at the Ninth Congress of the PZPR and at the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee and in the government program for improving conditions of youth's start in everyday living and professional spheres. A Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs was convened, and its local equivalents. Now is the time for the programs to be realized. And here all kinds of obstacles emerge--objective ones, but also a whole mass of subjective ones. We continue to believe, however, that nowadays only facts are in a position to speak to the young generation.

[Question] What, then, needs to be done to remove these obstacles, especially the subjective ones?

[Answer] That's one of the most difficult questions. I suspect that if all the dissenters know what lay at the heart of the matter, we wouldn't find ourselves in the present situation. People continue to think that the problems of youth are characterized by an extreme specificity, that they are isolated from the aggregate of social matters which are important for the whole nation. Yet that's not true. The education of youth is an affair concerning the whole society, it must be a concern for us all. The creation of conditions for a beginning in one's profession and in life is a social matter because the activity of people who are still young today but will be adult tomorrow depends on what they will be. On the degree to which housing needs are satisfied, on the universality of professional and cultural advancement, on rightheaded personnel policies, will depend a great number of other matters which are extraordinarily important for the whole country. But we ourselves cannot always convince today's decision makers, the national and provincial authorities. If we cannot present our ideas that way, they could become the affairs of the whole community or the local community.

[Question] Let's get to specifics. In such a vital issue as the building of housing, shouldn't you be saying loudly: enough assertions and programs, it's time to evaluate administrative commitments up to this point, draw conclusions regarding the ministers, Central Housing Construction Cooperative Union and its counterparts in the provinces?

[Answer] Out of habit we too often look to the top. Nowadays we should pin down our councilors, and we're doing so, to include in the immediate agenda the question of how the stocktaking in the area of the activity of the people's council is faring. They should demand an answer to the question of where the construction areas are, who is to take care of equipping the area, who projects the new locales for development, what sums are allocated for construction credit, for how many people, and what

is to be the individual input. We should consider whether construction and repair factory brigades really need to build new warehouses and couldn't help to erect residential housing.

[Question] Today's youth also expresses the lack of realization of its expectations regarding a share in the exercise of power. Elections to people's councils yielded certain results, but they are rather spectacular accidents. So then, if there are so many weak areas in our political, agricultural, and administrative life, and in places the situation is simply critical, oughtn't they to strive more boldly for younger personnel?

[Answer] Of course. But I already know the answers to that question originating from the outside. They say that there are such and such a number of directors under 40.

[Question] How many?

[Answer] A few dozen. Almost exclusively professional qualifications of a managerial kind are preferred.

[Question] Finally, professionals. That's good, isn't it?

[Answer] Yes, but to fulfill a socially important professional function of a managerial type, professional qualifications alone cannot suffice. One also needs political experience, social sensitivity, a broader perspective on the reality around us. Also an innovative approach, the desire to do something new. Emerging from the crisis doesn't mean only the need to increase the number of goods produced, but also the shaping of other, qualitatively new interpersonal relations for which in their time the workers and farmers, and not only they, clamored so loudly. After all, one cannot treat a person participating in the production of goods as just an appendage to the machine.

[Question] What do you think, is the ZSMP already a true and effective representative of a young people's interest and aspirations?

[Answer] True and reliable in the sense that we articulate problems properly, call them by their name and also show methods of solving them--- yes, we are. There are numerous examples and proofs of this. What is open, however, is the question of effectiveness, of whether we make use of our own tools. Whether the representatives of our union are fully competent and prepared in the laws of the committees dealing with the affairs of youth at various levels. One cannot say that yet. Perhaps our knowledge of that over which we have control as a country, a province, a gmina, is insufficient. Nor are the proposals of our representatives always treated seriously, and yet they are often professionals who could propose alternate solutions to those which are accepted. Yet independently of what we expect from the state machine, we do have, after all, our own program for molding youth's consciousness, a socio-professional program, the management of free time, a personal share in reforming the economy, in solving problems in one's milieu, such as,

for example, the village and school. And we have our own program for meeting social needs--housing cooperatives, cooperative work, the Youth Social Action Fund, which in 1983 amounted to half a billion zlotys across the nation and the larger share of which was divided among the most needy.

[Question] The opinion is quite widespread that the ZSMP looks exclusively after members belonging to its ranks, that those who don't belong remain on the periphery of the organization's concern or completely outside it.

[Answer] We don't encounter that objection much. No one keeps reminding us, after all, that we are involved in housing construction, that we bring up problems of widely interpreted personnel policies, that we are fighting for a more complete historical education for youth. The ZSMP is an organization open to the problems of every young person, and increasingly the form of our activity takes into account that openness. I'll give you a characteristic example which indirectly evidences how non-ZSMP youth judge us.

[Question] That would be interesting.

[Answer] In Wroclaw, friends organized for spring a pre-electoral meeting with our candidates for councilor. Half those attending the meeting didn't belong to the ZSMP, and among them were also found activists from the former NZS [Independent Students Association]. After the introductory remarks to the discussion, which showed the real problems of the community and the issues to be raised by the councilors, after a couple of voices in the discussion, these NZS members left because they realized that the way in which the affairs of the electoral program were presented and its sphere do not provide a basis for attacking the organization for being, for example, a facade organization of cheerleaders, white collars, and red squares. And there were many such examples in that pre-electoral campaign.

[Question] Yet do the fairly numerous instances, especially recently, of taking youth, especially those belonging to ZSMP, to celebrations, ceremonies, festivals--that whole make-believe and surface fraternization with the youth--is that not by chance causing the union to temper the strictness of its outlook?

[Answer] There is a great longing to have our organization, and also the scouts, become an ornament again at ceremonies, at the handing over of flags, at anniversary gatherings and holidays. We have to be careful of that. What's worse is that sometimes opinions about the organization depend on our participation in such festivities. Too often we allow ourselves to be duped like that.

[Question] Completely opposite opinions are formed, then, among those who don't belong to the organization.

[Answer] Of course.

[Question] Don't you think that useful concepts of youth's upbringing are freely beginning to be replaced by forms of shallow and sham activities, hence this observation of anniversaries, holidays, celebrations and parades, this unveiling of monuments-- all of which supplants dialogue and discussion of history, the present, and the future?

[Answer] Yes, a form of escape from discussion to a preoccupation with spectacular, occasional speech-giving is setting in. There is also a decreasing readiness to talk about values which socialism embraces, to convince people of them, and an increasing recognition that these are things that must be accepted on faith to be known and realized.

[Question] In 6 months the Fourth Congress of the ZSMP will take place. Does the headquarters have a clear conscience about having done everything which it was committed to doing?

[Answer] So far we only have the reporting electoral campaign in the union; it's the delegates to the congress who will really answer that question with competence. Only a person who doesn't see any reserves can have a clear conscience.

[Question] After 3 years what can be acknowledged a success, and what a failure?

[Answer] We have a good program; it's been put into effect. Yet we lack funds and a material base. We need to have a more serious approach to economic activities. That is an enormous task. The union's method of working is as yet imperfect. We have fine and experienced active members, but we lack broad support among members and sympathizers. From way back we have had an explicit political line; however, our system of educating our civic and political youth in general is full of holes and not universal. We must take part with others in founding a uniform educational front. A great number of organizations and institutions are creating it formally, but they are acting very locally, they are occupying their own specialized plots of territory. We have an accurate catalogue of youth's needs and aspirations, but our means of realizing them are imperfect. We are no longer, as we were before the Third Congress, an organization national in character; we have become, and this is positive and useful, a political organization. In stubbornly defending our various fields of operation, we have managed to protect them. We have become a political force that counts, in schools above the elementary level too, and we are beginning to count in the academic community.

[Question] In your opinion, is the modern generation prepared to pull Poland out of its crisis? Among youth one notices two general types of relationship to the reality around us. Some draw up conditions which need to be met for the improvement of mental comfort, which involvement

will free; others don't pay attention to the surroundings and to the extent that personal potential permits, they try to do something, change something. Which of these types is currently dominant in the ZSMP?

[Answer] We still need to learn a lot more to assume the burden of pulling Poland out of her crisis. But we are clearly participating in this process: in the workplace, in the village, while attending school, in the army--to mention only our colleagues' role in helping the economy. We don't have too much time for studies. We have to learn both the laws regulating social progress and also others laws, very quickly, for after all we don't have time for that before in the natural sequence of generations the time comes for us to be replaced. And we don't have time because decisions adopted today won't be realized for several years, for a dozen or more years. And today we have to be the real force, to fight for our role as a force, to be comanagers of the country and to carry out decisions. Our anthem states: "The future is happening today, today we're creating its form," and we have to bring that wisdom to the consciousness of all the members of our union, and, I think, of all the country's youth. Yet not everyone is aware of how very much our involvement is necessary even now. The conditions of youth's political, economic and cultural activism also must undergo improvement. We proclaim ourselves in favor of activity according to milieu and possibility. We can have a real moral mandate to say what Poland should be like, what should be changed and what done only when we have proved that we can solve our problems, when we have something to show for ourselves.

[Question] But does an awareness of that exist among the union's members?

[Answer] Yes, it is already widespread, although it doesn't always generate activity. We cannot shape a political culture other than one precisely like that.

[Question] One gets the impression that this varies according to environment. There is greater readiness for social activity in the countryside.

[Answer] In the village environment, indeed, the majority of the cultural and sports infrastructure, roads and other items of public utility, such as health service centers and schools, originate with the collective activity of the residents. In town all of that is given; it's something one receives. In an urban environment social activities shift to other concerns, e.g., to the sphere of labor, to professional improvement, to the process of improving production technically. We wish to direct the efforts of factory workers toward better production organization, higher efficiency in labor; that's when our professional contests of young master craftsmen, of technology, organizations, and management are for. We must make bolder demands on the designing bureaus, on specialized divisions for the organization of labor, and on their activity. A paradox in Polish industrial plants is that the majority of proposals for saving time, ideas for higher standards of efficiency, come from the workers and not from the specialists appointed to that task.

[Question] How can you reconcile the various ways of thinking among different age groups and environments in the union?

[Answer] That is one of the values of the organization. In one union self-educational progress can occur. Here people who are already experienced meet with those who are only just entering life. The expectations of the two extreme age groups--the students and the 30-year-olds--differ, but thanks to that there's a chance of dialogue, discussion, of a meeting of views. Yet despite the different ages there is no barrier among us as to views or to ways of seeing the world. Thanks to this, these younger ones' progress in social adaptation proceeds more easily. Students are the majority of active members in the villages, building workers, college students, and soldiers. If they get to know the organization earlier, then later they will work better in its factory cells, etc.

[Question] Does the radicalism of school youth by any chance tend to be crushed by the union's hierarchy, which in general is filled with these older, experienced and sometimes urban activists?

[Answer] That does happen at times, but this radicalism enriches to a certain extent the temperament of these sophisticates, it refreshes and rejuvenates them. It's better, however, for overly radical attitudes of youth to be improved in our union than to suffer a setback, sometimes a severe one, outside the union in a brutal manner. Thanks to the organization it is possible for them to enter adult life less painfully.

[Question] The students, it seems, don't reflect very seriously on the problems of their own future. They limit their aspirations to going to a good school, finding an appealing profession. Often they make those choices intuitively or under the influence of a craze, a fashion. They limit themselves to the satisfaction of such current needs as the acquisition of a popular article of clothing, a popular recording, good hi-fi equipment.

[Answer] I don't agree with those opinions which proclaim that school youth have no awareness of reality and the menace it brings. They observe fairly carefully and critically their environment, their family, and their teachers. They are aware that if we don't deal with the crisis soon, it will also affect them when they start making their own living. Nowadays young people mature more quickly. This is evidenced in the decline of aspirations among educated youth. The readiness to become independent is constantly increasing. This is the effect of knowing the realities of "adult" life. There is no future for a young person who has finished a general school and not acquired a profession, because we are living in times that are too difficult. Many parents have difficulties supporting their adolescent children to further their education. You probably recall that at the Third National Conference of the Workers' Aktiv, the students complained that in practice they are treated as employees, but employee social and wage services don't apply to them. They called for equal treatment in duties and rights.

[Question] The prospects of the Fourth Congress of the ZSMP should already in half a year be prompting you to wider-ranging thoughts about the future of Poland, and perhaps even about its vision up to the end of this century. An imaginative vision must be born on the basis of which a program can be built. What do you consider the most important?

[Answer] We'd like for the Fourth Congress not to confine itself to laying out a program for the period 1985-88, but for its participants to look further. I think it was your paper that recently wrote that it's not enough "to register in this place at this time." Such a basis for looking further ahead doubtless will be created by the establishment of the socio-economic plan for the years 1986-90, and also the bases currently being elaborated for a future-oriented PZPR program. Is a far-reaching vision within our means? We've not spoken of this for several years.

[Question] And the "What Kind of Poland" campaign?

[Answer] Its main theses continue to be topical and can keep on being helpful. We have declared ourselves to be a socialist Poland, strong, democratic, a country guided by the principles of social justice and creating equal access to education, culture, and health care. But we've all been concerned about such a Poland for 40 years, and the socialist workers' and people's movement for over 100. One can't, however, create visions and programs without funds, because that would be anti-educational. The 1970's have already shown that. Nowadays one must act in a balanced fashion. Your paper reported on the loose idea of the elaboration of a so-called youth statement about the future; perhaps now your weekly will ask the youth some questions about Poland's future. What kind of Poland do they desire, how do they imagine it in a dozen or so years?

[Question] You're not new in the union's leadership. You were the secretary of the ZSMP Main Board for the last 3 years. Which of your experiences so far has been most useful to you now?

[Answer] I've learned the intricacies of collective leadership, I'll benefit from that. I'd like to be firm in meeting my own obligations and those of my colleagues. Up till now I've been responsible among other things for the union's cultural activities and for work in the academic sphere. I've had many opportunities to speak and share work with people of various views, characters, attitudes, and I think that that was a good experience.

[Question] Who is Szmajdzinski?

[Answer] What do I like? I like history, literature, music, the less serious kind.

[Question] Do you have free time for yourself?

[Answer] Less now, very little. Oh, yes, I regularly swim.

[Question] That can be taken in two ways [i.e., "swimming" with big-time political figures].

[Answer] I mean in a pool, a pool.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation and we wish you luck.

12584

CSO: 2600/182

POLAND

WROCLAW'S SUCCESSES, PROBLEMS REVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-25 Nov 84 p 3

[Interview with Zdzislaw Balicki, first secretary of the Provincial PZPR Committee in Wroclaw, by Czeslaw Kubasik]

[Text] [Question] We are meeting in the headquarters of the Provincial PZPR Committee, in Wroclaw on the Oder River, a city with a population of almost 700,000. What position does this city, often familiarly referred to as the capital of Lower Slask, occupy in the consciousness of Poles?

[Answer] In traveling about Poland, I have many occasions to speak with people about what they know of Wroclaw. Most frequently, they know this city only in the topographical sense and, what is curious, generally believe Wroclaw to be a city that is much more beautiful and better managed than it seems to be to the average resident of Wroclaw.

Not everyone knows, for example, that Wroclaw was the last large city in Europe conquered during the war and that its liberation occurred only after the fall of Berlin. The scope of war devastation here was enormous. In ruins lay 21,000 pieces of real estate and 400 historical buildings; 300 km of streets were covered by rubble and debris. Some sections were 90 percent destroyed.

The Wroclaw pioneers were confronted by a task that had no precedent, even on a greater scale than that of Poland. Poles met on the ruins of the city; among them were those from the Wroclaw Polonia, members of the Polish Union in Germany and many who worked here and were deported to forced labor during the occupation.

Modern-day Wroclaw, with its consistent rebuilding, has long since crossed the post-German boundaries. This again caused certain problems connected especially with transport and with community management and the city infrastructure.

[Question] In our society, Wroclaw is associated with two symbols: peace and youth.

[Answer] Here 3 years after the war was over, there was a world congress of intellectuals at which the most eminent learned people in the world spoke in

defense of peace. In recognition of the heroism of the years of reconstruction and the achievements of the people of Wroclaw in the world movement of defenders of the peace, in 1983, on the 35th anniversary of this event, Wroclaw was designated as a city of peace by the World Peace Council. Under-scoring the achievements of the residents of Wroclaw, in 1965 the State Council awarded Wroclaw the Order of Builders of the Polish People's Republic.

In Poland, we have the highest proportion of young people in the demographic structure of the community and the greatest number of marriages per thousand inhabitants. It is not surprising then that the pressure for housing here is the greatest in Poland.

This young population is also affected by the fact that in Wroclaw there are 11 institutions of higher learning educating more than 30,000 students. We have 29 institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

[Question] People are speaking and writing about a certain decline in cultural aspirations of the city. Do you share this opinion?

[Answer] It is true that today there are fewer eminent names and noted artistic events in Wroclaw than in former years. The city is not, however, some kind of a cultural desert. We do have the Ossolineum National Foundation, several theaters and unique museums. I will not list the many festivals and competitions that take place each year, but on the whole, there are many cultural innovative and avant garde initiatives in this Wroclaw climate that attract broader circles of people and are both morally and ideationally valuable.

At the same time, we welcome concrete proposals from the residents of the city and its environs as to how to improve the existing situation.

[Question] Does Wroclaw occupy a high place on the national scale as to industrial production?

[Answer] Of Poland's industrial production, 2.7 percent is produced in 700 Wroclaw factories. Wroclaw is the source of modern electric machinery equipment, electric locomotives, buses, equipment for mining, construction and agriculture, calculating machines and machine tools. We supply the market with automatic washing machines, refrigerators, gas hot plates and many other items.

There are two things in Wroclaw that we who live here quite probably do not pay attention to, but which should be noticed in comparison with the problems that many other cities have. I am referring to the largely resolved matter of water supply and the high degree already achieved in heating homes by a heat and power generating plant.

[Question] But there probably are many other problems that trouble the residents of this extensive agglomeration.

[Answer] I have already mentioned housing; I will only add that the situation is such that when we put greater pressure on solving the problem of basic facilities, that is, building schools, preschools, child care centers and health care facilities, the rate of housing construction drops; and conversely, when we push housing construction, this is reflected at once in the basic facilities; it is a typical manifestation of the "short blanket."

The state of the old buildings is getting seriously worse, both housing and the priceless monument buildings, which are in some cases unique on the national and European scale. In this connection, taking under consideration the experiences of Krakow, we are undertaking, obviously on an appropriate scale, a program to restore the beautiful Wroclaw antiquities.

Obviously, we could list a whole series of affairs about which the residents are concerned, but this would not make sense. In these difficult times, we lack means and we must select what is most urgent. It is necessary to build at least a minimum number of schools and a basic industrial and service network in the new settlements. Work is also continuing on routes of the transport system in the city. Anyone who has been in Wroclaw knows how difficult it is to get from one place to another. These undertakings are very costly and must be planned over time and carried out over many years.

[Question] The 40th anniversary of the return of western and northern lands to the motherland is approaching; this will be an occasion for the city authorities, with participation of the residents, to take many new initiatives in the matter of resolving the city's problems.

[Answer] We would definitely not want this anniversary to pass and be marked only by various kinds of festivities, although these are, of course, of great significance for us. We are making great efforts so that the coming congress of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy should be held in Wroclaw next year. I think that our city has a historically legitimate claim in this matter.

We are glad that at this time there has been renewed publishing activity and that just at the time of the 40th anniversary, the first edition of the "Book of Honor of Lower Slask" is scheduled to appear. It will contain the biographies of about 100 people of various professions, no longer living, who are as if symbols of our city during the past 40 years.

More than anything, however, we want the atmosphere of the approaching anniversary to encourage work on improving the situation in Wroclaw, elicit additional initiative and energy on the part of the authorities and the residents and give an added impulse to the investments that have already been made and to those that are sometimes unduly protracted.

Also, I believe that this will be an occasion for shaping up various public services. In this sphere, I can see a definite loosening of discipline.

We have proposed specific tasks to the city management administrations which would, through an improvement in the organization of work, serve the residents of the city better than they have thus far. We must, first of all, not allow work to be wasted, but must carry out adaptation, repair and maintenance work in proper order from the beginning to the end. We have good examples, for instance, in the repair of streetcar tracks by the workers of the Municipal Transportation Enterprise. We must benefit from this experience.

We can truthfully say that this "great housecleaning" of Wroclaw, as it is often called, has already begun and that thousands of residents of the city are participating in it. Thousands of shrubs and trees have been planted in the parks and on lawns. Yards and playgrounds have been put in order. The areas between buildings in new residential districts are being put in order. In these undertakings we can detect the activation of residents' self-governments as well as social organizations, mainly youth organizations. We are counting on still more initiative on the part of community agents, most of all, of the council.

[Question] Not everyone recognizes these needs, however. There are still people who not only do not want to help, but even try to interfere with the solving of many community problems.

[Answer] Unfortunately there is still a fair number of such interfering people. For example, these are people who represent the state administration who have learned to live comfortably and do not want to or do not know how to act so as to further some project daily, to actually solve some problem and not just occupy themselves with papers and sending off empty correspondence. There are people who are afraid of worries and problems and try as hard as they can to elude them. For example, the whole system of residents' self-government should develop more rapidly, but the people's councils and their commissions must be very strong and must use their control authority with respect to the executives more effectively.

Some people have thrown up their hands in the face of our common vicissitudes. They have stopped believing in the sense of collective work. They have closed themselves off in their own small, private plots. For the most part, these are basically good people. We must do everything to draw them into the common effort for the city, regardless of their views and accumulated pretensions. Moreover, many of them are slowly returning to a relatively normal self-consciousness. Despite the most various difficulties in their lives, in the long term, they do not resist participating in the common effort.

A group of people who are decidedly in opposition are trying to keep Wroclaw residents in a negative state of mind. They feed our community as much as they can with feelings of impossibility and hopelessness. Although they do not get support for their attempts to provoke disturbances and provocations, they do play a real role in poisoning the atmosphere of life in the city.

[Question] I think it is possible that the role of these people might also

be interpreted as their objective stand against the demands of West German revisionists and those politicians of western states who, wishing our country ill, are not happy that life in our country is returning to normal.

[Answer] Undoubtedly. Objectively, regardless even of their will, they become fellow-travelers of the clearly reflected revisionism of West Germany. It is, after all, characteristic that representatives of all opposition circles were silent when it came to taking a clear position with respect to the boundaries of Poland and western lands, whose permanence the revisionists are subverting, of course. In these matters, they are clearly embarrassed and really do not know how to get out of the situation. Obviously, they would have to compromise themselves severely with their western principals and patrons.

Our community, being made up of people who are very patriotic and, in many cases, tested many times by history and presently strongly attached to their city, is becoming ever more knowledgeable about these cryptograms and recognizes this game.

[Interviewer] Thank you.

2950

CSO: 2600/374

POLAND

ECONOMIST, JOURNALIST CLASH OVER 'MARXIST-LENINIST' ECONOMICS

'Outdated Views, Misconceptions'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Jan 85 p 4

[Article by Mikolaj Waleszko: "Misconceptions in the 'Economic Antiquary'"]

[Text] One of the ways in which economic progress can be speeded up and management efficiency improved in our country is by shaping a scientifically justified economic awareness, based on Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Dissemination of scientific learning about economical and social phenomena, in combination with good economic policy and practice, will make it possible to gradually correct the various misconceptions and myths, which are either inherited from the past or arise from the distortion of socioeconomic relations, and the irrational stereotypes of thinking and behavior which have a negative influence on economic activity. That is why it is so very important to popularize the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist economic theory, and especially those of its elements which relate closely to economic practice. In this context, S. Albinowski's attempt, in his series "The Economic Antiquary", to popularize certain economic concepts deserves attention.

However, some of the author's statements arouse doubt, and must be corrected and supplemented, especially since they are being published in TRYBUNA LUDU, which should not, I believe, spread outdated views or misconceptions. It is in this context that the following comments are being made.

1. The first matter which should be raised in connection with the above-mentioned article pertains to the need to overcome the habit (still rather popular in our country) of examining, interpreting and evaluating historical experiences of socialist-building, and the problems of the functioning and development of the economy of socialist countries, from the standpoint of tendentious opinions and views formulated by non-Marxist economists.

Thus, one of the peculiar paradoxes, typical of the complex and arguable process of shaping economic consciousness in our society, is that for a long time in our country, on many matters pertaining to the socialist economy, the views of non-Marxist economists are better known and more widely disseminated than the view of Marxist economists. Still we know that the views and ideas of the

Marxist economists, which make up the so-called "bourgeois political economy of socialism," and especially the views of the bourgeois Marxologues and Sovietologues, are frequently motivated by anticommunist prejudices or are formulated on the basis of a mechanical "fitting" of theoretical concepts and practical solutions which form in the socialist countries, to the universalized and immortalized capitalistic models and rules of the game. Also, the judgments expressed by the bourgeois economics on the subject of a socialist economy are often very superficial and unqualified, or are simply the result of unfamiliarity with the theory and practice of socialism. Even such a recognized authority among Western economists, as J. Schumpeter (see "History of Economic Analysis," New York, 1955, p 1,157) admitted this at one time.

Without going into detail here to explain the reasons for this state of affairs, the achievements of Marxist economic thought, especially the theory of economic socialism, are still being inadequately popularized in our country, and in piecemeal fashion. For a long time now, the achievements of Soviet economists, as well as those of other socialist countries, are being passed over, disparaged, or actually ignored.

In light of the above, correcting the myth, long popularized by bourgeois economists and historians of economic thought, that the theory of economic socialism was not created by Marxist-Leninist classicists and their continuators, but that it arose within the bourgeois economy, is of utmost importance now. Unfortunately, this mistaken and false concept still continues to exert an influence on economic views in our country, and some economists are still looking for the sources of the political economy of socialism among the bourgeois economic theories.

To a certain degree this is reflected also in S. Albinowski's series (see "Dispute on Accounting," TRYBUNA LUDU, No 165, 1984). The writer includes, without basis, I believe, in the achievements of Marxist economy O. Lange's articles on the subject of economic accounting. These articles were published in the West. This does not seem to be accurate or substantiated, since, as we know, Lange was not a Marxist economist dealing with the theory of political economy at that time. His work on economic accounting was done within the framework and on the basis of the methodology and the conceptual apparatus of the Western bourgeois economy of that time, and it was an expression of participation in a discussion on the subject of economic accounting in a planned economy, conducted within the framework of bourgeois economic thought.

2. Some other statements by S. Albinowski (see "Why--Political," TRYBUNA LUDU, No 232, 1984) on the understanding of the historical scope of political economy, also require specific definition. In the light of today's knowledge on Marxism and Marx's own statements, the writer's assertion that "for Marx, political economy could only be bourgeois economy," must be regarded as vague and imprecise. The creators of Marxism-Leninism, as we know, regarded political economy to be a science which examines the relations of production within the framework of different production methods, and therefore not capitalist alone, but precapitalist and postcapitalist methods of production also.

Neither is the view, quoted from M. Nasilowski's book, that in the USSR until 1936, "the thesis officially prevailed that, together with socialization of means of production and introduction of central planning... the basis for the existence of a theory of political economy of socialism disappears," precise and accurate. What is ignored here is the well-known fact that already in the years immediately following the October Revolution, lively discussion and arguments were going on on this subject, and that as late as the 1920's the position cited above represented the view of only one of the sides of the discussions going on. As early as the late 1920's and early 1930's, especially after the publication, in 1929, of Lenin's comments on N. Bucharin's book "Transition-Period Economics," the concept "political economy in the broad sense," encompassing the political economy of socialism also (see "Istoriya politicheskoy ekonomii sotsializma" [History of the Political Economy of Socialism], Leningrad, 1983, Chap 1), became more and more established in Soviet literature.

3. Many misconceptions arise in connection with the interpretations (widespread in our textbook literature) of the role and place of the praxeological aspects of economic activity within the framework of the study of political economy. Unfortunately, these misconceptions were not avoided by the author of "Economic Antiquary" either, because he still wants to spread the questionable and controversial view on the need to separate, in political economy, two main themes--"social" and "praxeological," treating the occurrence of such a division as something which is not subject to discussion. But the question arises: Is this really a matter which should not be discussed and does this division apply to Marxist-Leninist theory?

In examining this matter, we cannot ignore the fact that a division into "social" and "praxeological" directions occurred in our economic literature as a result of deviations from the Marxist-Leninist conception of the understanding of political economy and the influence of non-Marxist economy. This is related, I believe, to the inadequate interpretation (widespread in non-Marxist economic thought and transferred to our literature) of a classic Marxist political economy as an "economic sociology," in the meaning which bourgeois sociologists and economists gave to this concept. According to this interpretation, problems pertaining to efficiency and effectiveness of human activity in the economic area of social life are presumably totally foreign to a Marxist political economy (read "social direction," according to the terminology used in "Economic Accounting").

However, this view does not stand up to scientific criticism and against the authoritative analysis of the work of Marxism-Leninism classicists, it can only be considered a damaging misconception. The bourgeois economists' charge that the Marxist political economy completely failed to consider the "scarcity" and limitation of resources and means for satisfying human production and consumption needs is just not true. On the contrary, it was the Marxist economy which introduced into economic thought a real, scientific, methodological approach to the problems of efficiency and effectiveness, overcoming the bourgeois limitations and breaking away from the abstract, asocial and ahistorical, strictly technical, approach to these problems.

Only a Marxist-Leninist approach allows for the correct interpretation of technical (and praxeological) interdependencies and the socioeconomic aspects of the problem of improving efficiency and effectiveness in economic activity. This is because there is no problem of limitation of resources "in general," as expressed abstractly, as an absolute limitation. Similarly, there is no efficiency-improvement or effectiveness-improvement criteria "in general." The limitation of resources and means to satisfy needs is always absolute and concrete, and is predetermined by the level of development of production forces and the nature of the social relations of production achieved in a given country in a given period of time.

Marxist political economy also introduced an essentially new understanding of the criteria of efficiency- and effectiveness-improvement in human activities in the field of economics, regarding them as historical determinants and variables, determined by the degree of economic development achieved, the nature and structure of production relations, the socioclass structure, and the structure of socioeconomic interests and goals which correspond to these production relations.

Nor, in this context, can we omit the importance of the Marxist understanding of a savings in human and objectified labor as a savings which comes down to, in final analysis, a savings of time. This, according to Marx, becomes the first law of economics in a collective, socialized economy.

Specific, historical and socially determined problems of efficiency and effectiveness in a capitalist economy, as we know, are examined within the framework of Karl Marx's surplus-values theory and profit theory. Under socialism, management-efficiency and effectiveness criteria derive from socialist relations of production, from the basic economic law of socialism, and from the primary goal of socialist production and all of the economic activity which ensues from this law. It is also understandable that criteria of efficiency and effectiveness, particularly under socialism, cannot be regarded as strictly economic (the purely technical aspects of this problem are not the subject of study of political economy), because they are always essentially socioeconomic problems which mirror the existing, objectively organic connection of the economic and social aspects of effectiveness.

It appears from this that the view, popular in our economic literature, that classic Marxist political economy has not given consideration to problems of efficiency and effectiveness is incorrect. The fact that Marxists have regarded and continue to regard these problems very differently than bourgeois economists does not mean that they are being omitted, ignored, or underestimated in Marxism. Unfortunately, O. Lange (see O. Lange, "Works", Vol 3, Warsaw, 1975, p 803) wrote about the omission of problems of efficient management of means of production and the workforce by classic Marxist political economy. The need to "supplement" the Marxist-Leninist approach with a praxeological approach was to ensue from this. Lange's viewpoint is traced to the fact that at the time it was being expressed Lange had not yet overcome the one-sided concept of Marxist political economy, established during a period when he took the position that only a marginalistic bourgeois economy represents the real economic approach. This, then, is one of the misconceptions arising from looking at Marxist-Leninist theory from a marginalistic viewpoint, or taking a neomarginalistic, methodological approach.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of political economy, which treats it as a science on production and capital-replacement relations and the laws by which they function and develop, is of universal importance, since it forms a methodological basis for correct interpretation (from the standpoint of production methods and relations) of economic problems in general. This includes problems of efficiency and effectiveness of economic activity in those aspects in which they fit the study of political economy, which, as we know, when it specializes sufficiently in economic studies, is only another of the economic sciences. Praxeology, on the other hand, is a completely separate branch of learning and is not a component part of Marxist-Leninist political economy, the subject of its study.

This means that dividing political economy into two parts or directions, "social" and "praxeological," is, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist study methods, completely artificial and superfluous.

(We will publish editor S. Albinowski's reply in tomorrow's edition.)

Albinowski Rebuttal

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by Stanislaw Albinowski in reply to M. Waleszko's article: "Cura te Ipsum!" [Heal Thyself First!]]

[Text] Undoubtedly Mikolaj Waleszko is right when he says that "TRYBUNA LUDU should not spread out-dated views or misconceptions". But sometimes we make exceptions to this rule, and the best proof of that, in my opinion, is the fact that yesterday we published Waleszko's article in its entirety, without any summarization. Because despite everything, it is well to know what a docent of the Economics Academy in Katowice, a scientist and educator of the young generation, thinks on a matter being discussed.

Thus Waleszko thinks, first of all, that Oscar Lange was a bourgeois economist all his life, because we read first that during 1936 and 1937 "Lange was not a Marxist economist dealing with the theory of political economy." We forgive the writer the absurdity contained in this statement in order to quote the following from the final portion of his arguments:

"Unfortunately, O. Lange (...) wrote about the omission of problems of efficient management of means of production and the workforce by classic Marxist political economy. The need to 'supplement' the Marxist-Leninist approach with a praxeological approach was to ensue from this. Lange's viewpoint is traced to the fact that at the time it was being expressed Lange had not yet overcome the one-sided concept of Marxist political economy, established during a period when he took the position that only a marginalistic bourgeois economy represents the real economic approach."

We have to fight our way several times through the meanderings of this argument in order to extract the thesis entangled therein. When we are finally able to do so, our attention is attracted to the word "yet" in the quotation. Waleszko

cites as his source Vol 3 of Oscar Lange's "Works", published in 1975. But this does not say when Lange expressed this view. Therefore, I will add the following: Oscar Lange expressed this view in 1962 when he wrote the treatise "Political Economy," which was published for the first time as an entry in the Great Universal Encyclopedia, Vol 3, published in 1964 by the State Scientific Publishing House.

Thus, according to Waleszko, Oscar Lange was a bourgeois economist both in 1936 and in 1962, three years before his premature death. Therefore, throughout his entire life! Truly, one must have to have a great deal of gall to express such an opinion. I believe that we should not permit such cavalier and substantively irresponsible disparagement of a book which has already become part of Polish and world economic thought.

As far as the real point of the matter is concerned, let me cite just one quotation. This is what Oscar Lange wrote in the treatise referred to:

"However, specific economic laws of socialism are different from the specific economic laws of capitalism. In this field of political economy socialism must go beyond the theoretical achievements of Marx and the later Marxists. In particular, a new problem of efficient management of means of production and work-force arises. The traditional Marxist economy, as a rule, did not concern itself with this problem, touching upon it only slightly in its criticism of the inefficient capitalist economy. The results of the bourgeois economy, which concerned itself with efficient management on the individual-enterprise scale, were not very useful either. If, however, it went beyond this scale, it created a [illegible word] fiction about the efficiency of the management of a capitalist system as a whole."

A comparison of what Lange wrote and what Waleszko understood requires no comment. But because all of this has nothing to do with the marginalistic theory, the question irresistibly arises: Why is docent Waleszko writing this?

The next problem is the praxeological direction in the political economy of socialism. Two statements made by my opponent are important here. The first is that "dividing the economy... into two directions, "social" and "praxeological," is, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist study methods, completely artificial and superfluous." And the second statement, that this division "arose in our economic literature as a result of /deviations/ [in boldface, S. Albinowski's emphasis] from the Marxist-Leninist conception of the understanding of political economy and the influence of non-Marxist economy."

I am making my rebuttal to these two statements in three points:

First, the sign of a sectarian position is the condemnation of the fact that a Marxist economy also draws on the achievements of non-Marxist economic thought. Waleszko would probably be dumbfounded if I were to show him how many, and what categories of assertions and analytical methods Marxist economy has acquired from the "outside", starting with Marx and ending with Kantorowicz, the Soviet laureate of the Nobel Prize in economics (1975).

Second, Waleszko cannot disprove the fact (the importance of which I demonstrated in "Antiquary") that political economy must simultaneously reply to two equally basic questions: for what goal and in whose interest do people work, and what methods of operation should be applied, because no goal can be achieved if the operations are inefficient. It is precisely praxeology which takes up this second question, and from this standpoint the dispute on where it is "located" in the structure of sciences is totally meaningless. What is important is that without the application of praxeological methods, economy becomes an empty social platitude, the effect of which we Poles are feeling and will continue to feel on our own hides for a long time yet.

Third, because I think that relevant arguments make no impression on my critic, I will make a comparison based on scientific authority. I quote from the "History of Economic Thought," under the scientific editorship of Prof Seweryn Zurawicki, published by Ossolineum in 1979. On pages 291 and 292 we read as follows:

"A long time ago Soviet economists stopped agreeing with stereotypes which were doctrinally orthodox but were detached from the realities of concrete life. Life persuaded the Soviet scholars to take the path of creative Marxism (...) Soviet scholars, especially the young generation of economists, in their persistent search for new solutions of a praxeological nature and significance, are nevertheless not neglecting considerations of a methodological nature."

And so: Are contemporary Soviet economists also committing "deviations" from the principles of Marxism-Leninism? I admit that I do not like to use such arguments, but this time I have been forced to do so. And by the way, I reject all the charges which Waleszko makes against me, for example that I am spreading "damaging misconceptions." *Medice, cura te ipsum!* [Physician, heal thyself!]

The last problem which I must bring up in this retort is the history of the political economy of socialism. I am passing over the writer's charge of "vague and imprecise" regarding my statement that "for Marx, political economy could only be bourgeois economy," because he "justifies" his own opinion with one sentence made up of the same empty platitudes, and it is impossible to argue with platitudes. But immediately afterwards, Waleszko denies the statement that I quoted from Prof M. Nasilowski that in the USSR the official thesis prevailed until 1936 that in a socialist system a theory of economic socialism has no reason for being.

It would be interesting to know why Waleszko criticizes only Nasilowski and remains silent on a similar thesis by Rosa Luxemburg, which I quoted in the same article. I do not want to put myself in the position of defending Professor Nasilowski, but neither can I nor do I want to shed responsibility for the quoted views, because if I cite them affirmatively, I regard them to be correct. That is the "Antiquary" convention.

At the core of the dispute as to whether in a socialist planned economy political economy has reason for being, there was always the question whether the law of value operated in this economy. From Marx's theory it appeared that after private ownership of means of production is abolished, and after planning is introduced throughout the entire economy, the law of value ceases to operate. Hence the logical consequence, that in socialism economic laws lose their objective character, and thus the science which examines these laws--political economy--ceases to have reason to be. After Marx, this is the conviction that all revolutionists and later reformists harbored--theoreticians as well as activists: Engels, Rosa Luxemburg, Kautsky, Tuhan-Baranowski, and after the revolution, Bucharin, Preobrazhenskiy, and many others.

Waleszko cites as an argument that prior to 1936 lively economic discussions took place in the USSR. Yes, but the "opponents" of the law of values always were the winners. Did not Waleszko stop to think why Lenin's views on Bucharin, which were critical, written back in 1920, were not published until 1929? Two years later A. Voznesenskiy tried to pave the way for the establishment in the USSR of a political economy of socialism, at a conference in Leningrad and in the famous article "K voprosu ob ekonomike sotsializma" [On the Problem of the Economics of Socialism], published in the monthly BOLSHEVIK. But the thesis of A. Shuster from Lodz University is also controversial. Prof Janusz Gorski refers to it in his interesting "Outline of the History of Political Economy" (Book & Knowledge Publishing House, 1984, p 340), stating that "since that time the concept of the political economy of socialism was officially recognized in Soviet science." This concept began to be used, but back in 1937 this same BOLSHEVIK, giving the official party and political interpretation, published the treatise by B. Borilin, in which he said that "there are no other laws in Soviet economic realities than the laws ensuing from the economic policy of a socialist state." The subject of economic discussion in the USSR at that time was almost exclusively the economic policy of the state, while the political economy of socialism was discussed only in the form of a question: Should it exist or not? The theory itself still did not exist.

Not until 1941 was a preliminary draft of the first Soviet text on the political economy of socialism submitted to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), but 10 years passed before Stalin decided that in socialism, objective economic laws operated which the people cannot "change or abolish" ("Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR"). This statement finished the "dispute about the existence" of the economy of socialism. But it opened up an essentially useful discussion connected with its substance and methodology.

However, for Waleszko everything is very simple and established once and for all. We do not wish to guess what motives lie behind such an "embellishing" and, in effect, paralyzing approach. In any case it has nothing to do with reality. And today's reality, which even Marx could not predict, demands of every generation of Marxists the innovativeness necessary to solve the problems which life thrusts upon us. This obligation cannot be replaced by even the most orthodox definitions of Marxism-Leninism in all possible cases.

POLAND

EPISCOPATE PROTESTS MEDIA COVERAGE OF TORUN TRIAL

LD061641 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 6 Feb 85

[6 February letter from Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, secretary of the Conference of the Polish Episcopate, to the chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs]

[Text] Dear Mr Chairman,

The Secretariat of the Polish Episcopate has been carefully following the course of the trial in Torun and the press, radio and television reports, and has noted numerous expressions of social protest, which must cause anxiety because of efforts toward national accord.

We state with embarrassment and indignation that the reports tendentiously expound those statements by the accused, some witnesses, and the prosecutor's office that are aimed against the church and its representatives. A specific example is the naming in a radio report of members of the conference of the Polish Episcopate slandered by the accused, Grzegorz Piotrowski. This flagrantly violates Article 13 of the Press Law. An example of manipulation of information is also the omissions of speeches made by auxiliary prosecutors--exclusively given in the PAP version--which defend the murdered priest and church in Poland. This way of informing public opinion about the trial is causing the ignominious deed of Fr. Popieluszko's murder to become a secondary issue. Moreover, having considered the fact that the mass media in Poland constitute a state monopoly, the conclusion that comes to mind is that someone particularly wants to disturb relations between the state and church.

In view of the above, on behalf of the Polish Episcopate I make an official protest against such methods of manipulation of information and public opinion.

Signed: Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, secretary of the Polish Episcopate

CSO: 2600/559

POLAND

ROLE, RESPONSIBILITIES OF NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICER DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Colonel Ignacy Olszewski: "The Noncommissioned Officer: A Commander and Educator"]

[Text] As the immediate superiors of our soldiers, the noncommissioned officers [NCO's] of basic military service account for the largest number of teaching personnel and educators. The role which they play in the process of instructing and educating, as well as in the leading of the smallest teams of soldiers, is extraordinarily important. The demands placed on our NCO's are growing every larger and more numerous, especially in the area of combined-arms and specialist training, pedagogical skills and ideological and moral values. In a similar manner, the responsibility of our professional leaders in uniform in training our NCO's to carry out their obligations and to show them every assistance is also increasing.

According to regulations, superior officers bear the responsibility for the combat and political training as well as for the moral and political status and discipline of their subordinates. After all, every superior is a commander, trainer and educator simultaneously. NCO's spend most of their time with their soldiers; one can say that by spending all this time with their men the NCO's exert with their instruction and example a considerably strong influence on their attitudes in the service itself and beyond. Although the fundamental instructional-educational work is done by the company and platoon commanders and squad leaders, the role played by the NCO's of basic military service in this area is unquestioned.

Effective NCO participation in the training of soldiers depends on a number of factors. They are generally known. Let us mention some of them specifically: knowledge, pedagogical skills, experience in educational procedures, and authority.

Soldiers coming into the service reveal that the store of their pedagogical knowledge is slight; this is especially a result of their lack of experience. As a rule, few of them have ever directed a team of people or been a leader or teacher before entering the service. It is not surprising that soldiers, for the most part, only learned about basic pedagogical concepts after they joined the military. It is also a truism that some kind of pedagogical

knowledge is the basis for effective teaching; the teacher's character traits, his leadership skills, ability to deal with people, requirements and methodology in working, sense of fairness, etc., are also very important. It is said that one has to be born a teacher. There is too much exaggeration in this assertion. Above all, these traits are made up of acquired values which are shaped by a person's life and actions.

It would be an error to expect that this can happen by itself. One has to mold these skills, speeding up the process whereby the commander and the educator make the total NCO. For this reason, the work of professional personnel, especially platoon leaders and company commanders, is particularly important primarily during the initial phases of leadership training; these people should point out to the new NCO's any mistakes they might make. We are talking particularly about teaching them educational methods; one needs to understand every individual action an instructor may take, realizing that he is influencing the student's attitude toward the subject in any given situation.

The authority of an NCO decides the outcome of an educational effort. As is well known, authority has different aspects: formal, factual and moral. The authority of a superior proceeds more or less from two sources. From a formal point of view, it is the principle of one man in command; this is a military principle which contains the powers a commander is authorized by virtue of the position and title he holds. On the other hand, a commander's authority also grows from his knowledge, factual know-how, experience and aptitude, the trust and respect he enjoys from his subordinates, and from the fact that the commander is an informal leader of his soldiers. At this point, we can also talk about moral authority.

It is generally recognized that the lower the level at which an NCO leads, the more significant his informal authority becomes. A squad leader has the fewest assets of statutory influence; he should always keep this in mind. As a result, he must try all the harder to gain the trust of his subordinates; this is not to say at all that he should do this, say, by assigning preferential duties. It is no accident that an individual remembers permanently his strict instructors, who are both demanding and fair, and the experts in his military specialty.

No one will recognize authority for nothing. One also has to work at gaining trust; it is hard to win, but easy to lose. There is no doubt that more than subjective factors enter the picture. Regardless of how one imagines it to be, authority to a great extent depends on how much an individual's word is worth, what he can do and how he can help; in a word, on what he can say and teach.

There is still much work necessary in the enhancement of the squad leader's authority. For various reasons, there are definitely too many instances where NCO's are helped in the execution of their basic service duties, but then disregarded with respect to their opinions when soldiers' affairs are under review. According to regulations, the NCO is not always the first level in the chain of command where the teaching of the rudiments

of soldiering is concerned, nor is it the first where a soldier is rewarded or punished. A solution is clear. If we want our NCO's to enjoy their subordinates' trust, we must demand more from them, allow them greater flexibility, and show greater concern for their independence and respect due to them by virtue of their position and rank.

Training in the military is a complex process. It encompasses all of the efforts aimed at the proper training of the soldier and the formation in him of specific political ideological and moral convictions and attitudes. If the point is overall goals, then this training is concurrent with the education of the civilian; on the other hand, it can be viewed from various aspects if we consider the subject of education and the environment it is conducted in. These are factors which distinguish the process of military training.

People enter the service with a certain amount of maturity, various character traits, convictions and habits. One can detect varying levels of knowledge, character, and not always those attitudes being sought; this may not facilitate the tasks of the military instructor.

The military, particularly its professionals, have specific educational tasks. These include the development of the soldiers' personalities; the elimination of their bad habits; the strengthening of patriotic and internationalist attitudes; and the political and military training necessary for them to defend socialist Poland.

The education process is primarily a process of molding attitudes. Let us recall that an attitude is, generally speaking, an individual's relation to life or a certain individual sphere of phenomena. One can speak of active, passive or protective attitudes. This is ultimately the foundation for educational endeavors to be effective. Passiveness does not lead to personality changes. Heliodor Muszynski writes in PEDAGOGIKA: "One cannot inculcate any norm in a student which challenges his knowledge and understanding and primarily stimulates his inclination to agree with it, unless it has first been introduced in the student's life as a guiding principle for his own activity."

The results of the military training process are attained primarily through consciously and purposefully conducted ideological and political work and the educational endeavors undertaken, e.g., political and informational lessons, cultural and educational lessons, and soldiers' meetings. As a rule, the NCO does not organize these undertakings; rather, he performs the function of the assistant. On the other hand, his role increases as a result of individual forms of educational work, i.e., conversations, discussions, etc. In trying to imagine this task figuratively, one can admit that there are times when the most important thing in the shaping of attitudes and convictions is the discussion which goes on after the formal political lessons in small groups of soldiers with the influential and knowledgeable NCO of basic military service.

We are not exaggerating if we state that the main task of an NCO, who spends much of his time with his soldiers, is the soldiers' systematic transformation. The point is that he should not be only a military specialist and an authority in only one particular area, but should also be an activist and an agitator. The concern over the high level of knowledge and expert skills in the NCO should go hand in hand with an increase in his store of political knowledge and the development of his social activism.

The principle feature of modern education is that it takes place primarily in group form. This means that the educator has to work with a member of a specific group which can influence the student in extremely various ways, sometimes in ways far from desirable. Hence, the military is not alone in ascribing great significance to molding a collective or team of people joined together by common efforts, activity, common aims, goals, etc.

The aims and goals which bind a squad and team together vary. The simplest and most frequent goal is the urge to lead and to compete for the honor of being the best. The central figure, however, should be the squad leader. He has the chance to elicit most naturally the inclination in every subordinate to excel and the ambition to achieve something which would win recognition from others. The main goal is to convince soldiers that they are as valuable as any other group in society, and that any goal, regardless how ambitious or difficult it may seem, is reachable. It is enough for all to try to achieve it. Of course, it is the NCO who must lead the others in any endeavor of this kind. People have to be able to rely on him the most.

We have said that education has a purpose. But it is also that there are no situations in military service which, with regard to training, cannot influence its implementation. We can say without exaggeration that every gesture and observation on the part of an NCO who has close contact with soldiers is of some educational value, both positive and negative. Let us look at the matter of complying with regulations. Some older soldiers, including NCO's, believe that they deserve something more because of their service rank or position. It happens that they behave one way in formation and another when not in formation. Sometimes the NCO is sloppy in the way he salutes. But regulations are regulations, and all soldiers are bound to obey them the same way.

There is one last point I would like to make. Consultation is advice, pointers and explanations. To whom is this advice given? Primarily to group leaders, especially subunit commanders. In the second place, how the NCO will turn out and manage with his official duties as commander and educator depends on platoon and company commanders. One final point. It was my intention to cite a few pedagogical thoughts drawn from my own experience. How pertinent and useful they are I leave to the reader to decide, especially those who are group leaders in political training.

12247
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POLAND

NEW TRADE UNION FORMED AFTER HEATED DISCUSSIONS

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 50, 9 Dec 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Jadwiga Lorens-Mola and Barbara Warpechowska: "Agreement"]

[Text] Bytom, 24 November 1984. The creation of the National Polish Agreement of Trade Unions has been announced. This means the unification of a reborn Polish trade union movement. Let us consciously look at our watch: it is 2:11 pm. This was worth noting right away. Many of the delegates considered the occasion a historic one. Such an opinion was also stated by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, vice premier and chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee on Trade Unions.

Let us add at once: of the 1062 delegates with the right to vote, almost all voted for the unification. Almost, since there were no opposing votes, but three of the delegates abstained from voting. Lengthy and stormy applause followed. They probably had a right to clap their hands, since 2 years after the emergence of the reborn trade unions, following their unprecedented fragmentation, the unity of the Polish union movement had again become a fact...

Several Hours Before

Before this conclusion was announced, however, there were different opinions, often extreme ones. The unity was not just born in pain, but also in sharp polemics. This should also be noted, since one should deal properly with a historical event.

And thus, from the early morning hours of that November day:

The union member delegates from all of Poland arrived well ahead of time for the proceedings convened in the sports hall of the hospitable, 115-year-old Szombierka Mine. Most of them had red booklets in their hands, the set of draft documents for the National Polish Agreement of Trade Unions. The first opinion in this publication reads: "Our goal is socialism without distortions." This was besides adopted later by everyone unanimously. It was beyond discussion.

The Federation of Trade Unions of the Ship Repair and Construction Industry distributed written copies of its position on the issue of the OPZZ [National

Polish Agreement of Trade Unions]. It was a negative one, stating that "there is no need for a central organ with the nature of a union authority, either among trade union members or in the organizations uniting them." Did the representatives of this federation note later that the OPZZ would not be an authority, but a platform for agreement? In any case, they did not vote against it. Perhaps they were the ones who abstained from voting? No one can find that out now, however, since no one recorded who was for and against, although such gossip circulated persistently in the corridors.

Why the OPZZ?

The country presently has almost 5 million trade union members, united in nearly 20,000 plant organizations and 121 federations. With such a fragmentation, there is no way to reach joint and cohesive decisions. Talks with the government, and even with ministry managements, often turned into sterile haggling. If trade union members coordinated a position, instead of opinions, it was ineffective. Activists are of the opinion that the OPZZ will be a partner with the government, since a unified position will be coordinated in advance.

The OPZZ cannot be a puppet partner, engaging in polite acquiescence, or "facilitating" discussions by the cabinet method. In the past, unfortunately, such inclinations have existed in the administration. Trade union members can no longer be taken by surprise by short deadlines, which result in preventing true opinions from being presented. Someone stated from the podium that such consultations are a brawl--and that was one of the milder descriptions. In the past, a convenient fiction for many officials was citing coordinations with trade unions, even if such agreements did not exist. The example of the increase in the price of tickets for PKP [Polish State Railroads] and PKS [State Motor Transport] tickets was cited in this connection. The delegates inquired about many matters making people's living conditions worse, citing the mass news media. The minister for price affairs was also mentioned. One of the activists stated, in fact, that the way in which some changes were carried out was abusing the dignity of the citizens.

Will the OPZZ be able to prevent such practices? The trade union members hope so. It is necessary, however, to work out effective methods of consultation, and also to require that they be absolutely respected, and to present one's own concepts for solutions. Therefore, the unions cannot do without their own analysis and research center.

We stress emphatically that the OPZZ will not be a "cap," but rather a platform for agreement, and that it will not limit the autonomy and independence of plant organizations, but rather strengthen them.

For the sake of order, the OPZZ will be created by all of the signers at the Bytom meeting, but the national organization is still open. On the other hand, 210 people, from whom an executive committee was constituted, formed the council.

Program

The package of issues that should be settled as soon as possible grew from minute to minute, from minor issues that are nevertheless a nuisance to questions requiring general solutions. The trade unions' continuing concern about adherence to the principles of social justice should be considered one of the basic ones. The question of the standard of living was "raised" sharply. The unions do not accept a further decline in it. They think that ways to improve it must be found. There is no agreement with the snail's pace of the meager, hardly perceptible revaluation of annuities and pensions. People must not find themselves on the brink of poverty after 30 or more years of work. One of the speakers was surprised that the ZUS's [Social Security Agency] policy to date had not led to conflicts. The union members are of the opinion that a radical change is required in housing construction. The modifications thus far are so minor that they are arousing a great deal of social dissatisfaction. The main tasks include health care, improving working conditions, environmental protection, and many others. One of the conditions for accomplishing these major demands is a respect for labor.

The implementation of the August agreements was mentioned with concern. Attention was called to the fact that some employees at the central level of the state apparatus have not drawn the proper conclusions from them. The agreements must be thoroughly studied again, and must certainly be verified from an economic standpoint.

"We want to do as much as possible, and as well as possible," it was stated in Bytom, "but our hands have to be untied." There was thus a call for amendments to the law on trade unions, and for it to be correlated with the laws on enterprises and self-government.

Lesson in "Democracy"?

Democracy appeared to be--well, a matter for discussion, from the beginning to the end of the union proceedings in Bytom. The adoption of the agenda took a great deal of time (unfortunately, we did not look at our watches), which "bothered" many delegates. On the second day some of them said, "Three hours of discussions went by again, and we are still going over procedural issues, usually unimportant ones."

Substantive voices, dictated by concern for a method for the proceedings and the resolutions that would be in accordance with the will of the work forces, were mixed with somewhat--will the delegates forgive us?--vulgar outcries on quite trivial issues. Since it was like that, someone has reservations that no provision was made for a discussion before the adoption of important documents, for example, statute and program documents. That is the essential thing. And there is applause. It resounds frenetically. It is clear from the agenda for the proceedings, however, that there will be a debate before the adoption of resolutions, and consequently of binding documents.

There were also "shouting matches" over various issues for many hours. One of the activists stated, "We do not respect each other very much, since this

nationwide meeting--as someone said, a union Sejm--is being turned into sharp controversy, not only over fundamental issues, but also over nonsense. After all, there were several months of consultations in all the provinces, federations, and unions. There were interindustry meetings. There was time to coordinate positions. To tell the truth, only a few federations did this by majority vote. But here, in Bytom, instead of a presentation of well-developed opinions, there is haggling again. It is a bit disgraceful."

But he was probably right, since there was "haggling" again about almost everything, except for the unification and the program for the trade movement. The adoption of the agenda took a great deal of time, from fundamental issues to suspicions of manipulation, because "if we agree to this," it could mean that "there."

In our opinion, the only rational thing was the desire to include point 5a, so that before the vote on the OPZZ there would be a discussion presenting the points of view and opinions of the branches and milieus on whether there should be an OPZZ or not. This was acknowledged and adopted.

And thus: there was a discussion of the program! In support of integration and why (a partner in central talks on behalf of all working people, not just union members), about how "we should show how we are uniting, and that the government has to listen to us and take us into account." But there were also vague and embarrassing declarative "speeches." There was also poetry. Literally. Only what for? On the whole, these speeches had one meaning, either veiled or completely open: whether the representatives of horizontal structures or the provincial trade union commissions [WKZZ] should also be signers of the OPZZ (and participants in it)!

OPZZ--Yes! WKZZ--No!

This theme kept recurring, like hiccups, through the whole 2 days of the proceedings. Consequently, we have to deal with it. Regina Pawlowska from Radom said, "The provincial commissions are organizations disliked by many people. But after all, in 49 provinces they were formed at the will of the independent self-governing union organizations. All of us together want unity; the plants, federations, unions, and provincial commissions. But there are quarrels already; does this have to do with merit or individual ambitions?"

And again, Wladyslaw Stepien from the metallurgy trade unions was of the opinion that the WKZZ meant a return to the discredited WRZZ [provincial trade union councils], on which the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] of disgraceful memory was based--and that was the main reason why the union authorities became separated from the work forces. He asserted that certain activists "from the echelon," usurping for themselves the right to a "better vision," were again attempting to instruct the independent self-governing plant unions, and that this was doing more harm than good, not only to the union members, but also to the government.

Do the WKZZ representatives have a right to sign the agreement and become part of the OPZZ? "Obviously," some cried out, "since what is an agreement worth

if it eliminates some union members, who are just as good as others?" Someone said, "There has to be an agreement, but for now we are quarreling among ourselves." Another added, "This is scandalous. We have made a travesty of our basic principle of action: Socialism yes! Distortions, no! And the following has been maliciously plotted: Socialism yes! WKZZ members, no! This disgusts us."

Afterwards only reasons were shouted. Quarrels continued, not only over substantive and procedural matters, but also completely nonessential ones. There were protests, and protests against the protests. Finally, a vote was arranged on whether the provincial commissions should be signers of the agreement. The outcome of the first vote was as follows: of the 1062 people authorized, 819 voted for the participation of the provincial structures in the OPZZ, and 503 voted against--i.e., some of them voted twice. The second vote, which was also a public one, turned out as follows: 559 for and 503 against. There were accusations of manipulation from the hall. Consequently, there was a secret vote. "Yes" or "no" was clearly written on part of the numbered invitations to the delegates, on the side on which it was written that unity is the strength of the trade movement. The outcome was 589 against and 438 for. Surprise! One also has to understand the opponents, since in past years it was precisely the WKZZ's that were considered to be the organs imposing their will the most.

But after the vote, many of the participants in the discussion expressed the opinion that regional, social departments or delegations of the OPZZ would certainly be necessary. What's in a name? The provincial organizations are still necessary.

What Next?

The Bytom meeting of union activists from all of Poland was certainly a turning point in the union movement, and certainly a historic moment. It is only the beginning, however, of the road to the establishment of future permanent structures. Many questions have still not been settled. Will the OPZZ cope with them? Will it carry out its program tasks, which are very difficult ones? Time will tell, as will the activity of the activists, not just the ones from the OPZZ, but all of them.

It is precisely a congress of trade unions that will give the final form to the now united trade movement.

9909

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POLAND

FARON CALLS FOR MORE SOCIAL ACTIONS TO IMPROVE EDUCATION

Warsaw ODRODZENIE in Polish No 42, 16 Oct 84 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Professor Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing, by Tadeusz Filipkowski: "School for People--People for School"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Mr Minister, we celebrate this year's National Education Day in full awareness of the difficulties facing the Polish education system. Which projects of the National School Action Aid do you consider to be the most important?

[Answer] We are expecting help. I believe that we cannot and should not be ashamed to use this word. We are expecting this help in implementing our program of upbringing, which, to my mind, is ambitious. Every pedagogue, every theoretician, every practitioner, every high school teacher and every professional or non professional educator knows that this is not a slogan, that impact, appropriate impact on upbringing can only be made when a unified front of upbringing exists.

After a period of powerful ideological and political confusion, which also affected schools and a certain disintegration, a period of stabilization and consolidation of teachers' collectives, of struggling for quality work by teachers and students, is setting in in the school system. At this very moment the National School Aid Action, a PRON [Polish Movement for National Rebirth] initiative, comes as a helping hand offered to all those employed in education.

We interpret the action of aid to schools very broadly. Sometimes I come across a simplified view of this action in public circulation which ascribes to it solely and exclusively material purposes. This action should be viewed in a much broader context.

The success of a program of upbringing does not hinge on the school alone, though much depends on it, but also on the actions of parents, the milieu and the adult community. The issues of creating a unified front of upbringing are expressly brought up in the program of the National School Aid Action, and this fact is a source of satisfaction for me. This is the first item.

Secondly, I would also include the creation of an appropriate school aids pool in helping the schools. We can mention various activities and point out various opportunities in this field, including the ones proven in action years ago, such as, for example, donations of unneeded books to school libraries by social organizations as well as private persons, but primarily by the latter. This refers mainly but not exclusively to rural schools. On one occasion, such action was sponsored by the ZMW [Union of Rural Youth] and due to it many school libraries received badly needed items.

[Question] Therefore, you think that an action of the type "books for schools" would be in order at present?

[Answer] Very much so. Despite the increased outlays and publishing activities, the market is still not saturated. Libraries are also expecting help. Here is an example, perhaps a small one, of the social actions we expect. The fact that a donated book will serve dozens, and at times, without exaggeration, thousands of young people can provide more satisfaction to a private contributor than taking the book to a used book dealer.

I think that participation in meeting the needs of construction projects is the third sphere of the National School Aid Action. This brings us to volunteer work on erecting schools and other structures associated with education. It follows from the messages reaching the Ministry of Education and Upbringing that we can already reckon with certain initiatives and social declarations in this field. I would like to stress here that the money accumulated by the populace will be deposited in the so-called regional funds, tied to investment in a given area. We are also considering a possible central fund, through which supplementary financing will be channeled to various volunteer programs in localities with short regional funds. Certainly the PRON, the donors, would decide where to channel these funds; as far as I can say, this will be coordinated with our ministry.

What we can see from the outset is the fact that the action has fallen on much more fertile soil in small localities and rural areas, where microcommunities are much more closely knit, where the disintegration observable in large conurbations is absent.

[Question] Meanwhile, the situation is the most dramatic in large residential subdivisions of our cities. Children are bussed from one area to another and even to suburban schools in Warsaw, Katowice, Lodz and Szczecin.

[Answer] At present, 600 day care centers and 400 primary schools are lacking in the new subdivisions of large cities! Local authorities will not take care of the accumulated backlog in the immediate future; therefore, it will increase as additional housing is commissioned. Meanwhile, on the national level, we are not registering a social movement for building new schools in residential areas.

[Question] In view of the above, a question comes up: is the National School Aid Action meant to help the state or to substitute for it?

[Answer] Absolutely not to substitute! Despite the present difficulties, the state is shouldering tremendous obligations. On 18 May of this year the government made a very important decision by adopting the long-range program for improvements in the material base of education until 1995, in effect for an entire decade! As a result of this decree, the Ministry of Education and Upbringing as early as next year will have at its disposal the so-called target reserve for financial aid to the provinces where social initiatives are going strong and those where the administrators of the area, the people's councils, allocate more funds for investment in education than last year. We must keep in mind that the people's council is the primary administrator of the area, and the larger part depends on it. From 1986 on, the government will accordingly increase the quotas earmarked for investment in education.

[Question] How large are these funds going to be?

[Answer] It is premature to answer this question concretely before the decisions on the Central Annual Plan have been made. As minister of education, I would like them to be as large as possible; as a member of the government, I must take into account all the needs of the life of our people and approach the needs of my ministry in a realistic and objective fashion. I will resort to a trivial saying, but we can distribute only what we have produced. However, it is significant that practically for the first time the target financial reserve has been earmarked for the needs of education.

[Question] Mr Minister, what percentage of the national income should we be spending for the needs of education, and what percentage can we afford to?

[Answer] In the stormy discussions of the early 1980's, 6 percent was mentioned in the demands as the quota of funds which the state should allocate to education. Meanwhile, we are already spending 4.7 percent of the income. Therefore, we are quite rapidly approaching the levels projected earlier, which to us seemed an almost unachievable ideal. We started out from less than 3.4 percent. It is significant that these funds are increasing.

[Question] But are they sufficient?

[Answer] Definitely not. It is precisely due to this that the PRON initiative is tremendously important. Combining the two actions, those of the state and the populace, can bring about the needed result. In the present situation, it is our strategy to struggle for the preservation of available assets, for maintaining the conditions for instruction. I mean primarily the material base. There were considerable shortcomings in the 1970's, when, despite the economic boom and success propaganda, in education as well, the investment outlays allocated for education

decreased year after year. In 1979 we "achieved" 0.95 percent of total investment funds! Besides, the utilization of these funds did not exceed 80 percent. The results of this are known. Out of the approximately 45,500 structures of the ministry, 14,500 are in need of urgent repair and 1,400 do not qualify for any repair at all. In order to satisfy total needs, 4,500 day-care centers and 4,200 primary schools should be constructed, among other things.

[Question] Why these tremendous needs?

[Answer] First of all, due to the demographic peak. This peak is a beautiful fact of the biological development of our nation. However, we cannot hide our head in the sand in the face of difficulties generated by that fact. What is the meaning of population growth? Simply put, in 1990 there will be 1.3 million more children in Polish schools than in the early 1980's. Due to this, many new schools, classrooms and new jobs for teachers will be needed. This demographic peak also means that this year there are 127,000 more children in our schools than in the previous year, and last year we had 120,000 more than the year before. This way we can go back to the beginning of the 1980's.

[Question] Can the Polish school be modern, given such material and working conditions?

[Answer] Sometimes being modern is interpreted only as the abundance of aids used in the process of instruction. I am not neglecting the material equipment of schools, I do not deny the feasibility of computers or tape recorders. However, there are many examples showing that nothing can supplant a teacher; to mention one, in the United States where "technical equipment" for schools has been acknowledged as an absolute panacea. I think that our schools are modern, despite permanent discontent with their level.

[Question] How is this manifested?

[Answer] Primarily in the modern character of the curriculum. Currently, we are implementing a systematic reform of the curricula. It has now embraced the seventh grade, next year it will spread to the eighth grade, and in 1986 will reach secondary schools.

What is the objective here? To deverbilize instruction, to better prepare the students for life. The school graduate should be an active person capable of continuing self-education. At present, continuing education is not a slogan anymore, but a necessity which no one can avoid. A skilled worker should also improve his knowledge, because the equipment changes and gets modernized, and so should the farmer because of the changes in the methods of cultivation... On the other hand, grammar schools should provide at least basic training for menial activities. The graduate should be able to operate modern machines and not be helpless in front of them.

A modern school also means study aids. The situation in this field varies. First of all, we are trying to equip schools where so far the blackboard, chalk and eraser instead of a sponge have been the only equipment with the aids considered essential. But we are also looking toward the future. We intend to install several dozen videotape recorders in rural schools of three provinces, Poznan, Nowy Sacz and Zamosc, very soon. After experience has been gained, the time will come for the entire network of community schools to be so equipped. We also plan to introduce, so far in selected schools, 300 microcomputers which will aid in the process of instruction. We will distribute them to where the conditions for their use are the best, perhaps beginning with schools with instruction in electronics, but also with schools in small localities.

Last Saturday, I visited Przemysl Province and had the opportunity to view a newly commissioned day-care center in Lubaczow, built in 1.5 years, and a new primary school. The structures were built by an agricultural enterprise. All of this was built with state funds; however, it would not have the shape and the scope it does were it not for the labor contribution of parents during construction. The building is modern and reaches out towards the future. After all, the day-care center has two exercise gyms, the school comes complete with six apartments for teachers, each with a garage. This may sound funny, talking about garages in the time of crisis. However, in Lubaczow they have a complex patterned on the vision of the future rather than construction for the poor. The combination of two elements, the state and populace, yielded the needed fruit. This example goes to prove that in painting an often gloomy picture of education we forget these brighter points, which we can point out in Olsztyn, Koszalin and any other provinces. At times, a sense of proportion is also lacking in our journalism. The view of the schools should be an objective one.

[Question] The National School Aid Action is to bring the school closer to the populace and the family. At the same time, what can the populace expect of schools?

[Answer] This is a very important question, but a very difficult one, too. The expectations are high. Sometimes the citizens would like the school to take care of all problems associated with the education and upbringing of the younger generation. The populace desires, and rightly so, that there be enough textbooks. It demands, and rightly so, that upbringing, the shaping of personality, preparation of life, work and studies be provided, demanding at the same time the school not unduly overload the young people with studies.

Tremendous confidence and the belief that the school can accomplish a lot are also behind these pointed demands, which are at times mutually exclusive.

What can the populace expect? It can expect that the school will prepare the younger generation for life, work and a continuation of studies; that

it will graduate people with an open personality, people who possess the skill of evaluating our distant and recent past critically and analytically, people who can offer their scenario for the development and future of our country on the basis of such analysis and, most importantly, people who can translate this scenario into the reality of the future.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

9761

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POLAND

GOALS, PROBLEMS OF RURAL YOUTH UNION PRESENTED

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 42, 19 Dec 84 p 15

[Interview with Leszek Lesniak, Rural Youth Union chairman, by Henryk Maziejuk]

[Text] A great deal of interest accompanied the establishment of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], not only among the youth and not only in the rural communities. The unconventional program with its new and authentic organization, its aggressiveness and initiative attracted attention. Subsequently the union calmed down somewhat and lowered its tone. Why? What can be said about this organization after 4 years of activity and shortly before the ZMW National Congress? We will discuss these and other topics in our interview with Leszek Lesniak, ZMW chairman.

[Question] The union membership totals over 320,000 and is quite visible. Yet upon looking at the ZMW one gets the impression that expectations were greater.

[Answer] Undoubtedly, two currents of thought were in conflict even at the very beginning of its existence. Those who had created it thought that because of the very idea and tradition it would explode. The pessimists, or let us say the realists, believed that even the very best ideas would not be carried out without laborious organizational activity. From a perspective of 4 years of ZMW operation, I see that it is precisely these organizational tasks which were the weakest. Thousands of people supported the idea, but many lacked the perseverance and experience for consistent work.

[Question] The forces behind the establishment of the new union, following abolition of the old ZMW, were the young farmers. Could they be considered mythomaniacs?

[Answer] No. Anyhow, we cannot discuss the unpleasant clash of expectations with reality. They recognized the ZMW as the real spokesman

for their professional and social interests. We are fulfilling this function. On the other hand, disappointment occurred when it became apparent that the union was not going to represent a magic solution for their worries and problems, simply because it could not do so. It could only serve to prepare young farmers who through organizational support would be able to request attention for their concerns, which have been overlooked, and thereby have a say in things which affect them directly. It is these matters which we are trying to strengthen within the ZMW.

[Question] Surely, not with the worst results. One can judge that it is the young farmers who are imparting the most dynamism to the union. However, taking the whole organization into consideration, hasn't your union lost much of its colorfulness and authenticity?

[Answer] That depends on where one looks for this authenticity. After all, most of it is in the very center of activity. Yet externally it is not seen through observation of work organizations, but rather through the behavior of the *aktiv* or organizational apparatus. This is precisely what we are saying and in this manner are representing their problems and expectations to the authorities. This is perhaps where the conviction about the inauthentic character of the ZMW originates, and one which most likely exists in the villages and *gminas*.

[Question] Externally, as you indicated, however, ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] activity is more visible in the villages.

[Answer] Our principle is humility. It is not we who will evaluate ourselves, others should do this and do it honestly. We are submitting to public opinion to the fullest extent possible. I will also mention that we place great importance on the socialization of the youth movement. The apparatus within the ZMW is modest. It does not exist on the *gmina* level. Even leadership functions are being carried out publicly everywhere.

[Question] Therefore it also concerns you?

[Answer] Of course. I am working for GROMADA-ROLNIK POLSKI as a journalist.

[Question] I suppose that this ensures greater independence for ZMW leaders. At the same time, it indicates how much the ZMW depends on the position and capabilities of the public *aktiv*, which must be reeducated and improved continuously.

[Answer] It is fine to offer assistance and advice, but not to replace. I can say with satisfaction that we have a committed *aktiv* in the ZMW. It is ideological and young, but unfortunately also very inexperienced. The average age of the leading organizations does not exceed 20 years. There is also frequent turnover within the *aktiv*. This results in the fact that our activists are not prepared to carry out their public roles to the degree which one would expect.

[Question] Therefore, what type of union are you and what type do you want to be?

[Answer] An ideological and educational one. One which brings a great deal of stimulation to the environment, and which is acceptable to it. We are sensitive to numerous matters connected with education and improvement in living and labor standards in the rural sector. Since it is important, we want to be a strong union through our morality, honesty, and reliability toward ourselves and toward our partners.

[Question] From what I know it appears that the ZMW is well-liked and has many allies. At the same time, in characterizing it as such it almost seems to break loose from the tasks delineated for it by common practice. One does not replace it with instructors or instruction, nor with recommendations or advice.

[Answer] This may differentiate us from the others. However, as I mentioned, we are very interested in socializing the organization. This also depends on the fact that the higher union echelon should not instruct its lower ranking cells but only support them, to advise them not to issue orders. This is more difficult, but the results are better and longer lasting. Although it is not necessary to conceal this, it does create a specific situation, since, for example, our partners will notice if the ZMW is not order-issuing. The ZMW does not possess apparatus within the gmina, which could be summoned and counted on. We must look for a chairman, go after him, and tear him away from his work in order to get in contact with him. This does not appeal to everyone who becomes accustomed to a bureaucratic way of operation.

[Question] Am I to understand that this also ensures the ZMW greater independence, a fact which the youth is greatly concerned with?

[Answer] The youth fears manipulation, hence our hypersensitivity. The ZMW has preserved its independence. This does not at all indicate that we want to do everything ourselves, since then we would be forced into isolation. We in the ZMW place great emphasis on our relations with the PZPR and the ZSL. We believe that the ideology of both parties inspires our ideology and defines its boundaries. To us this is obvious. On the other hand, we are careful to see to it that nothing interferes with our affairs. We wish to make our own decisions regarding the program, methods of activity, ways in which to achieve our goals, and even decisions about our leaders.

[Question] If one can define it as such, the ZMW is a two-party organization. Therefore, both the PZPR and the ZSL exert equal influence upon it.

[Answer] It is obvious to us that both parties want to influence the ZMW. However, this has become a common practice, since this influence is made possible by ZMW members belonging to either party, their participation in the union administration, and its activity in general.

This setup is suitable for the ZMW, because our activists who are members of these parties can bring to the attention of the PZPR and the ZSL, and therefore to the decisionmaking political authorities, the ZMW problems and in so doing influence their solution. I believe that this creates a good situation since young activists from both parties have entered into the partnership.

[Question] We are talking as if the ZMW only included adults who are most interested in politics. At the same time, there are more young and very young members whose areas of interest include numerous other issues.

[Answer] Indeed. Common to all is the union's ideology, its role, and a very different program. Emphasis is distributed unequally within it. Cultural and educational matters dominate in some communities, while sociopolitical matters dominate in others. The situation is different in the schools and institutions serving the rural community. The desire for specific activity and education in work and play and friendship is what unites everyone. Almost 80 percent of the organizations undertake specific annual social activities.

[Question] It is not without cause that we believe that the ZMW is a labor organization. However, besides work and play perhaps there are other matters which the youth concern themselves with.

[Answer] There are many others. For example, the interests of the young include history. We wish to supplement their knowledge of history insofar as it concerns Poland, the working class movement, and patriotism of the farmers. Teachers and the young intelligentsia in general come to us more frequently and this gives the ZMW a measure of activities and broadens the scope of interests.

[Question] The intelligentsia often come to the villages and leave; as a rule, college graduates also go elsewhere.

[Answer] Does this mean that all our efforts are futile? No. The rural community is of primary importance to ZMW members. The young intelligentsia come to us because they value our ties with the rural community, and they realize that today the rural community is very important. They want to serve it, even become acquainted with it and learn about it. It is true that they often leave, yet we believe that even later they will not succumb to delusions and will not repudiate the village and all its wealth.

[Question] Nevertheless, the most self-assured are the young farmers who are committed to the village forever. What are their doubts?

[Answer] Yes. At the same time they are the most demanding. This is because of the situation and the problems faced in the management of farms, or even their preparation for this role. They are sensitive to

the government policy toward the agricultural sector. They wish to change the working and living conditions, bring the village closer to civilization, but this is difficult. They are anxious not to depart from PZPR and ZSL agricultural policy.

[Question] Consequently, the village is looking toward the future. This is necessary for all, and mostly for the youth.

[Answer] The vision is permanent and certain, and it is on the basis of this that fates and dreams are created. This is very important for the youth. The lack of it creates problems and generates suspicion. The ZMW discussions on the model are continuing; after all, it is not only the youth who can define the vision of the future of the village and that of agriculture.

[Question] Does this concern about the future also involve the ZMW itself?

[Answer] Both are closely related. It is no secret that some of the youth who do not exert a good influence are dubious as to whether the ZMW is and will continue to be a permanent element in our sociopolitical system. I believe this deeply.

[Question] Therefore, what can we anticipate at the congress?

[Answer] Above all, I believe that our congress will confirm the permanence of the union, stressing that currently it is the same as in December 1980, when it was established as a result of the will and desire of the rural youth. Of course, it has undergone a great ideological battle; nevertheless, it has weathered a difficult time in order to better serve the needs of the youth and the rural community.

12229

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POLAND

BRIEFS

SOVIET WRITERS ACCORD--In the House of Literature in Warsaw an agreement has been signed on this year's cooperation between the Union of Polish Writers [ZLP] and writers of the Soviet Union. The number of mutual visits of both countries' writers will increase. The Soviet writers and critics will take part in a meeting entitled Literature in the Struggle for Peace, devoted to the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. The agreement was signed by Halina Auderska, chairwoman of the ZLP, and Yuriy Surovetsev, secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers.
[Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Jan 85]

GDANSK POLITBURO SESSION--The recent away session of the party Central Committee Politburo continues to be the subject of interest of various media. The problems discussed during the session were the topic of yesterday's meeting between the leadership of the voivodship party echelon and journalists. Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo, first secretary of the voivodship committee in Gdansk, informed the gathering about the course of the debates and about the decisions taken in connection with the economy and the shortcomings in the social infrastructure. He also pointed out the resultant tasks of the mass media.
[Text] [Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 29 Jan 85]

BARCIKOWSKI AT RZESZOW MEETING--A conference of local political and social activists has been held in Rzeszow. Last year's results of the Rzeszow economy and tasks envisaged for the current year were discussed. Taking the floor in the discussion, representatives of industrial enterprises pointed out the slow rate of housing construction, high level of absenteeism, and problems in the area of cooperation between individual enterprises. Kazimierz Barcikowski, who was present at the meeting, pointed out the need for greater work discipline and improved labor productivity. The level of production as well as pay increases will depend on this, he said.
[Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 29 Jan 85]

CSO: 2600/550

ROMANIA

ORGANIZATION, OPERATION OF STATE PLANNING COMMITTEE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 88, 28 Nov 84 pp 1-19

[Council of State Decree No 413, 23 November 1984, on the Organization and Operation of the State Planning Committee]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1. The State Planning Committee, a central organ of state administration, provides for the unified implementation of party and state policy in the area of planning of Romania's social and economic development.

Article 2. The State Planning Committee carries out its activity on the basis of party decisions, of the Law on Romania's Planned Social-Economic Development, of other laws and decrees and of decisions of the Supreme Council for Social and Economic Development and of the Council of Ministers.

Article 3. With a view to the unified application of party and state policy on the planned social-economic development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the State Planning Committee, together with the ministries, other central and local organs, centrals and enterprises provides for the following under the conditions provided by law:

Working out the plan's orientative and normative levels for the economy as a whole, by ministries and branches, on a territorial basis and by centrals in order to fit the units' plan proposals into the balance and general options of national economic development;

Working out proposals for the single national draft plan for social-economic development, 5-year and annual, at all organizational steps, proceeding from the basic units, the economic, social-cultural and territorial-administrative units on the branch, departmental and territorial basis; including Romania's entire production potential in the draft plan under conditions of raising the efficiency of economic activity as well as correlating the plan proposals; achieving material, financial, monetary and currency balance of the economy both in working out as well as in implementing the plan; permanently developing export and making imports a reasonable size, as well as intensifying and diversifying

the actions and relations of economic cooperation and collaboration with other countries;

Working out special programs by products, groups of products, branches and sub-branches, activities, general problems and by counties with the coordinating branch ministries, centrals and types of enterprises, ones which would insure the multilateral substantiation of the proposals for development of the national economy, speeding up of the process of broadened socialist capital replacement, superior utilization of natural resources and sensible utilization of the labor force, intensification of Romania's participation in the world division of labor and rise in the standard of living and other aspects of social-economic development;

Permanently checking up on the progress of implementing the single national plan for Romania's economic-social development, together with the ministries, other central and local organs, in order to achieve the planned rates and proportions; in accordance with the law they propose measures for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan tasks in order to preserve the planned rise and balance;

Firmly applying the principles of the economic-financial mechanism, permanently strengthening worker self-leadership and self-management at the level of ministries and other central organs, county and Bucharest Municipality people's councils, centrals, enterprises and all socialist units for which purpose they participate in examining and discussing the plan tasks and way they are fulfilled.

Article 4. The State Planning Committee collaborates with the ministries, other central organs, local organs as well as with the centrals for the purpose of fulfilling their duties.

The State Planning Committee cooperates directly with each central in substantiating, finalizing proposals and fulfilling the plan tasks. For this purpose, together with the organ within which the central operates, it insures an increase in its role as plan holder and the strengthening of its responsibilities in carrying out planning activity and following up on implementation of the plan.

In accordance with the law, the territorial planning commissions operate under the State Planning Committee and the executive committees of the county and Bucharest Municipality people's council in order to fulfill the tasks for territorial social-economic development.

Chapter II Duties

Article 5. The State Planning Committee has the following general duties:

In working out the plan for development of the national economy:

a) It draws up proposals for current and future draft plans on the basis of its own studies and proposals of the plan holders, insuring implementation of party and state policy with regard to:

Proportioned and permanent development of the national economy; broadening of the material-technical base of the economic units and social-cultural activities;

rise in the efficiency of all economic activity; continual rise in the national income and, on this basis, rise in the population's standard of living;

Optimum loading and full use of production capabilities; diversification of production and permanent improvement in the quality of products; superior utilization of natural resources and providing of the plan's material base;

Introduction of technical progress in all branches of the economy and utilization of the results obtained in scientific research work;

Rational use of the labor force and continual improvement in their training; rise in labor productivity and reduction in production and circulating expenses;

Improvement in territorial assignment of production forces;

Increase in the efficiency of foreign trade and insuring of an active balance of foreign payment;

b) It works out analyses, studies, prognoses and other general projects on the proportioned, balanced and efficient development of the national economy and its branches, on speeding up the process of broadened socialist capital replacement and introduction and generalization of technical progress, on superior utilization of resources, requirements of the domestic markets and circumstantial trends of the foreign market, rise in the standard of living as well as other projects needed for substantiating the plan provisions;

c) It works out norms and standards on the indicators for efficient use of fixed capital, consumption and stocks of raw materials, materials, fuels, electric and thermal energy, utilization of the labor force, efficiency of investments and of foreign trade, the volume of production and of profitability in proportion to the production capital as well as other aspects of economic activity;

d) It works out the methods for drawing up draft plans, it establishes in a unified way the content and methods for determining the indicators, norms and standards utilized in planning, it follows up on the continual improvement in the information system for planning and promotion of modern planning methods and techniques;

3) Under conditions of the law it participates in talks with the central planning and economic organs in the socialist countries;

In executing the plan:

a) Together with the holders of the plan, it is responsible for executing the plan for all indicators and it carries out permanent checking on fulfillment of the tasks forecast in order to prevent any failure of fulfillment and to insure fulfillment of the planned rates and proportions, for which purpose it analyzes and provides that measures are taken in order to:

Conclude economic contracts at the level of planned production as well as provide domestic orders and orders for export; technical preparation and the start of products into manufacture on time; strictly respect the contract provisions

and deliver the products produced without delay; provide for material-technical supply and cooperation in production; have good flow of production and carry out production at high technical and quality level;

Fulfill the value and physical production plan for the main raw materials, materials, consumer goods, equipment, installations and services as well as for respecting their intent;

Fulfilling the plan for scientific research, technological development and for introducing technical progress;

Have the main raw materials, materials, fuels and energy fit into the consumption and stock standards, superior use of existing resources and reserves in the economy, prevent tie-ups of material resources and carry out redistributions, depending on the priorities in the economy and introduce available stocks into economic circulation;

Carry out the investment plan and fully use production capacities;

Execute the foreign trade plan and balance of foreign payments;

Establish, preserve and administer the state reserves of raw materials and materials and of the state fund of agricultural food products;

Fulfill the tasks for economic efficiency and achieve the population's incomes;

b) It proposes measures for the steady and complete fulfillment of plan tasks with a view to maintaining the economy's rise and balance;

c) Together with the other central and local organs it works out the relation with executing the single national plan for social-economic development.

A. Duties in Activity in the Industrial Area

Article 6. The State Planning Committee, together with the ministries, other central and local organs, centrals and enterprises, is responsible for applying party and state policy on Romania's socialist industrialization, the development and permanent modernization of industry, achieving an optimum balance between it and the other branches of the national economy, for insuring the base of raw and energy materials, for the harmonious and balanced development of the sub-branches of industry, for improving production structures by providing priority rates in the subbranches of the processing industry and for groups of products of a highly technical nature, for continually improving the technical and quality level of products, for completely and efficiently utilizing production capacities, for continually increasing labor productivity and the degree of utilization of resources and for reducing production costs.

Article 7. The State Planning Committee, in collaboration with the ministries, other central organs, centrals and executive committees of the county and Bucharest Municipality people's councils, works out special programs by products, groups of products and activities as well as draft annual and future plans by branch, department, and territory, which would provide:

a) In the extraction industry:

The permanent development of the domestic base of mineral and energy raw materials, intensifying geological research in all zones of Romania with a view to discovering new deposits of crude oil, gases, coal, radioactive substances, non-ferrous ores, rare and dispersed metals;

Providing of conditions for shortening the time it takes for prospecting and exploratory projects, the periods for investigating zones and projects of economic interest and their being put into operation faster;

Promotion of new solutions and technologies for providing for exploitation under efficient conditions of the domestic ore reserves, including those with poor contents and more difficult deposit conditions and for improving the outputs of extraction and preparation;

Intensification of actions for collecting and reusing all ferrous and nonferrous materials;

Continual rise in the degree of utilization of resources of nonferrous and rare metals by using them in greater and greater proportions for the production of special alloys with superior qualities for producing high-performance products;

b) In the energy area:

Intensification of utilizing Romania's hydroelectric energy potential by setting up high-power hydroelectric power centrals and microhydroelectric power centrals which would provide for continual rise in the degree of utilization of the Danube's potential and that of domestic rivers;

Extension of the use of coal and bituminous shale in the thermoelectric power centrals; gradual transition to solid combustion for all the thermoelectric and electric power centrals which currently are operating with hydrocarbons; working out of technologies and installations with a view to utilizing combustible components of coal with maximum output and reducing hydrocarbon additives; providing of efficient solutions for operating the thin and very thin strata of mineral coal and lignite;

The start up and rapid development of nuclear energy and fulfillment of the provisions of the programs worked out in this area; speeding up of the assimilation of the manufacture of equipment and preparation of the fuel on the basis of our own design;

Utilization of new sources and energy technologies with a view to covering energy needs to a greater extent on the basis of solar, geothermal energy, wind energy, biogas and biomass;

Limiting of the crude oil and gas production with a view to maintaining an appropriate degree for providing geological reserves; improvement in the final recovery factor of crude oil from the deposit;

c) In the processing industry:

Permanent improvement in the technical and quality level of products under conditions of reducing the specific consumption of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, rise in the degree of usage of resources, rise in the efficiency of activity both by the producer and beneficiary, rise in the competitiveness of products on the foreign markets in conformity with the programs established in these areas;

Diversification of production in the ferrous metallurgy branch by broadening the range of varieties, particularly for the products with advanced processing and superior qualities, which would cover the needs for superior steels for permanent modernization of production in the machine-building branch;

The redesign, modernization and assimilation of new products in the machine-building industry under conditions of a substantial increase in the length of and safety of operation of the products, of reduction in the weight and specific consumption, of increase in the outputs and of reduction in expenses for the beneficiaries' operation and maintenance; extending of the varieties and share of production in the highly technical areas for high-performance equipment, of very high power and capacity, with execution precision, high output and classes of quality; increase in the percentage of machinery, equipment and installations built by families, based on construction and functional design for covering all the requirements of size and intended for domestic and export purposes;

Creation and priority development of new, highly technical and complex sectors in the electrotechnical and electronics industry: microelectronics, industrial robots, equipment for nuclear power plants, for new forms of energy, for aviation; assimilation of products with a reduced consumption of copper, precious metals and siliceous plate, made smaller and with greater safety of operation;

Increase in production efficiency in the chemical industry by using installations to capacity, building quality products with superior physical-chemical composition and characteristics, assimilation of new products which are highly technical in the area of fine-synthesis and small-tonnage chemistry--drugs, dyes, aids, extra-pure substances for the electronics industry with a view to eliminating imports, the reduction of energy and raw material consumption by promoting perfected technologies and utilizing new sources of raw materials;

Increasing the degree of utilization of wood resources in the wood-processing industry by reducing the weight of products, promoting substitutes, increasing the percentage of art furniture and assimilating new varieties and sizes of furniture and other wood products being sold on the foreign markets;

Reduction in energy consumption in the machine-building branch and extending of the range of varieties with new products which have superior characteristics;

Continual diversification of varieties in accordance with the requirements of the domestic and foreign market for light industry products; increase in the percentage of products with superior qualities under conditions of substantially reducing the consumption of raw materials and materials and promoting substitutes;

Rational utilization of resources of agricultural raw materials in the food industry by utilizing the results of scientific research on obtaining new varieties with superior qualities, for which there is a high percentage of substitutes used.

Article 8. The State Planning Committee draws up proposals of orientative levels referring to the general framework of development of industrial activity at the departmental, branch and territorial level, providing the correlations needed for integration of industrial activity in social-economic development as a whole and it is responsible for substantiating the tasks written in the plan.

Also the State Planning Committee works out and bring up to date each year the program for raising the technical and quality level of products in collaboration with the National Council for Science and Technology, the General State Inspectorate for Control of Product Quality, economic ministries, centrals, enterprises and units for scientific research and technological engineering and it coordinates having the plan holders work out and bring up to date the special programs by products, groups of products and subbranches of industry.

Article 9. The State Planning Committee organizes the regular search for steady execution of the plan tasks at the appropriate quality level established for industry as a whole, by ministries, centrals, enterprises, branches and counties and it takes efficient action to prevent and eliminate shortcomings and disproportions which may appear during execution, as may be the case, for which purpose:

- a) Daily it follows up on the execution of the physical production plan for the main products on the basis of statistical operations reports, establishing the cases requiring thorough analyses with a view to taking measures to improve the situation;
- b) Weekly it analyzes the stage of plan fulfillment in collaboration with the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets and the ministries, according to the case taking or proposing measures to eliminate the shortcomings and improve activity; it participates in preparing and carrying out analyses on obtaining the production for export;
- c) Monthly it analyzes achievement of physical and value production, the quality of products, the use of production capacities, fitting into the normed consumption of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, the situation of stocks and it proposes the tasks belonging to the central organs and plan holders for normalizing the situation and recovering any possible lags;
- d) In collaboration with the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets and with the ministries concerned, it places for approval specific quarterly and monthly programs for providing the material base and the need for fuels and energy and it regularly follows up on the ministries, centrals and enterprises implementing the actions approved;
- e) It organizes actions of analysis and checking at the enterprises and centrals which encounter difficulties in executing the plan with a view to having direct knowledge of the realities which would permit establishing measures to correct the situation and prevent failures of fulfillment.

B. Duties in the Development of Agriculture

Article 10. Together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and other central and local organs, the State Planning Committee is responsible for unified application of party and state policy in the development of agriculture as a basic branch of the national economy, providing through the plan the mobilization of all existing resources in agriculture, the development of the material-technical base and other social-economic conditions for permanent growth of all sectors, branches and subbranches of agriculture in a unified concept and obtaining of higher quantities of agricultural products, vegetable and animal, at the level of demands of the new agrarian revolution and the requirements of the national economy.

Article 11. In the activity of planning agricultural development the State Planning Committee works out special programs and draft annual and long-range plans for the development of agriculture on the basis of its own studies and the proposals of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, departments, general economic directorates, centrals, county directorates for agriculture and the food industry and the Academy of Agricultural and Silvic Sciences, by which it provides:

a) In the area of complete and intensive use of the production potential of the stock of land:

Utilization of all agricultural lands, regardless of possessor;

Creation of agricultural area by utilization of nonagricultural lands (lands covered with forest vegetation outside the forests, ponds, restriction of areas of roads and buildings, sands, gravel, salt marshes, ravines, precipices);

Drawing up of the balance of the stock of land and presentation of proposals on distribution by holders and categories of use, in conformity with the national programs and annual and 5-year plans;

Recovery of land removed forever or temporarily from agricultural circulation and replacing it into production;

Implementation of the provisions of the national program for providing sure and stable agricultural production by working out technical-economic studies and documents, for fulfilling the tasks for carrying out the system of machinery and equipment for land improvement projects.

b) In the area of vegetable and horticultural production:

Establishing of the areas to be cultivated, average production and totals to be obtained by plan holders and by counties;

Improvement in the territorial placement of grain production, edible legumes, technical plants, vegetables, potatoes, fodder plants, grape and tree plantations, in accordance with the pedoclimate and social-economic conditions in each zone;

Creation of rotations specific to the pedoclimate conditions in each crop zone by agricultural units, farms or groups of farms;

Introduction of the most productive varieties and hybrids into the crop and the use of seeds from the biologically superior categories;

Providing of firm respect for the areas by crops, to conform to the plan provisions;

Continual improvement in the quality of products and varieties delivered to the state fund.

c) In the area of zootechnical production:

Establishing the numbers of animals by breed, average production and total number of animals by plan holders and counties;

Cultivation and complete use of the areas intended for fodder crops, double crops, pastures and hayfields, laying out of natural meadows in the complex in order to provide the necessary fodder base;

Establishing natality indicators;

Establishing the number of animals to be slaughtered by breed, by plan holders and counties;

Providing conditions for the quartering, maintenance and foddering for all the animals.

d) In the area of utilizing agricultural production:

Working out the balances of agricultural products, together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the Department for the Contracting, Acquisition and Preservation of Agricultural Products and the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets;

Establishing quantities of agricultural products which are to be delivered to the state fund, including from the contracts with the population's plots and sources for forming them and their beneficiaries, seeking improvement in supplying the population, providing the quantities needed for industrialization and for export as well as those for establishing the state reserve of agricultural food products;

Together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and the Ministry of Foreign trade and International Economic Cooperation, establishing the volume of foreign trade of agricultural products and the units which have favorable conditions for obtaining products at the quality parameters requested by the foreign markets and supplying them with the necessary material base for fulfilling the export and import plan;

Working out programs for territorial self-supply, in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and the county agricultural directorates, to provide the population's consumption at the level of the standards established by the program for rational nourishment for the population.

Article 12. The State Planning Committee, under conditions provided by law, insures that the plan is worked out by social-economic sectors in agriculture--state, cooperative and the population's plots--according to branch, department and territory.

Article 13. The State Planning Committee, in fulfilling the plan provisions for the development of agriculture and the national and special programs in the area of agriculture, cooperates with the other ministries and central organs and mainly fulfills the following duties:

- a) It checks on and takes measures for fulfilling the goals and indicators on schedule regarding the use and growth in production potential of the stock of land, obtaining of the vegetable and agricultural production planned, improvement in zootechnical activity in all sectors of agriculture as well as utilization of agricultural production;
- b) Insuring that areas of land for economic and social-cultural projects removed from agricultural circulation are limited to what is strictly necessary, seeking that this be done only by respecting legal provisions;
- c) It gives advice on studies and technical-economic documents for fulfilling the provisions of the national program for providing sure and stable agricultural production, seeking to promote a unified concept which would insure the use of the most effective methods for setting up and reducing costs of execution and operation as well as reducing material and energy consumption;
- d) It seeks to have the Ministry of Machine-Building Industry and the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry fulfill the system of equipment and special machinery, standardized, with high output, equipped with high-performance, powerful motors and reduced consumption of fuels and motor oil, with multiple fittings, ones able to do the main jobs of land improvement--digging of large canals, setting up the riverbed and levelling land;
- e) Establishes measures to work out unified production techniques for all crops;
- f) It checks on the way in which periodic instruction of the specialists, machine operators and other workers in agriculture is provided with a view to solid knowledge of the techniques specific to each crop;
- g) It checks on the efficient use of the material-technical base provided in the plan, particularly through rational operation of the tractor park and that of the agricultural machinery, sensible management and timely administration of chemical and natural fertilizers, reasonable use of chemical means for combatting disease, pests and weeds;
- h) It establishes measures for increasing the number of animals of all breeds and the organization of animal microfarms at the vegetable and horticultural farms and attached plots;
- i) It organizes actions to check on the slaughtering of young cattle and sheep at the weights established by law and for reducing the gestation losses to a minimum as well as losses through mortality;

j) It establishes measures to obtain and deliver quantities of agricultural products for the state fund; it checks on respect for the purposes provided in the agricultural food balances approved.

C. Duties in the Development of Silviculture

Article 14. The State Planning Committee, together with the Ministry of Silviculture, is responsible for applying party and state policy in the development, management and reasonable use of the entire forest area, in conformity with the provisions of the national program for conservation and development of the stock of wood.

Article 15. The State Planning Committee provides the following in working out the plan provisions and the special programs in the area of silviculture on the basis of its own analyses and the proposals of the Ministry of Silviculture:

- a) The conservation and development of the stock of wood through its unified management measures on the basis of forest planning, recovery of the areas affected for uses other than forest uses, improvement in the structure of the forests, cleaning up of the forests, prevention and combatting of diseases and pests;
- b) Annual establishment of the volume, structure and intent for the wood cut;
- c) Determination of the volume of projects for planning, maintenance and operation of roads in forested areas;
- d) Establishing of the tasks for utilizing the forest's fruit and other products, for development of the hunting economy, for management of meadows and hayfields, river and lake planning in the mountain zone to increase fish production and the development of agriculture and silk worm culture.

Article 16. In fulfilling the plan provisions for development of silviculture, the State Planning Committee follows up on and makes analyses and checks on the strict respect for legal provisions for management of forest resources. It takes measures to achieve the levels planned, particularly with regard to providing the wood needed for the national economy, carrying out hygiene projects and efficiently using the pastures and hayfields in the mountain zones and other forest areas.

D. Duties in Water Economy

Article 17. Together with the National Water Council, the State Planning Committee is responsible for unified application of party and state policy in the area of water management by covering the planning of hydrographic reservoirs in an economically unified and efficient design with a view to satisfying the population's requirements for water, as well as those of industry and agriculture, to utilizing the waters' hydroelectric energy potential, to protecting locations, economic projects and agricultural lands from flooding as well as protecting the waters from pollution.

Article 18. The State Planning Committee is responsible for covering the entire hydrographic network in the draft national plans for social and economic

development, 5-year and annual, as well as in the special programs in the area of water economy through projects to regularize and damming the river-beds, and shore protection, rational use of surface and underground water which is usable and increase in their volume and measures connected with protecting the water quality, particularly through the action for waste water treatment, as well as the necessary capital.

Within the plan projects the State Planning Committee provides for drawing up the balance of water, taking into account the usable water resources in Romania as well as the requirements for supplying the population, industry, irrigation and other water-consuming uses with water. Also, it establishes solutions with the specialty organs to increase the degree of recirculation of industrial water and to reduce losses both in the networks as well as at the consumer level.

In working out the plan provisions the State Planning Committee provides for substantiation of the solutions forecast on the basis of its own analyses and the proposals of the National Water Council as well as the results of studies and scientific research done by the Institute of Research and Design for Water Management, with a view to fulfilling the tasks and goals in the national long-range program for planning the hydrographic reservoirs in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Article 19. In order to fulfill the plan tasks in the area of water economy the State Planning Committee follows up on and checks on the method and stage of execution of the projects planned and, in particular, takes action to:

- a) Plan the entire hydrographic network in a unified design, including the important local waters and streams, in order to have complex utilization of the water and, primarily, to provide the flows necessary for uses by population, industry, irrigation and other uses;
- b) Achieve control of the water through the big storage basins of a complex nature and located predominantly in the mountain zones;
- c) Regularize and dam the rivers and streams in correlation with the effects of lessening the flood waves through the storage basins with a view to providing protection from flooding of locations and agricultural lands;
- d) Carry out protection projects on a priority basis for the cities and locations which have suffered the effects of floods;
- e) Provide protection for water quality by supplying the economic and social units with used water treatment;
- f) Take measures for developing the national system for meteorological and hydrological prognosis.

E. Duties in Transportation and Telecommunications

Article 20. The State Planning Committee, together with the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications and the other plan holders, is responsible for applying party and state policy on the development of transportation and

telecommunications with a view to satisfying the requirements of the national economy and the population under optimum conditions, to using the resources supplied with maximum efficiency, to extending and modernizing the transportation and telecommunications capacities, to increasing incomes and profits from the activity of these branches.

Article 21. In the activity of transportation and telecommunications, the State Planning Committee cooperates with other ministries and central organs and mainly has the following duties:

- a) It analyzes the structural changes which occur in Romania's social-economic development with a view to providing a real dimension and correlating transportation and telecommunications with industrial, agricultural, construction-assembly, goods circulation and foreign trade, seeking to create a unified system of high economic efficiency for the transporting of goods and people by train, car, boat, air;
- b) Together with the plan holders--ministry and centrals--it works out prognosis projects, special programs, draft five-year and annual plans for the branch, department and territory, for transportation and telecommunications;
- c) It works out proposals for the volumes of transportation and telecommunication in domestic and foreign traffic in agreement with the social-economic development of Romania and the beneficiaries' basic requests;
- d) It takes action to have sensible distribution of the transporting of goods and passengers by categories of means of transport; it collaborates in drawing up and carrying out programs to optimize transportation, to introduce highly efficient technologies and to distribute goods by categories of resources reasonably;
- e) Through the plan it provides for intensive utilization of transportation and telecommunications capacities existing and determination of size on the basis of substantiated standards for the new supplies and consumers of fuel and electric energy and it provides for application of a strict savings program in the use of fixed capital in these branches;
- f) It follows up on carrying out the actions to mechanize the loading-unloading of goods, of introducing palletization, packaging and shipping by means of containers for reducing the standing time of the means of transport;
- g) It takes action to introduce technical progress, seeking continual improvement in the technical-operational parameters of the means of transport as well as of the other installations for transportation and telecommunications;
- h) It participates in drawing up programs for optimum use of the labor force, for increasing labor productivity and for sensible management of the salary fund;
- i) It takes action to increase the economic efficiency of transport and telecommunications activity, seeking the continual rise in incomes from domestic and international transport, systematic reduction in specific consumption as well as the share of transport expenses in total material production expenses and the rise in profits in proportion to fixed capital supplied;

j) It makes analyses of the development of transportation and telecommunications compared with other countries and it participates in jobs to coordinate plans with the CEMA member countries;

k) It checks and analyzes the way in which the provisions of the single national plan are carried out in the area of both domestic as well as export-import transportation and telecommunications;

l) It presents proposals of measures to prevent certain negative phenomena in the area of transportation and telecommunications with effects in other branches of the economy as well as to have steady fulfillment of plan provisions.

F. Duties in investments and construction

Article 22. Together with the ministries and other central and local organs, the State Planning Committee is responsible for the unified implementation of party and state policy in the area of investments and construction by the proportional and harmonious growth of industry and the agriculture and of all branches of the national economy, for achieving the optimum balance between all sectors of activity, for rational placement of production forces for the development of all of Romania's zones, for which purpose it provides for:

a) Consistent promotion of socialist industrialization, creation of a modern industrial structure of high economic efficiency, intensive development of agriculture, judicious use of the land stock and superior utilization of all material and labor resources;

b) Permanent development of the base of raw materials, fuels and energy and the recovery and utilization of reusable material resources;

c) Reduction of production costs, particularly material expenses and growth in economic efficiency in all sectors of activity;

d) Broad promotion of technical progress by effective application of the results of scientific and technological research in production, continual rise in the technical level of production, improvement in the quality of products and diversification of them according to the requirements of the national economy; mobilization of all reserves for increasing labor productivity by using the most modern technologies, the redesign of existing technologies, promotion of the newest methods of organization and leadership of production and labor, development of the broad-scale use of automation, robotics, microcomputers and information systems;

e) The permanent growth of exports, broadening of actions of international economic cooperation and rise in their efficiency;

f) Rational placement of production forces on the territory with a view to the balanced development of the counties' economy, use of labor resources and rise in the degree of civilization of all locations;

g) Directing of investment capital on a priority base in the sphere of material production of the economic production sectors, at the same time providing

for the development of housing construction, municipal projects and communal management, the extending and modernization of activities in education, culture, health protection and other social-cultural activities;

h) Permanent development of small industry, using local raw materials and reusable resources on a priority basis.

Article 23. The State Planning Committee seeks for the investment projects to be carried out according to the requirements of Romania's social-cultural development, separately entering in the 5-year and annual plans, on the basis of strict technical-economic substantiation, a solid analysis of the sale of production for domestic needs and for export, providing raw materials, materials, energy, fuels, machinery, equipment, apparatuses and installations from domestic production as well as obtaining high economic efficiency. For this purpose:

a) It works out general projects for the efficiency of investments and fixed capital for the economy as a whole at the level of branches and subbranches;

b) In collaboration with the enterprises, centrals, ministries and other central and local organs, it works out and places for approval the draft 5-year and annual plans for investments on a branch, departmental and territorial basis and by centrals;

c) It works out plan balances on the evolution of the fixed capital within the branches and subbranches of the economy as well as with regard to their degree of use.

Article 24. The State Planning Committee fulfills the following main duties in the activity of working out and finalizing technical-economic investment documents:

a) It follows up on working out of the technical-economic investment documents on schedule with the plan holders;

b) It coordinates the action of giving advice on the technical-economic documents for the investment projects whose order notes are approved by decree and together with the other organs giving advice it works out advice for these investments;

c) With a view to promotion toward approval of the investment projects both of those whose order note is approved by decree and those within the ministries', centrals' and enterprises' competence, it analyzes mainly:

The need and timeliness of them;

Inclusion of the technical-economic indicators in the plan provisions;

Providing of the growth in economic efficiency of the investments;

Providing of the conditions for sale of production both domestic and for export.

Article 25. Together with the Ministry of Industrial Construction, the State Planning Committee is responsible for working out the plan for standardization in construction, seeking that there is broad scale use of standardized designs within the investment projects in industry, agriculture, transportation and other branches of production as well as in residential and social-cultural buildings, designs approved according to the law, ones which would take into account the standardization of technologies and for which standardized materials, elements of construction and installations are used.

Article 26. In collaboration with the National Council for Science and Technology, the State Planning Committee works out research plans in construction for the purpose of obtaining new construction solutions which would use on a broad scale light materials and construction elements obtained from local resources with reduced expenses and minimum consumption of energy and fuels as well as limiting the energy-intensive material use to what is strictly necessary. At the same time, the research plans must provide for improvement in the technologies for execution with a view to increasing labor productivity, increasing the degree of industrialization of construction and changing of the job sites into places for assembly of elements, thus reducing the length of time for carrying out jobs on the sites.

Article 27. Together with the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets, the State Planning Committee is responsible for providing the material base needed to carry out the construction-assembly jobs, fitting into the provisions of the material balances for the economy, and it cooperates with the ministries and research and design institutes to use new materials with superior properties.

Article 28. The State Planning Committee, together with the ministries and other central organs and local organs, is responsible for fulfilling the provisions of the investment plan, for all design activity, for providing equipment from Romania and imported equipment, for organizing construction-assembly activity and the quality of the jobs executed, for putting the investment projects into operation and for achieving the technical-economic indicators, taking measures to do the following:

- a) Carry out jobs by the piece by taking over their execution in the enterprise;
- b) Spread out the material and human resources correlated with the lengths of time aproved for execution;
- c) Concentrate the numbers of workers on a reduced number of job sites, thus insuring the good use of the labor force, equipment and means of transportation;
- d) Spread out the execution of the jobs so that conditions are created for the winter period for the jobs which do not need heat to be carried out;
- e) Provide technological equipment in the order of assembly and correlated with the job timetables;
- f) Organize the assembly of equipment and technological installations so that the formation of stocks above the norm is avoided, involving teams of worker specialists from the suppliers of equipment and units which are beneficiaries of the investments;

g) Provide participation of the suppliers of equipment and builders in carrying out the technological testing;

h) Carry out receipt of the investment jobs in all phases, by which completion of the construction-assembly, normal operation of the equipment and technological installations, fulfillment of all conditions for placing the jobs into operation and fulfillment of the technical-economic indicators approved are proven.

Article 29. For construction-assembly jobs contracted abroad, the State Planning Committee, together with the Ministry of Industrial Construction and other ministries, central and local organs, is responsible for providing the necessary building materials, labor force, building equipment and means of transport on the terms correlated with the provisions of the foreign contracts.

Also, the State Planning Committee together with the Ministry of Industrial Construction and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation seek to contract for the largest possible volume of jobs which would lead to increasing Romanian exports, to carrying out the physical stages in accordance with the duties assumed through contracts, to obtaining the highest possible currency contribution and greater financial-currency efficiency.

Article 30. In the activity of capital repairs, the State Planning Committee mainly fulfills the following duties:

a) It coordinates the activities of preparing, working out and substantiating the five-year-plan and annual-plan drafts for capital repairs, general reviews and modernizations for the economy as a whole; it analyzes the timeliness for including the tasks and goals for repairs and modernizations in the plan so as to provide complete and efficient utilization of machinery, equipment and technological installations, means of transport, buildings and other constructions throughout the length of their normed service;

b) It prepares the draft plan for repairs and modernization of fixed assets, correlated with material, financial and human resources so that the steady completion of the jobs for repairs and modernizations provided in the plan is insured within the schedules planned;

c) Together with the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets and other ministries and central organs, it works out the norms and standards needed for carrying out maintenance, repair and modernization activity of fixed assets under conditions of high efficiency;

d) Through the plan it provides the material-technical base needed for complete fulfillment of the plan tasks for capital repairs and modernizations within the timetables forecast;

e) In collaboration with the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets and with the ministries, centrals, enterprises and other organs with duties in the area of maintenance, repair and modernization of fixed assets, it seeks fulfillment of the tasks adopted through the single national plan for social-economic development within the timetables forecast and periodically, in accordance with the law, it gives information about the progress of the jobs in this sector of activity.

G. Duties in Material-Technical Supply

Article 31. The State Planning Committee, together with the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets, with ministries and other central and local organs, is responsible for the material balance of the single national plan for social-economic development, for providing the material-technical base needed for fulfilling the goals and tasks provided with reduced material consumption and energy consumption, with sensible management of all material resources, including any kinds of reusable ones, with the distribution of these resources by categories of consumption on the basis of technically substantiated consumption standards and with the intensive utilization of fixed assets with maximum efficiency.

Article 32. In working out the plan for material-technical supply, the State Planning Committee, together with the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets, ministries and other central organs, provides:

- a) The sensible determination of size and covering of the need for raw materials, materials, machinery and equipment, spare parts, fuels, electric and thermal energy and packaging on the basis of the consumption and stock standards and norms, of the coefficients for use with technical-economic substantiation; the establishment of appropriate reserves of raw materials and materials;
- b) Superior utilization of raw materials and materials, extending of the use of substitutes;
- c) Providing of the recovery of all reusable material and energy resources and rise in the degree of their utilization;
- d) Obtaining and delivery of products within the timetables agreed upon with the beneficiaries and complete respect for the contract obligations;
- e) Steady flow of material-technical supply under conditions of maintaining the stocks of raw materials and materials at the level provided in the plan and prevention of formation of stocks above the norms.

Article 33. The State Planning Committee cooperates with the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets, ministries and other central and local organs and is responsible for providing the plan's material-technical base, for which purpose it provides:

- a) Superior utilization of the natural resources and reserves existing in the economy in accordance with the requirements of the domestic market and trends of the foreign market and events surrounding them;
- b) Working out of annual, 5-year and long-range programs for the recovery and utilization of reusable material resources;
- c) Balance of the material balances approved together with the single national plan for social-economic development and of the balance of primary energy as well as establishment of solutions to resolve these balances;

- d) Establishment of solutions to balance the scarce materials;
- e) Working out of plan indicator for regulating material consumption included in the single national plan of social-economic development;
- f) Substantiation of the plan tasks on the basis of contracts in the area of the sale of production and material-technical supply;
- g) Full and optimum use of production capacities, of production areas, of machinery and equipment and elimination of bottlenecks.

Article 34. Throughout the execution of the plan of material-technical supply, the State Planning Committee, together with the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets and the other ministries and central organs, has the duty to permanently follow up on the way the substantiated need of consumption for raw materials, materials, equipment and spare parts is covered, taking or proposing measures, according to the case, to maintain the planned balance, for which purpose:

- a) It participates in the analysis on fulfillment of the norms and standards of consumption approved through the single national plan for social-economic development and in establishing measures to have consumption fit into the standardized limits and permanently reduce them;
- b) It initiates the adopting of solutions for the continual growth in degree of recovery and utilization of material and energy resources which are reusable;
- c) It proposes solutions to regulate the stocks of raw materials and materials existing in the economy compared with those in mind when working out the plan, on the basis of periodic analyses;
- d) Periodically it analyzes the way the economic contracts are fulfilled, it participates in establishing measures to eliminate and prevent irregularities in the flow of material-technical supply, as is the case;
- e) It provides for taking measures to redistribute material resources according to priorities in the economy and to introduce them into economic circulation and have superior utilization of existing material reserves.

H. Duties in the Activity of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation

Article 35. The State Planning Committee, together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, other ministries and central organs with foreign trade tasks, is responsible for implementation of party and state policy on the continual growth of the participation of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the international division of labor through the planning of foreign trade development, of international economic and technical-scientific cooperation, through working out of prognoses, special programs, 5-year and annual plans on export, import, commercial balance, balance of foreign payments, efficiency of foreign trade, the activity of collaboration and multilateral and bilateral economic cooperation with other countries, for which purpose it mainly provides:

- a) Working out export proposals correlated with the material balances, the provisions of the production plan and currency contribution tasks in the construction-assembly jobs abroad;
- b) Working out import proposals for covering the material base of production and other requirements by determining the size that is strictly necessary for the currency effort, seeking maximum utilization of domestic resources and assimilation of new products in Romania;
- c) Participating in establishing specialized units for export production;
- d) Working out proposals on the distribution of export and import by methods of payment in correlation with the foreign obligations assumed as well as with the tasks resulting from the long-term agreements and commercial protocols concluded with the socialist countries;
- e) Participating in working out proposals on foreign prices for the export and import plan as well as in establishing rates of return;
- f) Working out proposals on the activity of tourism, transportation and other international services which create contribution of currency;
- g) The currency balance of the plan by working out the balance of foreign payment in conformity with the goals established together with the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank.

Article 36. The State Planning Committee, together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, works out proposals on the main directions for bilateral and multilateral economic collaboration, for development of exchanges of goods, broadening of cooperation and specialization in production between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the other socialist countries and it carries out negotiations to coordinate plans with the CEMA member countries, for which purpose it provides for:

- a) Establishing the main categories of goods by countries in substantiating plan tasks and the currency balance by each country;
- b) Working out proposals on the actions of economic cooperation and specialization in production on the basis of analysis on the efficiency and timeliness of Romania's participation in the particular actions of cooperation;
- c) Working out proposals and viewpoints for the participation in CEMA Committee projects on the collaboration in the area of planning activity and, in particular, referring to the building of production projects, cooperation and specialization in production and collaboration in the area of making forecasts and others.

Article 37. Together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the State Planning Committee analyzes and makes proposals on cooperation and specialization in production with the nonsocialist countries,

particularly regarding the construction-assembly activity abroad, the joint companies of production and sales, the joint commercial and insurance companies and others and it takes measures to have the material-technical and financial base fit into the plan.

Article 38. The State Planning Committee, in order to have steady fulfillment of the plan for foreign trade and international economic cooperation under good conditions, does the following:

- a) Periodically it works out proposals of production programs for export with a view to providing deliveries for foreign contracts concluded and to providing the material-technical base of this production on a priority basis;
- b) Periodically, together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and ministries with export tasks, it analyzes the way that the plan provisions are fulfilled and it establishes the necessary measures for insuring that they are fulfilled;
- c) It analyzes the way that the import plan is fulfilled and, together with the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets, it establishes the priorities necessary for providing the material base of production for export.

Article 39. Together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the State Planning Committee seeks to have continual growth in the efficiency of foreign trade by:

- a) Improving the structure of export with regard to increasing the share of products which utilize raw materials on a high level;
- b) Increasing the currency contribution resulting from the activity of construction-assembly jobs, currency operations, services provided and other operation;
- c) Increasing the currency contribution in the activity of cooperation and joint companies.

Article 40. The State Planning Committee participates in the activity of the government on foreign prices and efficiency of foreign trade, seeking to improve the currency-financial efficiency of foreign trade operations.

I. Duties in Scientific Research and Technical Progress

Article 41. In the area of scientific research and technical progress, the State Planning Committee participates directly in having the National Council for Science and Technology implement party and state policy in the area of science and technology. Toward this goal, in close agreement with the goals and tasks of short-term, medium-term and long-range social-economic development, it organizes and carries out actions on:

- a) Providing correlation of the prognoses for the development of science and technology with the macro-economic prognoses and with the special programs by products and groups of products, by branches and by general problems;

b) Together with the National Council for Science and Technology and with the ministries, establishing the major problems of Romania's social-economic development in particular for providing the base of raw materials and energy resources, the intensive development of agriculture, rise in the technical and quality level of production, extending of automation and substantial growth in labor productivity, reduction in consumption and rise in degree of utilization of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, rise in the quality of life--problems which are to be solved on a priority basis with the contribution of scientific research and technological development;

c) Together with the National Council for Science and Technology, working out the annual and 5-year plans for scientific research, technological development and introduction of technical progress, taking into account the provisions in prognoses and special programs, the priority problems in the economy and the current and long-range tasks for its development, providing integration of the contribution of scientific research and technological development in the economic sections of the single national plan on the basis of the proper specific indicators;

d) Participating in establishing the goals for scientific research, technological development and goals for the introduction of technical progress ahead of the requirements of development and modernization of production and foreseeing solutions for the problems treated at the world level of science and technology and beyond this level;

e) Together with the National Council for Science and Technology, providing the development of the potential for scientific research, technological engineering and design as well as the material base needed to carry out activity in this area in agreement with the requirements for fulfilling the goals and tasks established for them in the 5-year and annual plans.

In collaboration with the National Council for Science and Technology and with the ministries, the State Planning Committee establishes the methods for working out the 5-year and annual plan for scientific research, technological development, the introduction and generalization of technical progress as well as the systematic improvement of it in agreement with the new guidelines, tasks and indicators established. Also, together with the National Council for Science and Technology and with the Central Statistical Directorate, it provides the methods for giving an account of plan fulfillment in the area of scientific research, technological development, introduction and generalization of technical progress.

Article 42. Together with the National Council for Science and Technology and with the ministries and other central organs, the State Planning Committee is responsible for fulfilling the goals and tasks in the plans in the area of scientific research, technological development and the introduction and generalization of technical progress, for which purpose:

a) Monthly it analyzes the stage of achievement of the goals planned, particularly those whose production is to be finalized in the plan year;

- b) It organizes regular actions of checking at the scientific research and technological engineering units and units of design and production;
- c) It participates in drawing up reports on plan fulfillment in the area of scientific research, technological development, introduction and generalization of technical progress and in working out proposals of measures to improve activity in these areas;
- d) It participates in making regular analyses on utilization of the results of scientific research and technological development in production as well as on actions of standardization and in drawing up programs subject to approval in these areas;
- e) Participates in working out programs of measures to improve the processes of assimilating new and modernized products in manufacture and in analyses on fulfillment of the research tasks connected with utilization of raw materials and materials which can be recovered and reused as well as other analyses on plan fulfillment in the area of scientific research, technological development, the introduction and generalization of technical progress in ministries, centrals and economic units.

J. Duties in Training and Advanced Training of the Labor Force

Article 43. Together with the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Ministry of Labor, the economic ministries, centrals, enterprises and all socialist units, the State Planning Committee is responsible for the multilateral training of the cadres needed in all areas of activity in close connection with the requirements of the production of material and spiritual goods, continual improvement in vocational training and the scientific and technical training of workers and rise in the general level of culture and knowledge.

Article 44. Together with the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, other ministries and central organs, the State Planning Committee provides for working out the plan and curriculum for the training and advanced training of the labor force, for which purpose it fulfills the following main duties:

- a) It works out draft special programs for providing the training and advanced training of the labor force for 10-, 5- year and annual periods, by branches of the national economy and territorially, by categories of personnel, by main trades and by profiles of training, having the following components:

Projecting the evolution of the number of total population by sex and age groups;

Projecting the evolution of labor resources in accordance with Romania's social-economic development;

Determining the working population by branches and sectors of activity;

Projecting the number of personnel by categories, levels of training for each branch of the economy, branch of industry and plan holder;

Determining the necessary number to be trained by branches of the economy and subbranches of industry and by categories of personnel, profiles and trades;

Laying out the necessary number to be trained by plan holders and by main trades;

Improving the vocational training by categories of personnel and forms of advanced training;

b) It works out reports to determine the school population by degree of education, forms of training and school years with reference to:

Plan of inclusion in preschool education by counties;

Schooling plan in the first year by degrees of education and forms of training with a view to including the youth in forms of education to correspond to the needs of Romania's social-economic development;

The number of graduates of the first and second step of secondary school and the vocational school by types of units, profiles of training, trades and plan holders;

Balances of graduates by different degrees of education depending on the series of pupils and students graduating in close correlation with the need for future labor force;

School and university network, types of schools and secondary schools and profiles for their training, correlated with the requirements for a qualified labor force;

c) It participates in working out proposals for the structuring and improvement in education in proportion to the requirements for having qualified cadres in the national economy;

d) It participates in working out the plan for recruiting workers for the economy as a whole, by counties and localities;

e) It draws up the annual schooling plan through course of qualification on the job, correlated with the plan for recruitment and with the need for qualified workers;

f) It establishes the need for teaching personnel for all degrees of education by ministries, people's councils and in the branch profile;

g) It participates in improving the curricula and instruction plans, the lists of trades and specialties in order to provide the broad-profile training of pupils and students with a view to adapting easily to the changes occurring in technology, the structure of production and organization of production and labor;

- h) It participates in establishing the number of scholarships and other forms of material aid for pupils and students;
- i) It determines the schooling funds needed to train the workers, by plan holders;
- j) It participates in working out jobs on carrying out the practice of pupils and students and in following up on practical achievement of the integration of instruction with production and research.

Article 45. Throughout execution of the programs for the training and advanced training of the labor force, the State Planning Committee, together with the Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Education and Instruction, ministries and centrals:

- a) Checks on the way the provisions are being carried out in the special programs for training and advanced training of cadres, establishing measures together with the ministries, other central and local organs to achieve all the indicators for training of the labor force;
- b) Makes analyses in counties, at the enterprises and industrial platforms on utilization of the qualified labor force and it establishes measures and solutions for improving activity in this area;
- c) Works out jobs connected with assigning the graduates in production on the basis of analyses made on utilization of existing specialists in the economy; it analyzes the way the graduates are used in the enterprises during their probationary period;
- d) Analyzes and gives advice on the timetables for providing the labor force for new investment projects.

K. Duties in Social-Economic Development by Type of Branch

Together with the coordinating branch ministries and, according to the case, with the coordinating branch councils, the State Planning Committee is responsible for working out the single national plan for economic-social development in the branch which includes the tasks, means for fulfillment by branches, subbranches and activities in conformity with the unified classification by the national economy. Also, the State Planning Committee coordinates or, according to the case, works out prognoses by branches, activities and products as well as special programs comprising specific tasks and means for fulfillment for various priority areas.

Article 47. In planning the economic-social development in the branch, the State Planning Committee, together with the central coordinating organs, provides for:

- a) Continual modernization of the structure of the national economy according to main goals of its future development, to requirements for technical progress, to growth in the participation of various branches, subbranches and activities in the international division of labor;

- b) Intensification of the process of concentration, specialization and cooperation among branches, subbranches and, within them, with a view to increasing efficiency in utilizing production capacities, material and financial resources and the labor force;
- c) Correlation of ties between branches and subbranches with a view to the harmonious, balanced and efficient development of each branch and subbranch separately and the national economy as a whole;
- d) Extending of the use of new and modernized technologies which would provide consumption of raw materials, materials and energy at a lower level as well as reduced labor force, as low costs as possible under conditions of producing products with high technical-economic parameters in all units within the branch, regardless of their subordination;
- e) Extending of the standardization of products and technologies in the branch with a view to increasing labor productivity and efficiently in the use of production capacities and the material and energy resources allocated within the branch.

Article 48. In carrying out the plan at the branch level, the State Planning Committee analyzes periodically, with the coordinating ministries and coordinating councils by branches with the participation of other ministries, central organs or executive committees of the county and Bucharest Municipality people's councils, as is the case, establishing measures in close cooperation with the centrals of that type the measures to have complete fulfillment of the plan indicators and to provide the future development of the particular branch or subbranch.

L. Duties in Territorial Social-Economic Development

Article 49. Together with the ministries, other central organs and executive committees of the county and Bucharest Municipality people's councils, the State Planning Committee works out projects to substantiate and draw up prognoses and guideline levels of territorial social-economic development and the special programs for:

Resources of raw materials, materials, energy resources and fuels which the administrative-territorial units have available as well as superior utilization of them;

Evolution of demographic phenomena on the territory and their labor resources and the efficient and reasonable utilization of them;

Social-economic development and planning of the territory, of counties, municipalities, cities and communes through full use of the existing production capacities, their development and modernization and reasonable distribution of the production forces;

Broadening of cooperation among the economic organizations and intensification of relations among the administrative-territorial units with a view to fulfilling the production plans, to improving the quality of products, to increasing labor productivity, reducing production costs; increasing the efficiency of all economic activity;

Development of small industry within all forms of ownership and providing of services for the population , diversification of production and improvement in product quality;

The development and reasonable, efficient utilization of energy resources--the classic and nonconventional ones--with a view to increasing Romania's energy potential and satisfying the production and consumption needs of the economic, social-cultural units and of the population in all zones and locations in Romania;

The development of agriculture, complete and reasonable use of the land and agricultural stock, increase in agricultural production--vegetable and animal--in all forms of ownership;

The equipping and technical supplying of agriculture and the reasonable, efficient utilization of the labor force in agriculture;

Development of the transportation and telecommunications network in a unified concept with a view to having the fullest possible satisfying of the transport needs of the economy and the population in all zones and administrative-territorial units of Romania;

Evolution of the network of urban and rural locations with regard to population, municipal-supplies, homes and other social-cultural endowments, and of services in the counties, municipalities, cities and communes in agreement with the development of industry and other branches of the national economy;

Evolution of the balance of the population's monetary incomes and expenses with the goal of determining the population's purchasing assets and covering them with goods, products and services;

Rational and efficient utilization of water resources to satisfy the needs of industry, agriculture and the population as well as for utilization of the water's hydroelectric energy potential;

Protection of the environment, preservation of the ecological balance and prevention of water, air, ground and underground pollution;

Utilization of the tourist zones, geothermal and mineral water sources with the purpose of satisfying the needs of industry, agriculture and the population.

Article 50. The State Planning Committee, in collaboration with the ministries, other central organs, with industrial centrals and with executive committees of the county and Bucharest Municipality people's councils, works out draft five-year and annual plans for the social-economic development of communes, cities, municipalities and counties and Bucharest Municipality and it provides correlation of the territorial plan proposals with the possibilities and needs of the national economy; in working out the plan tasks the State Planning Committee mainly seeks the following:

a) Reasonable distribution of production forces on the territory and the harmonious and balanced social and economic development of all zones and counties of Romania;

- b) Rise in the economic potential of all administrative-territorial units: the development of industry, modernization of agriculture, development of transportation and telecommunications and of trade, services and social-cultural activities with a view to having a continual rise in the population's material and spiritual standard of living;
- c) Identification of all resources which the economies of the counties, municipalities, cities and communes have at their disposal and drawing of them into economic circulation and optimum use of existing production capacities and the increase and modernization of these capacities;
- d) Development of small and handicrafts industry through utilization of all local resources of raw materials and materials and labor force in order to produce the additional products needed to have more complete satisfying of the population's requirements as well as additional production for export;
- e) Reasonable placement of investment projects with a view to the rise in their efficiency and the harmonious and balanced development of all Romania's counties and localities;
- f) Rise in labor productivity through better organization of labor and production, complete fulfillment of tasks for the introduction of technical progress, assimilation of new products, mechanization and automation of projects and rational use and providing of the labor force on schedule;
- g) Providing of the supply with goods and services for the population.

In each county and in Bucharest Municipality the work to work out the territorial plan is provided by the territorial planning commissions under the direct guidance of the State Planning Committee and the executive committee of the particular people's council.

Article 51. The State Planning Committee regularly checks on the way the provisions of the territorial plan for social-economic development are being carried out and those of the special approved programs. For this purpose it collaborates with the ministries, other central organs as well as with the executive committees of the county and Bucharest Municipality people's councils and the territorial planning commissions, taking or proposing necessary measures to have complete fulfillment of the tasks established, whatever the case may be.

Through specialized personnel in the territorial planning commissions from the counties and Bucharest Municipality, it carries out regular and continuous checks on fulfillment of industrial production, particularly that for export, as well as of utilization of production capacities.

Article 52. The State Planning Committee collaborates with the executive committees of the county and Bucharest Municipality people's councils, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry and with the Ministry of Domestic Trade in working out the draft program for territorial self-leadership and self-supply.

Also, together with the Ministry of Domestic Trade and with the other ministries and central organs with trade activity and with the executive committees of the

county and Bucharest Municipality people's councils, the State Planning Committee provides for appropriate and timely distribution of the stocks of goods by counties, establishing measures to replace certain food products for which resources are limited with others for which reserves exist.

M. Duties in Raising the Standard of Living and Continuing To Raise Life Quality

Article 53. Together with the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Finance and other central organs, the State Planning Committee is responsible for implementing party and state policy on providing the population's standard of living and continuing to raise the quality of life in agreement with the development of material production, growth in social labor productivity and national income. Toward this goal, the State Planning Committee works out annual and long-range programs on the tasks, resources and goals in the area of insuring the population's standard of living and raising the quality of life, in accordance with the basic guidelines established for social-economic development.

Article 54. The State Planning Committee is responsible for establishing and substantiating the following goals through the annual and 5-year plan.

- a) Providing the population's incomes in accordance with the rise in the national income and with respect for the principle of distribution according to the quantity, quality and social importance of the work and the principles of socialist equity;
- b) Raising the worker personnel's real salaries and the peasants' real incomes in close correlation with the growth in labor productivity;
- c) Raising the number of jobs to correspond to the development of material production and services and other activities;
- d) Providing the material resources for social-cultural actions, funds for pensions, scholarships, state child allocations, health protection activities and activities to improve medical assistance, development of the material base for culture and sports, labor protection and organization of free time and other similar actions;
- e) Establishing the volume of sales of goods and services in agreement with the population's incomes in quantities and varieties of goods which correspond to the consumers' requests; extending and modernizing the commercial network and that of the service units;
- f) Developing housing construction, municipal projects and communal management projects as well as joint transport;
- g) Improving work and rest conditions and tourism activity;
- h) Carrying out actions to improve environmental protection and improvement.

Article 55. In following up on fulfillment of tasks for the standard of living and rise in the quality of life, the State Planning Committee, together with other central and local organs, is required to provide:

- a) Following up on the way in which the economic units which produce consumer goods deliver the stock of goods for the population, in accordance with the economic contracts concluded;
- b) Taking measures to increase and diversify the production of food goods, industrial goods, household products and other goods requested by the population as well as to permanently raise product quality;
- c) Checking on the way in which the sensible distribution of the commercial network and stock of goods are distributed on the territory and reasonably using commercial areas;
- d) Following up on the service units' duties toward the population in developing and diversifying the range of services and improving their quality, in accordance with the population's requests, and using existing capacities and raising the quality level of services.

Together with the State Prices Committee, the State Planning Committee is to provide appropriate stability and strictly checked evolution of prices so that their indicators fit into the planned limits.

N. Duties in Financial, Monetary and Pricing Activity

Article 56. Together with the Ministry of Finance, banks, other ministries and central organs, the State Planning Committee is responsible for the material, financial, monetary and currency balance of the economy, both in working out as well as in executing the plan.

Article 57. In the area of planning financial, monetary and credit activity, the State Planning Committee fulfills the following main duties:

- a) It collaborates with the Ministry of Finance in working out centralized financial plans of the national annual and 5-year plan;
- b) Together with the Ministry of Finance, the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania and other banks, it works out the balance of incomes and monetary expenses of the population;
- c) It collaborates with the Ministry of Finance and the banks in working out quarterly credit and cash plans;
- d) It collaborates in working out the methodological standards on the basis of and with a view to executing legal provisions in the financial planning, execution of the state budget and accounting recordkeeping of the socialist units;
- e) Together with the Ministry of Finance, the Central Statistical Directorate, the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets, banks and other concerned central organs, it works out the organization of the calculation and recordkeeping of the national wealth.

Article 58. In executing the financial plans, the State Planning Committee is responsible for carrying out the following main duties:

- a) Together with the Ministry of Finances, Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and control of Management of Fixed Assets, the Central Statistical Directorate, the banks, ministries and other centrals, it regularly analyzes the results of activity for the economy as a whole on the basis of accounting balances by branches and sectors of activity and it takes or proposes measures to improve the economic-financial situation of the socialist units, as the case may be;
- b) It participates in establishing measures to increase the role of economic-financial levers in providing for the self-management of the socialist units, to establish a strict savings program, to increase economic efficiency at the level of each unit and product, to increase profitability and profits and to strengthen the national currency;
- c) It collaborates with the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania and other banks in organizing and coordinating monetary circulation and activity on crediting in close agreement with the requirements of development of the national economy;
- d) Together with the Ministry of Finance and banks, it follows up on and analyzes phenomena and trends in the area of monetary circulation and credit in the process of plan fulfillment, taking action to provide for the normal evolution of monetary circulation and credits;
- e) Together with the Ministry of Finance and other central and local organs, it draws up studies and proposals on improving the financial-monetary system.

Article 59. The State Planning Committee, together with the State Prices Committee, insures the unified implementation of party and state policy in the area of prices and tariffs, for which purpose:

- a) Periodically it analyzes the evolution of all categories of prices and it presents proposals, in collaboration with the State Prices Committee and the Ministry of Finance, to improve the prices system to correspond to the requirement of social-economic development and the need to increase the role of price in the economy;
- b) In collaboration with the ministries and other central organs as well as with local organs, it works out draft plans on the evolution of prices and tariffs for products and particularly important services for the national economy and the population's standard of living.
- c) Together with the State Prices Committee, the Ministry of Finance and other central organs, it follows up on insuring the stability of prices and tariffs, and their fitting strictly into the limits provided in the plan;
- d) In accordance with the law it gives advice on price and tariff proposals;
- e) It participates in actions to follow up on and check the way in which price and tariff policy is being applied in the economy and actions to periodically provide information on trends being demonstrated in this area;

f) Under conditions of the law it participates in working out standards in the area of prices and tariffs as well as standards for calculation;

g) It collaborates with the State Prices committee and the Central Statistical Directorate in improving planning methods and to follow up on prices.

0. Duties in State Reserves

Article 60. The State Planning Committee, through the General Directorate of State Reserves is responsible for fulfilling the party and state directives and decisions in the area of state reserves of industrial products, for which purpose:

a) It insures the accumulation of industrial products to effectively and efficiently satisfy the exceptional needs of the national economy and the population in the state reserves as well as needs of national defense;

b) It draws up proposals on the lists, levels, minimum stocks, annual and five-year plans and long-range plans to establish state reserves of industrial products;

c) Annually it establishes the variety structure of products approved by the lists to be introduced in the state serves by consulting ministries and other concerned central organs;

d) It plans and coordinates the availability of products in special subordinate units, it guides and checks on the activity of storage and preservation and it establishes the annual program for refreshing them;

e) It analyzes and gives advice on the proposals of ministries and other central organs of state administration made through draft decrees on removing from the state reserves of stocks, either on loan or once and for all, quantities of industrial products and it takes measures to carry out the loans approved and it follows up on their being repaid within the schedules established;

f) It insures the integrity and preservation of quality characteristics of state reserves of industrial products and, with the agreement of the production and consumption ministries, it establishes the conditions and schedules for preserving products;

g) It issues instructions and technical standards for required storage of state reserves of industrial products kept both in special units under it as well as in units under the ministries;

h) It proposes the construction of storage capacities in accordance with the growth rate of state reserves of industrial products and the reasonable use of the storage capacities existing;

i) It collaborates with the country's institutes for research and technological engineering with a view to establishing long-term storage conditions and conditions for preserving the state reserves of industrial products.

Tasks of establishing, storing and preserving state reserves of industrial products stored in its own areas as well as those kept in areas of units under other central organs are carried out through the General Directorate of State Reserves.

P. Other Duties

Article 61. The State Planning Committee insures application of party and state policy on personnel and educational problems in the planning area, for which purpose:

- a) It works out unified criteria for selecting, training and promoting cadres in the planning area;
- b) It establishes the annual and future need for personnel for planning activity in all sectors of activity;
- c) It provides for implementation of measures on establishing and training reserves of cadres for leadership personnel in the planning area;
- d) It takes measures to improve the vocational training and check on knowledge of the personnel, on knowledge of laws, decrees and other normative acts;
- e) It follows up on having its own personnel respect legal standards and job duties and on strengthening of order and discipline.

Article 62. The State Planning Committee presents draft normative acts and other acts provided by law to the Council of Ministers and it gives advice on draft normative acts of another nature worked out by ministries and other central organs which concern its area of activity.

Article 63. In fulfilling its duties, the State Planning Committee has the right to request from any socialist organization data, information, studies and other materials on working out plan proposals and plan implementation.

With a view to increasing the efficiency of planning activity, the State Planning Committee insures extending the use of automated data processing in this area, documentary information, publishing of specialty publications and works.

Chapter III Organization and Operation

Article 64. The State Planning Committee is headed by a leadership council which decides on general problems of the committee's activity; the collective leadership of operations activity of the committee and providing for the leadership council's fulfillment of decisions are carried out through its executive bureau.

The leadership council is comprised of:

- a) President, first vice president-minister state secretary, minister state secretary, vice presidents and state secretaries of the State Planning Committee;
- b) Representatives of the leadership of the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of Management of Fixed Assets, State Prices Committee, banks, the National Council for Science and Technology, Central Statistical Directorate;
- c) Directors from the State Planning Committee apparatus and leaderships of subordinate units;

d) A delegate of the trade unions appointed by the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania.

The leadership council of the State Planning Committee and its executive bureau, organs of a deliberative nature, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on Leadership of Ministries and Other Central Organs of State Administration on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Leadership.

The decisions of the leadership council and of the executive bureau, on the basis of and in execution of the law, are required for all socialist units regardless of subordination.

Article 65. The State Planning Committee has in its leadership a president, a first vice president-minister state secretary and one minister state secretary, who are members of the government; eight vice president of whom one is the general director of the General Directorate of State Reserves; and two state secretaries.

The first vice president-minister state secretary, the minister state secretary, the vice presidents and state secretaries are named by presidential decree and their duties are established by the leadership council of the State Planning committee.

Article 66. The president of the State Planning Committee informs the leadership council of the main problems solved in the period between meetings.

Article 67. The president represents the State Planning Committee in relations with other organs and organizations as well as in international relations.

Article 68. The leadership of the State Planning Committee organizes joint analyses with the leaders of the ministries, other organs, executive committees of the county and Bucharest Municipality people's councils as well as centrals of the problems of fulfilling plan tasks and other tasks in the social-economic development of the sectors and areas for which they are responsible.

The State Planning Committee, through its own representatives appointed by its leadership, also participates in meetings of the leadership council in ministries, other central organs or the executive committees of the county and Bucharest Municipality people's councils and in meetings of the territorial planning commissions, at which they analyze and discuss particularly important problems for fulfilling the plan tasks.

Article 69. The State Planning Committee has the following organizational structure:

- a) The directorate for generalizing the social-economic development plan;
- b) The directorate for material base of the plan and transportation;
- c) The directorate of production;
- d) The directorate for international economic cooperation and foreign trade;

- e) The directorate for finances, costs, prices and economic efficiency;
- f) The directorate for the organization of labor and standard of living;
- g) The directorate for education, scientific research, cadre training, culture and art;
- h) Directorate for social-economic development of the territory;
- i) The directorate for investments, construction, construction materials and industrialization of wood;
- j) The directorate for extraction and energy industry;
- k) The directorate for metallurgical industry and machine construction;
- l) The directorate for chemical and light industry;
- m) The directorate for agriculture and food industry;
- n) The special directorate;
- o) The secretariat-administrative directorate;
- p) The general directorate of State Reserves.

Article 70. The organizational structure by departments of labor and the maximum number of positions in the apparatus of the State Planning Committee and the General Directorate of State Reserves are as provided in Appendices 1 and 2.*

Article 71. The General Directorate of State Reserves is the budget unit with legal personality and acts as plan holder and main credit coordinator, having separate lists of the indicators through the single national plan of social-economic development and its own budget of incomes and expenses.

The General Directorate of State Reserves is headed by a leadership council, which decides on general problems regarding its activity; the collective leadership of operations activity of the general directorate and insuring that the decisions of the leadership council are fulfilled are carried out through its executive bureau.

The leadership council of the General Directorate of State Reserves and its executive bureau, organs of a deliberative nature, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on Leadership of Ministries and Other Central Organs of State Administration on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Leadership.

The technical-economic council, a working organ in the collective leadership organs of the general directorate, is organized and operates within the General Directorate of state Reserves, in accordance with Decree 78/1973.

* The appendices are being sent to the institutes concerned.

Special units operate under the General Directorate of State Reserves to establish, store, maintain and refreshen industrial products which are state reserves as well as to administer the state reserves of industrial products stored in the areas of units under other central organs.

The special units are budget units with a legal personality, acting as tertiary credit chief accountants.

Article 72. The directorates and other planning departments in ministries, other central organs and those in the centrals also are subordinate to the State Planning Committee with regard to planning activity, control and follow-ups of plan execution.

The appointment and release of the general directors, deputy general directors, directors and deputy directors of the general directorates and planning directors from ministries and departments are made by order of the ministry or head of the particular department with the agreement of the president of the State Planning Committee.

Article 73. In order to solve special problems connected with fulfilling plan tasks on some industrial platforms and big plants, particularly those with production for export, the president of the State Planning Committee is able to empower specialists from the production directorate, from general directorates and branch directorates in the State Planning Committee, who would follow up on and check the flow of production for a certain period, from the contracting, technological preparation, start into production, providing of the supply and of the labor force, technical and quality level to production of the products and their forwarding for export and for Romania.

Article 74. The territorial planning commission is subordinate to the State Planning Committee and the executive committee of the county and Bucharest Municipality people's council, respectively. The commission is responsible for solving all problems rising on the territory in working out and executing the plan, using all the resources it has available, and it is to address the State Planning Committee directly or other organs for problems which surpass the possibilities of the county, for the purpose of solving them efficiently.

Article 75. In order to have efficient solution to problems rising in the leadership through the activity plan of each county, the heads of the territorial statistical units, financial-banking units and labor and social protection problems are also under the presidents of the territorial planning commissions for problems in the activity of planning and following up on plan execution.

Article 76. The unified and permanent coordination of the territorial planning commission, of the export commission, of other commissions and county organs under the ministries is to be provided by the secretary for economic problems of the county party committee and the president of the territorial planning commission.

Article 77. A department under the leadership of the president of the territorial commission operates in the commissions. One of the specialists from the department also is to fulfill the duties of secretary of the territorial planning commission.

The main duty of this department, as the permanent working organ of the territorial planning commission, is checking on plan execution by the county units, solution of the problems arising in carrying out production, particularly for export, utilization of production capacities. The specialists from the particular department are to have permanent ties with the production directorate and the specialty directorates in the State Planning Committee and are to participate directly in actions to start the plan off, to provide the material base and check on plan execution. The number of people from these departments is established differentially by counties, depending on the complexity of economic activity in each county so that there should not be more than an average of five people per county for Romania as a whole. The salaries of these specialists are to be paid by the State Planning Committee at the level established by the Law on Salaries for Work for Jobs of General Inspectors and Chief Inspectors.

Article 78. The State Planning Committee has the Computer Central and the Institute for Planning and Prognosis under it.

Article 79. The duties, standards for operation and organizational structure of the units of the State Planning Committee are established by the leadership council in accordance with legal standards.

Chapter IV Final Provisions

Article 80. The provisions of Decree 367/1980 on Measures for Reasonable Use of Personnel in the Socialist Units, whose applicability was prolonged by Decree 476/1983, do not apply to positions within the State Planning Committee apparatus, positions from which worker personnel from other units are to be transferred with a view to completing the number of personnel within the State Planning Committee apparatus, as well as positions from other units to which worker personnel from the central apparatus of the State Planning Committee are to be transferred.

Article 81. Appendices 1 and 2 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 82. Decree 738/1969 on the Organization and Operation of the State Planning Committee, which became Law 76/1969, with later amendments, is cancelled.

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ROMANIA

'SIMPLIFIED, UTOPIAN' VIEWS OF COMMUNISM REJECTED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19,10 Oct 84 pp 34-37, 48

[Article by university professor Dr Ion Tudosescu: "The Concept of Progress and the Meanings of Contemporary History"]

[Text] None of the concepts of social philosophy has been and is subjected to more theoretical and ideological controversies than, perhaps, the concept of progress. Created by the ideologues of the revolutionary bourgeoisie at the dawn of the modern era and taken and enriched at a qualitatively superior level by the representatives of scientific socialism on the basis of substantiating the materialist-dialectic explanation of social affairs - at that time specifying its meanings and defining it from a new perspective, showing the factors which bring about practical fulfillment and the criteria through which its objectivity can be evaluated in the dynamics of social affairs - this concept has had and continues to have a special principled and operational value in the drawing up of the strategies for development under the conditions of the contemporary revolutionary processes and in the substantiation of the special programs of the building of socialism and communism.

In the non-Marxist social-political literature, the determination of the crises processes on the economic, social-human and ecological levels, the phenomena of profound spiritual and moral crisis which affects the values of a system founded on exploitation and oppression, and the disclosure of acute contradictions and social tensions which are directly related to the structure of a society divided into antagonistic classes have led the new discussion of the legitimacy of progress and, as such, of the opportunity to use the concept of progress in many of the futuristic stages. At this time, there is discussion not only of the use of the concept as such, but also of the theoretical consistency or pragmatic value of the development strategies in the developed capitalist countries and the "third world" nations which, in one way or another, resort to economic, sociological and philosophical explanations containing the idea of progress, despite the fact that the meanings of this concept are frequently understood in very different ways.

Within the framework of this literature, we are seeing a phenomenon of a recrudescence of historical pessimism, of a failure to believe in the abilities of the popular masses and the advanced social forces to master the economic and social processes, presenting defeatist forecasting models which - from the "zero growth" strategy to the strategy of passive adaptation to certain involuntary trends of the contemporary world - come out in favor of certain "fatalist" solutions for the

problems of the future of mankind. In such an interpretation, the future appears unforeseeable and inaccessible, and mankind by way of science could at the most uncover and decipher with doubtful certainty the future horizons of contemporary times, but would not be able to intervene in guiding the objective processes and would not be historic agents of the dynamics of social affairs, not even under the conditions of technical-scientific revolution and the economic and social changes that are being provoked in an ever more accentuated manner by the overall contemporary revolutionary processes.

In opposition to these types of futuristic "solutions," dialectic and historic materialism and Marxist social thought overall is preserving historic optimism with a great capacity to explain and foresee, with the concept of progress having a role of the greatest importance in this direction.

In this context, the intensification of the political-ideological activities of the advanced forces for the affirmation of a scientific, revolutionary concept about social development and progress and for the orientation of the broad popular masses in the struggle dedicated to fulfilling their legitimate aspirations for freedom and equality, social rights and human achievement constitute a reality and, at the same time, an imperative requirement of the contemporary epoch. Such an ideology of the certainty of the future - the only one in the contemporary ideological picture in which, under the conditions of the deepening of the capitalist crisis, old theories are once again brought to light which are capable of demobilizing the masses and blocking their struggle for a more just world - is dialectic and historic materialism.

In the light of this revolutionary ideology, creatively applied to the conditions of our country, the Romanian Communist Party has outlined in its program documents - especially in those drawn up since the Ninth Congress under the leadership of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu - the main directions for building the new society and for developing Romania along the coordinates for the multilateral, material and spiritual progress of the country and for socialist and communist civilization. In the Draft Directive of the 13th Party Congress - on the basis of a thorough analysis of the current status of our country and of establishing future objectives and tasks - we clearly state the idea that Romania's economic-social development in the perspective of the year 2000 will be achieved on the basis of the revolutionary and scientific concept of the Party Program regarding the means of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing towards communism.

Meanings of the Concept of Progress

One of the most appropriate perspectives from which the concept of progress can be defined is, in our opinion, the dialectics of moving from the real to the possible, of actually carrying out that which is currently considered merely a possibility, a move where the world of the possible is always richer in bringing things about than in the world of the real, especially in the direction of carrying out the process of evolving from uniqueness to plurality. With the statement that in the area of the concept of progress, from the spread of variety of possibilities for evolution only those possibilities are selected which are expressed as a move from the old to the new (to the authentic new corresponding to needs and not to the appearance of new things).

The correlation of the idea of progress with the idea of human renewal, however, brings into discussion the problem of criteria and systems of reference in a relationship where the openings towards the new horizons of the possible actually mean renewing processes. Taking as one field of expression of progress the attainment of certain higher levels in the process of carrying out the human condition, progress could be conceived as an expression of expanding the horizons of the possible through human action governed by cognitive bases and always axiologically and teleologically motivated according to the area of fundamental (individual and social) interests, interests which, for their part, are constantly undergoing change and renewal.

Actually, man is permanently expanding his ability to identify new problems which require his solution and to resolve them in a practical manner, working directly in the direction of expanding and selecting the areas of possibility according to his socially (axiologically filtered) validated requirements. It is, however, to be understood that actions that are subjectively motivated cannot make an abstraction of the objective determinism of social affairs. The actions stemming from value motivations do not exclude, but rather presuppose actions stemming from knowledge, with selection in the world of the possible not being efficient (for man) if it does not agree with the objective laws of historical determinism. For that reason, although it stems from human action that has been axiologically and teleologically motivated, progress (achievements in the area of accomplishments in the human condition) is the natural result and it is a partially objective process, with the possibility of people optimizing their living conditions always being dependent upon their ability to understand the objective laws and the complex field of aleatory conditions which them, in other words, being constructed upon a foundation of a solid nomological motivation.

Certainly, there are many other interpretations which are circulating in contemporary (including those of a Marxist orientation) philosophical and sociological literature regarding the contents of the connotation of the term progress. To the degree in which they deal with the problem of progress beyond the human references, they are, in our opinion, unacceptable or, in any case, inoperative for the current strategy of progress. If we view progress from the perspective of moving from the real to the possible in the process of achieving the human condition, then the concept of progress is applicable only to characterize the meaning of social affairs. Nature devolves (is transformed), but it has no meaning. The significance of nature is an attribute of man and is always attained from the perspective of certain social relations, on the basis of which the people's interests are structured which signify and, as a result, confer upon nature values in accordance with the dynamics of those interests. For that reason, the concept of progress does not, in our opinion, function in characterizing the objective world in general, but rather only in deciphering the particular qualities of the dialectics of social affairs, a field where determinism is produced from the interaction of objective factors with subjective ones.

The meaning of social changes is determined by the range of human needs in each stage of the historic process and is fixed within a certain table of values. The dialectics (the processual nature) of human interests - which are

structured according to the changes that take place at the level of relationships between people from the perspective of their position with regards to the means of production and, on the basis of this, the manner in which they participate in the distribution of the social product - determine the dialectics (the processual nature) of needs and, through this, the dialectics (the processual nature) of the social horizons of society. In accordance with these horizons (or better put, through their intervention), people fix their span of aspirations and ideals for achievement (individually and collectively) - which they permanently relate to these horizons (to the structure of the values tables of the epoch in which they live) - and to the degree in which (on the basis of social evaluations which stem from the convergence of their actions and aspirations with the meanings of the table of values) they attain levels of achievement which have been suggested and acquire the feeling of achievement. As a result, directly proportional to the degree of responsibility that is provoked by the awareness of achievement and the fulfillment of the personality, living from necessity appears ever more as living in freedom.

But, because value horizons are permanently in a process of change human aspirations are openly structured and, as a result, the needs of man for achievement never disappear, with man always having a horizon for living conditions and fulfillment that must be conquered. Precisely on this point of the permanent struggle of man to acquire new living conditions do we also see the hope of achievement, upon which human life acquires meaning, and society becomes a framework to objectively bring this about. In relation to the meanings which people - on the basis of their hopes for achievement - give to society, each new stage of development of social affairs is evaluated as a stage of progress and the struggle for the acquisition of new stages of progress takes on a legitimate status, constituting their fundamental means of being and expressing themselves as humans.

From the correlation of the terms interest, needs, aspiration and hope for human achievement we see created the context of meanings through which one can introduce into historical explanation (historical-social) the term of meaning and, on the basis of this, the term of progress. With the statement that the term meaning covers, in our opinion, the relationship from the subject towards the object (from man to society) and the term progress from the object towards the subject (from society to man). An axiological explanation is associated with the meaning and a nomological dimension is deciphered from progress, one that can be established in accordance with certain objective laws and as an effect of the action of a group of factors. Furthermore, people cannot absolutely subjectively fix certain of their horizons of achievement, but merely in accordance with the objective trends of progress which they can decipher (cognitively reveal) but cannot eliminate or avoid. It should be stressed that in the world of values as well, through which people come to give meaning to the history of their social affairs, although it is created as a result of human creative activity it behaves as an area of objectivity and it returns to its producers with the power of an objective force.

Thus, the opportunity of people to knowingly relate to the course of progress takes place, we believe, only within the limits of their abilities to accelerate or slow the rates of progress (which signifies the conscious acquisition or loss

of chances to attain new levels of social-human achievement) and to carefully correlate their needs with the trends of progress. In this way, although it is objective the progress of society is not given to people so as to be offered as a framework for achievement, but is itself created through their spontaneous or conscious actions from need or from freedom. In other words, the meaning of the history of social affairs, although it is objective, is structured in relation to the desires of the people as a result of actions animated by certain value horizons. In creating such a value world spontaneously or consciously, but out of necessity, people actually make their own points for establishing the meaning of their own history and, as such, the trends of the objective progress of social affairs. Therefore, there can be no talk of progress outside of man and people, just as there can be no social and human value in human actions that run counter to progress and in disagreement with the meaning of history.

The concept of progress is thus proved to be, in our opinion, a basic concept not just for sociological and futurological explanations. At the same time, it also belongs to the explanatory world of axiology and teleology, just as it is a fundamental concept of the theory of social determinism and is equally involved in the area of concerns about the theory of social actions and praxiology.

Current Uncertainties and Certainties of Progress

Once the relationships are established between the concepts of progress and meaning (of history), the problem that is acutely presented currently is the problem of the meaning of contemporary history. Which future horizons of the human condition are currently foreseen? What actually does this mean: what are the current trends of progress?

We are not proposing to present polemics of a fatalistic or voluntaristic interpretation in dealing with the future of mankind, having scientistic-positivistic solutions or skeptical-relativistic solutions which, in the later case, are posited similarly on pessimistic-historical positions and not on those unjustified by optimism which feel that in our era progress - being determined by objective laws - can be achieved by itself, automatically and regardless of the positions of the advanced social forces towards the destiny of history.

Undoubtedly, contemporary history has a meaning. It is true, one difficult to decipher and even more difficult to be objective about in a world in which the impact of man upon nature and society presents - despite all the great progress that has been made in this regard - many unknowns and, as a result, effects that are difficult to characterize and even more difficult to foresee.

In the field of modeling the future, Marxist thought, clearly taking its reserves stemming from any futurological explanation, has proven to be the most fruitful. In elaborating its futurological model, dialectic and historic materialism proceeds both critically and constructively: it reveals the current constrictions on the horizon of progress which convergence on the capitalist

social relations in the contemporary world and it proposes the future openings in the area of the horizons of progress which can propel the changes that are required today in the structure and manner of organizing these relations.

Actually, the lack of perspective of those societies based on private property and on exploitation and oppression is seen even more. The improvement of the manner of production and capitalist consumption has led to the establishment of a consumerist lifestyle lacking social and historical responsibility and dominated by a unilateral nature and narrowness in all the essential aspects which structure the system of relationships between the individual and society. The phenomena of general crisis of contemporary capitalism are sufficient proof in this regard. For that reason, a perspective in the direction of the potential for achieving higher levels in the human condition by way of this manner of structuring and organizing social affairs is extremely difficult to foresee. On the contrary, under the conditions of the capitalist system one can observe an ever more accentuated alteration of the human condition and phenomena of strong alienation in relationships between the individual and society.

Can there be an equation, however, of such a narrowness of contemporary capitalist society with a general narrowness on a worldwide scale for any type of perspective for progress? Is the setting of capitalism identical to the setting of human civilization? Have all humanist and humanizing value horizons disappeared? Without a doubt, the answer to such questions cannot make an abstraction of the historical realities of our epoch, of great social and national, revolutionary transformations that have been produced in the recent decades, and of the growing role of the forces of social progress in determining the course of events and the meaning of contemporary economic and social development. The forces of socialism, the revolutionary, progressive and antiimperialist movements and the national liberation movements - forces which militate against war and for peace and disarmament, independence, cooperation and social progress - are exercising an ever more powerful influence upon the development of contemporary society. Historical reality thus attests that human society has a meaning and that there are sufficient value horizons which will create such meaning.

The meaning of contemporary history can no longer, however, be carried out within frameworks that are objectively too narrow and destructive of hope and human achievement, as they are in contemporary capitalist societies. In the current structure of the scientific-technical revolution, the Western societies can no longer progress under conditions where they preserve relationships of exploitation and oppression and maintain private ownership (and the type of consumption that corresponds to this), with the entire procession of morbid consequences which accompany it. This is so because such consequences radically affect not only the balance of relationships between the individual and society, but also the balance of the relationship between man and nature, which places a question mark on any strategy to realize the human condition and any attempt to define the meaning of the history of social affairs.

On the other hand, the capitalist type of social integration of the individual today no longer urges him towards a process for the attainment of his human

condition since, under the current conditions of concentration of private-capitalist ownership on the national and international levels, human achievement determined by the social integration of the individual is no longer accepted as such by any social category (not even the social groups having this ownership) and this is because the chaos, confusion and inability to master economic processes and avoid the negative effects at the societal level of scientific-technical progress - involved to an ever greater degree in the structure and dynamics of these processes - also create even for these groups, not just the mass of producers, an ever greater accentuation of aspects of human corruption and alienation. They have arrived at a total and generalized break between the social integration of the individual and his fulfillment in society and only the revolutionary transformation of production and social relations and the disestablishment of exploitation and oppression can eliminate it, regardless of the specific historical forms through which this change will be carried out.

Contemporary capitalism's lack of perspective is also acknowledged by many non-Marxist ideologists - from those of a traditional rationalist orientation to those who are neo-Marxists. But, only Marxist ideology foresees a real solution and a meaning to history, with the future conceived in this direction being - as is known - a socialist and communist society (where the social integration through the work and responsibility of the individual, under conditions of certain organizational structures having a profoundly democratic nature, provides the individual full human fulfillment and conscious living in a world of equality and freedom, free from alienation and depersonalization.

Thus, the communist ideal of life offers man's aspirations for fulfillment the necessary conditions for fulfillment in accordance with the value horizons specific to these conditions, ones that are authentically humanizing. In the process of building socialism and communism, the progress of society has as its objective not technical-material development in itself or economic growth by itself, but rather the fulfillment of the human condition by way of a powerful technical-material development and broad economic growth, not the achievement (limited and unilateral) of certain elites according to the principle of private ownership and the adequate pay for it, but rather the achievement (unlimited and multilateral) of all the members of society according to the principle of collective ownership and payment according to work done, with this latter principle also being consciously exercised from a high social and historical responsibility.

Thus, we feel that the problem we now face is not whether contemporary history has meaning and, respectively, whether one can still speak of progress, but one regarding the mechanism of breaking with the old, capitalist society with a narrow meaning and the problem of building a society with an open meaning and, as a result, of new fields for human achievement and socialist and communist society. On the basis of this great break with the past, it is necessary to build certain new social relations and certain new relations between classes, between national communities and between states and to state certain new principles of domestic and international order - of an economic, political, legal, moral

and ideological nature - on the basis of which we will be able to really offer all the members of society, all nations and people the conditions for human fulfillment.

The Dialectics of Progress and Horizons of Human Fulfillment in Socialism

Socialism has offered the path for certain structural changes in the direction of the fulfillment of contemporary man's condition. Certainly, the new system is not lacking certain shortcomings and certain internal contradictions which require resolution. In this regard, it is also necessary to state that not all socialist countries started at the same level of development of their technical-material base, with many of them being in the past poorly developed countries with a backwards industry and agriculture. Also added to this are certain shortcomings belonging to the economic growth and social and human efforts in the first stages of the building of socialism. At the same time, one cannot omit the complex international conditions within which the work of being a new system is currently taking place and the consequences of the world economic crisis, as well as the fact that the socialist countries are currently building their own future in the context of the existence of certain strong interdependencies with the capitalist societies, which have not exhausted their capacity to conserve and still push forward objective structures and modes of organizing social affairs specific to their own principles.

On the other hand, as is known, for a time dogmatic and subjective means of interpreting the process of building the new society have been circulating. In addition to this, there is also the fact that for decades on end schematic, simplistic and even utopian pictures about communism (social relations were frequently abstractly presented and salary was not rigorously influenced by the principle of work and by the scientific organization of the entire social process), not sufficiently understanding that only a high level of economic and social development and social awareness - which require knowledge, competence, responsibility and a high exigency itself - can influence the practical establishment of certain new types of existential relationships and open the path for the firm statement of communist principles of work, salary and life. The implementation of these principles was sometimes conceived as an inevitable historical-natural process without stressing the truth that the new mode of social existence and awareness requires a radical qualitative change and the carrying out of one of the deepest revolutionary processes known to mankind to date.

In our opinion, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the process of building a new society has a complex history, with socialism itself being a mode of structuring and organizing social affairs where there are different contradictions, with some of them being able, under certain conditions, to evolve in accordance with the manner of action of subjective factors towards antagonistic forms of expression. The concept about the essence of socialism cannot, however, be limited to the failure to recognize the existence of contradictions and to the finding that production and social relations specific to this society do not automatically eliminate the expression of

certain aspects of the phenomenon of alienation (certainly, we are talking about another type of alienation and one which has other means of expression than under capitalism). Such dysfunctional aspects have been and are invoked by some non-Marxist ideologists or by anticommunist propaganda in order to distort not only the overall humanizing capacity of socialism, but also the principled humanist and humanizing essence of the new society, so as to accredit opinions that the loss of capitalism would mean the end of any type of humanist civilization and of any value system that could give substantiation of meaning to human history and, as such, there would be no object to any discussion regarding progress in the contemporary world.

The response given to such distortions of the essence of socialism and communism lies in the ever more powerful affirmation of the materialist-dialectical and historical concept whereby the fulfillment of the condition of man of the current epoch - conceived as a multilaterally developed personality - requires the permanent improvement of socialist production and social relations and the organizational structures which stem from these relations and which they actively serve in the direction of gradually eliminating certain impeding consequences. These consequences may stem from certain relationships and organizational structures which may still be objectively or subjectively preserved in one area or another, in relationship to the future requirements for the creation of the new man, the builder and full beneficiary of the process of building a socialist society and advancing towards communism.

Thus, the problem of fulfilling the human condition and the strategy of releasing social and human energies which propel the meanings of contemporary history first of all require revolutionary, radical changes in the production and social relationships which flow from the typology of the manner of capitalist production, profoundly alienated and anti-human relationships that are contrary to any process of human fulfillment under the conditions of our epoch. At the same time, the revolutionary concept about the world deals with the current problem of progress with a lucid awareness of the fact that life requires a continuing improvement of the production and social relationships created by the new system so that it will offer a constantly broader framework for bringing out the potential of the new model of human fulfillment, a model which calls for the generalization of certain relationships of full equality that are ensured through the harmonious development of all areas of economic and social activities and through the multilateral development of the new man's personality.

In the view of our party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the advancement of our country towards communism is influenced by the conclusion of the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society (for its part, this historical stage of progress is preceded by a series of stages in building socialism which have gradually been succeeded after the victory of the national and social, antifascist and anti-imperialist liberation revolution), by the attainment of a higher level of economic and technical-material development as determined by the generalized application of the

advances of the scientific-technical revolution in all fields of activity, and by the continued deepening of the revolutionary processes which mark the contemporary history of Romanian socialist society.

In this regard, as was revealed in the Draft Directive of the 13th Congress, the fulfillment of the fundamental objectives of economic-social development in the 1986-1990 five year plan and, in the future, until the year 2000 will ensure raising Romania to ever higher levels of progress and prosperity and strengthening the economic-social force of our society. In the center of all the people's efforts will be the consolidation of all the achievements obtained in building the new system, the strengthening of Romania's position as a medium-developed nation and its transition to a new, higher stage, that of a developed socialist country. Thus, this will be an ever more powerful statement of the superiority of the new social system which ensures the full use of national wealth in the service of all of society and the fulfillment of the most noble ideals of social justice and equality. At the Solemn Session dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the revolutionary act of 23 August 1944, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the following: "It can be stated that in the year 2000 Romania will be a multilaterally developed socialist country, both from the point of view of industry, agriculture, education, science and culture, and of the general level of life and civilization of the people. On this basis, the necessary material conditions will be created which will ensure the transition to the fulfillment and ever broader expression of communist principles of salary, work and life in all fields of activity in our society."

The examination of the future is not, certainly, easy to achieve. It requires a broad effort of theoretical and operational analysis where futurological research and the theory on the organization and management of social affairs occupy a significant place. To this, we add the requirement of a broad axiological and praxiological substantiation, a solid normative structure and, not in the least, a very careful teleological creation, for its part founded on a psychological and nomological bases. For that reason, in our opinion, the social and human sciences (firmly based by way of the insertion of certain modern scientific research methods), in addition to organizational and operational disciplines, play an important role in the current era in the direction of broadly carrying out a forward-looking model drawn up on the revolutionary, materialistic-dialectic and historical concept.

Certainly, this model - with its cognitive and axiological imperfections, which all forward-looking and predictive models inevitably have - is necessarily done over along the way of its practical course in each country that is building the new system according to the concrete-historical conditions, specific values and ideals for human fulfillment of each respective country. There are different traditions for social integration and lifestyles and means which influence - in a particular way in each case - the process of human change and the overall path of progress.

8724
CSO: 2700/82

ROMANIA

DECREE ON MINISTRY OF LIGHT INDUSTRY AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 86, 26 Nov 84 p 1

[Council of State Decree Amending Decree No 657/1969 on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Light Industry]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article I--Decree No 657/1969 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of Light Industry, which became Law No 52/1969, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I No 103 of 28 August, with subsequent modifications, is amended as follows:

1. Article 16 will have the following content:

"Article 16--The Ministry of Light Industry is headed by a minister, a first-deputy minister, four deputy ministers and a state secretary.

The first-deputy minister, the deputy ministers and the state secretary are appointed by presidential decree and their functions are determined by the leadership council of the ministry."

2. Article 19 will have the following content:

"Article 19--The Ministry of Light Industry has the following organizational structure:

- a) Directorate for planning and development, cooperation and monitoring of production;
- b) Directorate for technology
- c) Directorate for investments, machinery and energy;
- d) Directorate for finance and prices;
- e) Directorate for export-import;
- f) Directorate for supply and sales;
- g) Directorate for organization, control, personnel, education, remuneration;
- h) Juridical-arbitration office;
- i) Secretariat-administrative department.

The organizational structure according to work departments and the maximum number of positions in the apparatus of the ministry are stipulated in annex No 1 *) and annex No 2 *) which are an integral part of the present decree."

*(Footnote: The annexes are being transmitted to the institutions concerned).

Article II--The personnel transferred in the interest of the job or assigned to positions with lower levels of compensation as well as the personnel who are without jobs as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree benefit from the rights stipulated in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on the establishment of unitary structural norms for the economic units.

Article III--The provisions of Decree No 367/1980 on measures for the rational utilization of personnel in socialist units, whose application was extended by Decree No 476/1983, are not applied, in 1984, to positions in the apparatus of the ministry and positions in other units to which personnel who become available a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree will be transferred.

Article IV--The provisions of Article 2 of Decree No 409/1976 on the establishment of measures as a result of the improvement of the organizational structure of the ministries and other central organs will continue to be applied.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic Romania

Bucharest, 5 November 1984

No 394

CSO: 2700/99

ROMANIA

BRITISH BOOK ON TRANSYLVANIA HAILED

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian Nov-Dec 84
pp 528-530

[Article by Teodor Popescu: "Andrew Mackenzie's History of Transylvania"]

[Text] The "History of Transylvania" by Andrew Mackenzie--a well-known British publicist who also wrote "Dracula Country and Romanian Journey"--is a work that presents Transylvania's history correctly and objectively, and that proves beyond the possibility of doubt that Transylvania is an ancient Romanian land.

On the basis of ample Romanian, Hungarian, German, English, Italian, and other documentations, the author, well versed in Romanian realities (he intends to bring out a Short History of Romania with the publishing house of Robert Hale Ltd. of London) dedicated his work to the 65th anniversary of the Alba Iulia Rally at which Transylvania joined old Romania.

The first chapter, "Transylvania in Earlier Years," succinctly presents the ancient history of that province, and shows that the Romanian people were born of the mutual assimilation of local Geto-Dacians and Romans settled in Dacia. After a concise history of the Daco-Roman wars, the author brings irrefutable arguments in support of the continuity of the Romanian people, after Aurelius' withdrawal, in the Carpathian-Danubian area, throughout the first millenium of our era, despite the migrators' invasions that the Romanians had to fight.

The second chapter, "Transylvania Was a Separate Political Entity when the Magyars Arrived in Europe," uses mostly Hungarian sources such as "The Anonymous Notary of Bela the IV" and the Hungarian historian Eckhart Ferenc to show that upon their arrival in Panonia, the Magyars found several Romanian states in Transylvania, such as the state of Gelu, Menumerut, Glad, and Gyla, who put up a strong opposition to the invaders, so that Magyar domination was established only gradually and laboriously in this area. Moreover, the invaders were compelled to preserve various Romanian political institutions, such as Transylvania's vojvodship and autonomy within the Magyar kingdom. Similarly, the author correctly maintains that the Hungarians failed in their attempt to force catholicism on the orthodox Romanians, and were forced to use Szeklers and German settlers to impose their domination on this Romanian

province. In the same chapter the author argues that, from an economic viewpoint, Transylvania always remained close to the areas outside the Carpathians and to Black Sea commerce, while in the 15-17th centuries its political relations gravitated toward Wallachia and Moldavia, and not toward Hungary which, in the 16th century became a Turkish pashalik.

The third chapter, "Magyar Rule in Transylvania in the 14-16th Centuries" presents the anti-Romanian policy conducted by the Magyar nobility which culminated in the "Union trio nationum" (1437) that became a "centuries-long tool of social and national oppression" of the Romanians. Transylvania remained autonomous when the Magyar kingdom became a pashalik, and subsequently became itself a Turkish vassal with a political status similar to that of the other two Romanian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia.

One of the particularly strong points of the book is the objective analysis made in Chapter IV--"The First Union of Transylvania with Wallachia and Moldavia in 1600 and the Consequences of the Establishment of the Hapsburg Domination"--of our first union, in which the author demonstrates that, throughout the Middle Ages, both European humanists and statesmen such as Henri de la Turenne and Ekaterina II suggested reestablishing the old Dacian kingdom on the basis of the Romanians' unity and of the unitary character of the three principalities. As the author states: "But it is clear that a Dacian kingdom--as a buffer state between the three great empires--was envisaged also because a common language, Romanian, would have facilitated its governance and administration." (p.38).

No less valuable are chapters V, VI, and VII entitled: "The Population of Transylvania in the Middle Ages and in Modern Times," "The Fight and Resistance of the Transylvanian Romanians to the Policies of the Magyar Nobility and of the Hapsburg Regime in the 16th and 18th Centuries," and "The Period Between Supplex Libellus Valachorum and the Revolution of 1848," in which, using Hungarian and German sources, the author proves beyond doubt that as of the earliest times the Romanians had been in the majority in that part of the world, and that it was the gross violation of their ancestral rights that determined them to go to arms for freedom, social justice, and national unity.

In this context, the author stresses the attempts of the Magyars to forcibly convert the Romanians to catholicism; the revolt of Horea, Closca, and Crisan which brought the idea of Dacia's reestablishment to the attention of Europe; and the Supplex movement, which marked the foundation of the national ideology that was to become crystalized in the demands of the revolution of 1848, one of the objectives of which had been to accomplish national-statal unity and to eliminate the social and national oppression exercised by the Magyar nobility.

Chapter VIII, "The Policy of Magyarization," lists the policy of forcible Mabyarization conducted by Hungarian governments during the dualism ((presumably the Austro-Hungarian monarchy)), the main aspects of which were the discrimination of the Romanians and preventing their economic and cultural contacts with the Romanian state created in 1859. Despite this policy, the Romanian movement of national liberation found reliable support for its resistance struggle in the independent Romanian state.

Chapter IX, "The Union of Transylvania with Romania Becomes a Reality," constitutes a convincing expose of the domestic and international conditions amid which the union of Transylvania and Romania took place. The author stresses that between 1918 and 1940 and until the Treaty of Vienna, Transylvania went through a period of prosperity within the Romanian state, while the Magyar and German minorities enjoyed extensive democratic rights and were in a position to lead their own cultural life.

Equally interesting is Chapter X, "Magyar Revisionism Between the Two World Wars and the Vienna Diktat," which unmasks the profoundly reactionary character of Magyar revisionism, which was based on a fascist ideology. The Vienna Diktat, which tore Northern Transylvania away from Romania, was the nefarious doing of fascist European forces. In the occupied territory the Horthyst authorities perpetrated unspeakable crimes against the Romanian population, while 150,000 Jews were deported.

Chapters XI and XII, "The Liberation of North-Western Transylvania" and "The Policy on Nationalities in Romania" emphasize the political conditions under which Northern Transylvania returned to the authority of the Romanian government, the military effort made by Romania to crush fascism, and the just national policy promoted by the RCP in the past 40 years, which has created propitious development conditions for each coinhabiting nationality from both a cultural and an economic viewpoint.

Thus, in this work, too, Andrew Mackenzie proves himself a profound and honest researcher of Romanian history and realities. Although free of a polemic character, the book constitutes an unequivocal retort to the denigrators of the history of the Romanian people, denigrators who, in one form or another, seek to turn back the wheel of history. Based on a comprehensive and up-to-date demonstration, this work can be viewed as an important achievement for a foreign publicist, and as a valuable contribution to the understanding of Romanian history and civilization abroad.

12782

CSO: 2700/86

ROMANIA

SEMINAR ON 1919-1920 PEACE TREATIES HELD IN STRASBURG

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian Nov-Dec 84
pp 507-508

[Article by Dan Berindei: "The Seminar 'The Consequences of the 1919-20 Peace Treaties in Central and South-East Europe'"]

[Text] An important colloquium, organized by the Center of Central and South-East European Research and the International Association of Contemporary European History was held at the University Palace of Strasbourg on 24-26 May. Devoted to an analysis of the consequences of the 1919-20 peace treaties, the colloquium was attended by over 70 historians of 11 countries (England, Austria, Canada, France, Yugoslavia, Poland, FRG, Romania, the United States, Hungary, and the USSR) and heard 34 papers. The French historians, who were the hosts, presented nine papers, and the Polish and Romanian historians seven each; the other representatives presented between one and three reports for each country. The discussions proceeded in two commissions, the first dealing with the general topic of reactions to the treaties, and the second with the theme of national images.

The subjects discussed were varied, and touched on the fate of the Versailles borders, the 1919-20 treaties and the question of security in central and south-east Europe, European public opinion and the peace conference, the communists in the Slavic countries and the Versailles peace, the Treaty of Trianon and Romania, the Treaty of Trainon and the Hungarian political parties, regional alliances and confederation projects, new central European prospects after the peace treaties, the issue of minorities in Czechoslovakia and Poland, the image of south-east European countries in western Europe, the relations between Austria and Yugoslavia and those between France and Poland, the military problems of recreated Poland and of Czechoslovakia, and the French military misssions in central and south-east Europe in the decade following the peace treaties. The various papers were followed by extensive discussions that dealt with a broad spectrum of related topics; thus, the seminar permitted a thorough discussion of European problems, and in particular of problems in central and south-east Europe in the period between the two world wars, in which the emphasis was naturally placed on the first decade following World War I.

The discussions focused on foreign and international relations, security, and revisionism, on the political reorganization of the countries in the area

under examination, and on the establishment of their new economic and cultural structures. The discussions were often lively, but maintained throughout a scientific language and a general tone of constructive confrontation of ideas. Although some of the viewpoints expressed were considered by most of the participants as incompatible with historical realities, the general tenor of the debates was dominated by views rooted in historical realities. Interestingly, certain participants, who had initially been wavering in their positions, finally rallied to the views of the majority, which won authority by their serious scientific contents.

The Romanian delegation was particularly active at the seminar. All the Romanian delegates presented papers. Two of them dealt with general topics: "The Danubian Confederation Plan" (Viorica Moisuc), and "Regional Alliances and the European Alliance" (Eliza Campus); two others dealt with Romania's attitude toward the peace treaties: "The Trianon Treaty and Romania" (Cristian Popisteanu) and "Romanian Public Opinion and the Paris Peace Conference (Ion Calafeteanu), while three papers were devoted to Romania's international position between the wars: "The Characteristics of Romanian Diplomacy in the 1920's (N. Fotino), "Romania Between Security and Disarmament--Objective Conditioning in the 1930's and 1940's (I. Talpes) and to its postbellic reorganization: "Aspects of the Reorganization of the Romanian State after World War I' (Dan Berindei). Through their papers and through their active participation in the discussions, the Romanian historians helped familiarize the other participants with complex Romanian issues. They emphasized the objective causality of the historical processes that occurred in 1918, and in particular the fact that the peace treaties merely sanctioned already existing realities; similarly, they stressed the profoundly democratic character of the establishment of the Romanian state within its national borders. Romania of the interwars period was presented as an active European factor endowed with the structures of a perfectly viable political, economic, and cultural body and playing an important role in the international arena, especially in the central and south-east parts of Europe.

The Romanian delegates rejected the theories of a so-called historical vacuum created by the collapse and dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, showing that the succeeding national states were perfectly capable of taking over from the old empire. The reorganization that ensued in the area under discussion was judged to be perfectly justified, as well as viable, particularly in view of the fact that the resulting borders were, in the last analysis, the creation of nations such as those of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and of course, Romania, and not borders imposed by the big powers. Similarly, they rejected the attempt of certain revisionist historians to create the impression that some states had been "victimized" or dealt with unjustly in the area, stressing the contrast between the conditions offered to the nationalities by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and those the nationalities enjoyed in the states that ensued, which did away with the forced eradication of national traits that had prevailed particularly in the south-eastern areas of the Hapsburg empire. And finally, the Romanian delegates refuted with relative ease certain unsupported "theories" seeking to attribute an exaggerated role to fascist currents in the period immediately following the end of World War I; American historian Nicholas Nagy-Talavera contributed an important clarification along this line.

Romanian historian Nicolae Fotino was appointed to chair one of the commissions on the last day of the seminar. The Strasbourg meeting afforded the Romanian participants an opportunity to establish and tighten scientific relations with foreign colleagues, and generally provided a propitious framework for highlighting certain incontestable historical realities and some of Romania's inalienable rights.

12782

CSO: 2700/86

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

RELEASE OF MINISTRY OFFICIALS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioan Florea is dismissed [se distituie] from his position as minister of the wood industry and construction materials. Comrade Gheorghe Constantinescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the wood industry and construction materials and appointed minister of the wood industry and construction materials. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 86, 26 Nov 84 p 2]

DISMISSAL OF FIRST DEPUTY MINISTER--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Nicolescu is dismissed [se destituie] from his position as first deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 86, 26 Nov 84 p 2]

RELEASE OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Lt Gen Nicolae Plesita is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the interior. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 86, 26 Nov 84 p 2]

CSO: 2700/98

YUGOSLAVIA

GENERAL BUNCIC INTERVIEWED ON CONDITIONS IN ARMED FORCES

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian No 27, 1984 pp 4-5

[Interview with Maj Gen Simeon Buncic, secretary of LCY Committee Presidium in the Yugoslav People's Army, by Momcilo Petrovic; date, place not specified]

[Text] Everything began in '41. Tito ordered: "Create an army!" And it was created. We conversed on the eve of the anniversary of that historical date [22 December] with Maj Gen Simeon Buncic concerning the origin and development of the Yugoslav People's Army. We also talked about exports of weapons, alcoholism and suicides among enlisted men, and officers who steal gasoline. We also wanted to talk about the social crisis, but he said: "There is none!"

[Question] Everything began with the historic formation in Rudo 43 years ago. Where is the Yugoslav People's Army today?

[Answer] Given the division of the world into blocs, international tensions, and the constant rise of new hotbeds of conflict, our peoples and ethnic groups see in our armed forces the guarantee of their freedom, a guarantee that our revolution will be preserved and will continue on Tito's path. In our concept of nationwide defense, the armed forces are only one factor. The ability of the armed forces to preserve the freedom and independence of all our peoples, and all our ethnic groups, depends on the entire society's capability to resist all forms of aggression. The armed forces are charged with taking and breaking the first blow in the event of aggression, allowing other social structures to go into action, and continuing to defend every bit of our soil in conjunction with all those mobilized structures. Our armed forces are capable of accomplishing this task.

There are two vital factors in this capability. The first and most important is the moral/political situation in the armed forces, their unity and the readiness of people to defend this country. The second is technical and specialized outfitting.

[Question] If you were to rank all armies of the world from 1 to 10, how would the Yugoslav People's Army rate?

[Answer] I would give the highest rating to our armed forces. We ready ourselves to defend our own country, and the readiness of our troops to give their all in defense of their hearths, families, and sociopolitical system certainly exceeds the readiness of an aggressor. Nor do we lag behind the armies of neighboring countries in weaponry, and we make efforts that such will continue to be the case. We have all kinds of weapons. We lack atomic weapons, but we do not need them.

No Problems--But There are Slowdowns

[Question] In these 40 years in which we have been living in freedom, our society has evolved very dynamically, has experienced and is experiencing turbulent changes, has survived many turning points. How are they reflected in the Yugoslav People's Army?

[Answer] Our armed forces, as I was saying, are profoundly of the people, firmly linked with the people in terms of social essence. All accomplishments in the development of society and in the build-up of socialism, all slowdowns in the course of the revolution, periods during which we developed more slowly--all these are accomplishments and slowdowns of the armed forces as well, understandably so. Because of specific features of military life, however, special organizational arrangements, internal relationships, training of servicemen, political work with troops, the all-Yugoslav nature of the manpower pool and the distribution of military units, some problems of society or the LCY do not affect the armed forces in the most drastic way, e.g., isolation behind the boundaries of republics or autonomous provinces. In any case, the firm resolve of the members of the Yugoslav armed forces to persevere on the Titoist path, their faithfulness to the fundamental commitments of the revolution, constitute a contribution to faster and easier solutions of problems in society as a whole.

[Question] Our society's situation today is described even at the highest levels as more than a crisis. How do the armed forces see that?

[Answer] I do not agree with you at all that our society is in crisis. I read in the "Long-term Economic Stabilization Program" that our economy is in crisis. I have encountered this idea in certain scholarly works as well. In journalism and the press, however, the term "general crisis" is used. I have attended certain scholarly discussions at which the point was made that we have never officially stated--in the Assembly or the Presidency, for example--that we are in a crisis, other than what I have mentioned as stated in the long-term economic stabilization program. We say that, in the present stage of socialist construction, we have run into difficulties, that complicated economic conditions have arisen and are producing other economic problems, that we have come up against worldwide economic problems, and that all of this has an effect on our further development. Accordingly, I ask you to interpret my response in this context, taking note of the fact that we have actually stated in the long-term economic stabilization program that the economic difficulties involved are not small. You know, it is questionable whether we possess scholarly indicators that would help us to determine if there is an ideological,

political, social, or general crisis. The fact is that our social and political institutions, although sometimes functioning poorly, are not in crisis.

[Question] I hope that you will agree that our current politics are burdened with an escalation of nationalism. The public has been informed in detail about excesses at draftees' farewell parties, about the signing of Ustasa and Chetnik songs. It is hard to believe that these young people change their convictions fundamentally when they enter a garrison for the first time. Are there nationalistic outbursts in the ranks of servicemen?

Generals According to Proportional Representation

[Answer] We have never asserted that there is no nationalism in the armed forces, but we are categorical in the assertion that nationalism does not multiply itself in the armed forces. Quite clearly, young people who enter the armed forces imbued with nationalism do not change when they put on a military cap.

[Question] Does nationalism exist among the regulars?

[Answer] At times when nationalism burgeons in society as a whole, individual outbursts occur among certain professional military men. When we appraise the political situation in the armed forces, however, we do not take these instances into consideration, because--I stress the point--these are only individual outbursts.

This does not mean that we do not fight energetically against all varieties of nationalism. It is no accident that every one of our collectives represents Yugoslavia in miniature. We contribute in this way to overcoming numerous prejudices and misconceptions, to better mutual understanding. Believe me, when a young person wakes every morning to a young person of another ethnic group, when they eat together, work together, then backward concepts containing an admixture of nationalism began to fade away. By ideological work, too, we are doing much to overcome this problem. At the same time, we severely punish every outburst of this kind. It is one thing for a soldier to go into town, get drunk and fight, but another thing to speak out from nationalistic positions. We are very strict on this.

[Question] The principle of achieving ethnic equality is also evident in the effort to achieve equitable representation for all ethnic groups among command personnel. Does this affect the quality of such personnel, especially in the highest ranks?

[Answer] Our commitments are clear. The Yugoslav People's Army is Yugoslav not only by virtue of its Yugoslav function but also because all our peoples and ethnic groups are in it. The principle that you have mentioned is enshrined in our Constitution. Accordingly, we have taken the stand that an officer outstanding in all respects has priority in promotion. Given identical qualities, however, preference goes to the officer whose ethnic

group is less represented among command personnel. Therefore, achieving ethnic equality has no effect on the quality of command personnel or combat readiness in general. In the event of aggression, say, we mobilize a division of Slovenes and name as commander a Croat, for example, or a Serb, or a Macedonian. That would not make sense!

[Question] Is this equality achieved to a satisfactory extent?

[Answer] No. We make an effort to provide an equitable flow into the military schools from all regions, but we do not always succeed.

[Question] Which ethnic groups are least represented?

[Answer] We have too few Slovenes, Croats. There are not enough Albanians, either.

[Question] And which ethnic groups are most represented?

[Answer] There are slightly more Serbs than average, and Macedonians. I am not referring to the highest ranks but to the overall situation. Entry into military schools is highest from the same regions.

[Question] What do you think about the initiatives coming from Slovenia, essentially demanding the introduction of self-management into the Yugoslav People's Army and shifting more responsibility for the nation's defense to territorial defense units?

The Military Is Tightening Its Belt

[Answer] I do not deal with such matters, but quite by chance I know of these initiatives and how they came about. A youth conference on "Young People and Defense" was in preparation, and one working group of five or six persons drafted the material containing the demands that you have mentioned. The comrades from Slovenia's political leadership reacted when they saw what was involved, and the material was not considered at the conference. Some other groups of young people asked for the same things, but their demands were not supported by party organizations, delegates' assemblies, or leadership entities. Really, it is not right for young people to set down and tell us what relations should be in the army, what to do in training, how to do this and how to do that. This is the same as if I were to say, "Plant this variety of corn, don't plant that one." We need to have confidence in our system, which has divided jurisdiction and responsibility, and in military personnel. We have to believe that they know their job, better than five young people who may never have served in the army. As a matter of principle, I think that this is out of line.

[Question] Demands are often heard to introduce the languages of our peoples and ethnic groups in the Yugoslav People's Army.

[Answer] I am not aware that such official demands exist. I know of some unofficial ones from before, but I do not know today whether someone in a

periodical or some coffeehouse has asked for the languages of all ethnic groups to be introduced. However, all those who assert and think that only one language is used in the armed forces are making a mistake. Only the language of command is Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian. There are a thousand reasons why such is the case. However, any other language may be freely used in all other varieties of communication in the military. For example, we subscribe to periodicals in all the languages of our peoples and ethnic groups for our units, we print brochures for military personnel in all our languages, cultural life the same, communication among military personnel likewise. And there are no problems in this context. But it is essential for a single command language to exist. Yet we have even gone a step further: By law, if a territorial defense unit is ethnically homogeneous, the language of that ethnic group may be used as the language of command.

[Question] In what way is the Yugoslav People's Army involved in the struggle for economic stabilization?

[Answer] The economic crisis in which our society currently finds itself affects the armed forces, and how. In recent years, budgetary financing for the military has declined. Market trends, reflected in the exchange rate on the dinar, diminish those funds still further. The living standard of military personnel has declined. To neutralize these unfavorable effects to a certain extent, we are making enormous efforts to use the available funds more efficiently. We are paying more attention to increasing the productivity of the armament industry, and we have been compelled to renounce certain research projects and production programs that are not of immediate significance to our combat readiness. We have also been compelled to delay the construction of certain facilities related to the living standard of military personnel.

"We Could Export More"

[Question] What role do weapon sales play in financing the activity of the Yugoslav People's Army?

[Answer] Yugoslavia manufactures its most important weapons. We buy a few weapons and pieces of equipment abroad. However, I want to stress this point: "The Yugoslav People's Army does not owe a single dollar abroad, not does our country's overall indebtedness abroad have any connection with the armed forces. To be sure, we owe something to the USSR, but these are clearing transactions. The funds obtained from exports of weapons are 3 times what we spend on purchases.

[Question] Who are the biggest buyers of our weapons?

[Answer] The nonaligned countries.

[Question] Does the U.S. Army buy anything from us?

[Answer] I don't know for sure. We trade with friendly nonaligned countries.

[Question] Do you know of an instance in which two nonaligned countries, friendly to us but in conflict with each other, both use weapons manufactured in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] Such a case is unknown to me. We keep an eye out for that.

[Question] To what extent is our army guided in arms exports by friendly motivations and by economic interests?

[Answer] Both are of equal significance. We would never sell weapons to a country known to be aggressive. However, I do not consider that an important topic of conversation. The most important point, I want to stress, is that funds obtained from sales of weapons are 3 times what we spend on purchases of weapons. If our capacities were larger, we could increase exports and help society. We are taking appropriate steps to this end.

[Question] We hear more and more lately about military farming operations. What are the results of their operations?

[Answer] Confronted with a reduction in funding, we were compelled to intensify work on our farming operations, which now play a significant role in supplying food for our units. At the same time, they constitute our specific contribution to the struggle for stabilization. According to the latest analyses, earnings represent 5 percent of our budgetary funding.

[Question] Are some units capable of providing for all food needs from their own farming operations?

[Answer] Such is not yet the case, but we have very ambitious plans. Some units achieve exceptional effects in production, even producing surpluses for other units.

[Question] Is consideration being given to expanding facilities to the point of selling surpluses to civilians?

[Answer] For the moment, there is no possibility for something along those lines.

[Question] Those products would be exceptionally competitive on the market, since the labor force on the farming operations is almost free. In that case, this question ought to be answered: How morally justified is it to use the work of soldiers if we know that there is no way for them to share in the distribution of earnings?

[Answer] You see, work on the farming operations is no burden on the soldiers. We have machinery, which makes the job much easier.

[Question] But such work would be paid for in civilian life.

[Answer] True. But work on the farming operations is voluntary. We do not say, "Line up the company and pick corn"; although there are individual

cases of that happening. Youth organizations organize the work. The soldiers, at their own meeting, divide among themselves the various obligations and parcels of land, and then they compete to do the best job. That is voluntary work. Just as in some garrisons, we have instances of every soldier tending a flower or bouquet, and then the surroundings are much more pleasant, without the ugly grayness of concrete. The work of civilian personnel is paid for, as is seasonal labor. The funds that soldiers save by their work are used to improve the living standard of the soldiers themselves. We buy television sets for units that achieve the best results, and the like.

However, we will never be able to compete with civilian firms, because we see to it that work on farming operations is only peripheral, whereas our basic task is known: training for the defense of the country, from which nothing must distract us. We will not turn garrisons into factories with unpaid workers.

[Question] Do you have data on thefts on social property in the Yugoslav People's Army?

[Answer] We alertly follow everything that happens in the armed forces, we know everything that happens. It would be extremely unpleasant if we did not know about something.

Yes, Gasoline is Stolen

The living standard of all Yugoslav citizens, including military personnel, has fallen in recent years. However, certain habits acquired in richer times have remained: riding in cars, weekend cottages, expensive trips. Some people, trying to provide for themselves and their families the life to which they have become accustomed, set their sights on social property.

Military personnel on active duty receive their pay via accounts at the postal savings bank. We have noticed lately that some of our comrades are writing overdrafts, spending more than they have. We said to them: "If you cannot prevent yourself from spending more than you have, then we will take away your checkbook and give you cash." And so we did. However, those are individual instances; they are not such as to cause concern or on such a scale that would permit us to consider them a "political question."

[Question] Are there more drastic cases?

[Answer] No. I know of a couple of cases, isolated cases, of stealing gasoline. These were lower-ranking regulars who had bought cars, they did not have gasoline, so they went to a military truck and took some. But that is so rare and insignificant a thing that we do not take it into consideration at all in making analyses of the moral/political situation and combat readiness.

[Question] How interested are young people in active duty in the Yugoslav People's Army?

[Answer] To say that interest is unsatisfactory is difficult. Perhaps this answer is better: There are many fewer cadets in the military academies from urban areas than from the undeveloped regions. The reasons for this phenomenon should be sought in the realm of sociopsychology.

[Question] What is the incidence of departure from active duty in the Yugoslav People's Army?

[Answer] The largest number of military cadets leave training after the first year. There are several reasons: inability to adapt to new living and working conditions, failure to meet mental and physical standards, inability to master the enormous amount of study matter. Commissioned and noncommissioned officers leave for a variety of reasons, but there are few of them, every 50th or 100th. I was on one commission that analyzed such requests, I remember one well. He wrote, "My father has a butcher shop, the business has expanded, I will live better at his side than in the army," and so on. Some leave the military for family reasons, others because the work is hard. Some individuals get jobs as officials of opstina assemblies for nationwide defense and social self-protection, where they have higher pay and an easier job. But these are the trends, as in all other areas of society.

[Question] In civilian life, however, the opinion is widespread that military officers live better than others.

Officers Were Bridegrooms With Good Prospects

[Answer] We obtain housing units more easily, true, though there are also difficulties in that area, and the pay is higher than in some parts of the economy, but I ask those who think that an officer's lot is easy why they do not send their children to the Military Academy. I have already said that I have problems with assignments to command personnel. We must provide members of the armed forces with housing units because we assign them to cities where they have never lived, as a rule. And we often reassign them.

[Question] And it would be unfortunate if they didn't like this society because of housing problems.

[Answer] Quite so. Those whose primary task is to protect this society and its system must like it.

[Question] May we speak of a change in attitude among civilians toward military officers and the armed forces in general? Until the end of the 1960's, I think the calling of officer was one of the most attractive, and men in uniform were the most sought-after candidates for marriage.

[Answer] I think that service in the regular armed forces should not be linked with patriotism today. An officer today is a civil servant like any other. The attitudes of civilians, including young people, toward the armed forces, their love for the armed forces, that is one thing, attitudes toward

work in the armed forces are another matter. This is a question of personal commitment and affinity.

[Question] Many young people experience trauma during their conscription terms, and some use alcohol to try to overcome problems in the service. How widespread is alcoholism among soldiers, and is that reflected in combat readiness?

[Answer] Alcoholism is as widespread in the service as in civilian life, and our analyses indicate no increase in the number of alcoholics due to service under conscription. I have analyzed alcohol consumption in certain other armies, and I can say that there are many more alcoholics in their ranks.

[Question] Are there data on the number of injuries and fatal accidents in the Yugoslav People's Army?

[Answer] We research all aspects of military life, and precise statistics are kept on injuries and fatal accidents. Every such case is investigated individually. However, the numbers should be reduced to allow for accidents when military personnel are not performing military duties. There are cases of a soldier going into town on Sunday afternoon and being hit by a car, and the like. The number of injured and dead is exaggerated in some places, probably to harm the reputation of the armed forces. Injuries during training, on duty, and on assignment account for a very small proportion of the total number of military injuries. We are doing everything in our power to prevent accidents and fatalities. The federal secretary for national defense has issued an order, never published openly, but I am entitled to say that it states the following: A unit in which an injury or fatality has occurred through the fault of a military unit will be rated a whole point downward at rating time. If the unit has earned a 5, it will be rated 4 if an injury or fatality has occurred. Not to speak of severe punishment for the person directly responsible.

People Die in Peacetime, Too!

You know, an army trains for operations in wartime conditions. We try to approximate such conditions. Any inattention carries a high cost.

[Question] Were there casualties during the last maneuvers?

[Answer] No. In general, we have the fewest casualties during large-scale maneuvers. Accidents occur during smaller exercises that are not well organized.

[Question] Do you have data on the number of fatalities in the Yugoslav People's Army last year?

[Answer] Precise data exist on the highest level, but I do not know them at this moment. I would not want to guess. (Comrade Buncic saw the interview questions just before the interview--M. P.)

[Question] Could you at least say hundreds or scores?

[Answer] I cannot say anything precisely.

[Question] I have learned from some colleagues that a figure of 800 is in the air.

[Answer] The number of accidents is surely much, much lower.

[Question] What is the proportion of suicides in the total fatalities?

[Answer] Suicides do occur, and they have increased in recent years as secondary-school graduates have entered the army. Our analyses of each individual case show quite precisely that no such case has occurred as a result of the situation in a military unit or relations with other soldiers or superiors. They leave notes, or we found out in some other way, that this is always a consequence of trauma experienced in civilian life and only intensified by the change in way of life. We observe more neuroses in the young men now entering the army. There was less of that before.

[Question] What is the incidence of theft and rowdiness in the Yugoslav People's Army?

[Answer] Such incidents are not at all at the level of a disturbing phenomenon. In a unit in which life and work are not consistently organized in accordance with the regulations, someone who was a pickpocket or rowdy in civilian life may repeat his transgressions. But those are entirely isolated, individual cases.

[Question] For what reasons do military personnel go most often to prison?

[Answer] We try to put soldiers in prison as rarely as possible. If regulations, procedures, or discipline should be violated, we enable the person to see his mistake and become accustomed to respect for order. Prison terms are for more serious transgressions, for fighting with injuries to others, for nationalistic outbursts, if someone has said something, wrote slogans, induced others to do something. Soldiers go to prison for transgressions that disrupt the life of the collective.

One-year Conscription Term

[Question] Almost every year, as the educational system changes, the way to serve the conscription term changes. The first significant innovation, several years ago, was the obligation to serve after graduation from secondary school, according to the "12 + 3" system. Next came entry on duty in July for a single term of 15 months. New changes seem on the way. To what extent are these fluctuations a military concession to society, which can no longer absorb secondary-school graduates in jobs or universities?

[Answer] The conscription system is not unalterable in any country. The basic factor, among many, is the need for a specific number of troops. We

decided several years ago to induct secondary-school graduates so that we would have more young people trained for defense in the event of aggression, young people enrolled at universities. The system that you call "12 + 3" proved to be bad after a number of years. The press brought out the objections to the procedure. Later, we introduced a single term of 15 months. On the basis of the latest analyses, we have set in motion an initiative to shorten the term to 12 months. We have come quite far.

[Question] If the term is shortened, will troops who still "owe" the fatherland 3 months be recalled?

[Answer] I do not know how that will be resolved, but I think that serving the extra 3 months will be necessary, since the law is not retroactive.

[Question] On several occasions in recent months, we have been informed that our border troops have opened fire on citizens of countries of "real socialism" trying to reach the countries of the western bloc via Yugoslavia. What can you say about that?

[Answer] Every occurrence on the national boundary, however ridiculous it might be under different circumstances, is considered an incident. A peasant crosses the border to return wandering livestock, etc. Such occurrences should not arouse public interest. For many years, other than these "incidents," nothing has occurred on our borders to disrupt the peace of the citizenry.

[Question] How do you see the role of the army in the further development of our society?

[Answer] The role of the Yugoslav People's Army will remain large in the further build-up of socialism. The armed forces' readiness and resoluteness to defend the attainments of our revolution help society to resolve its economic problems in peace. The armed forces will always advocate and join the side of those social forces which want to preserve such basic achievements as brotherhood and unity, self-management, socialism, and the integrity of the country, which do everything so that this society will be not only more effective in relation to socialist humanism, democracy, and freedom but also superior to others in production and organization.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

FLUCTUATIONS IN LCY MEMBERSHIP DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] An article by Jelena Lovric in the 29 January 1985 issue of the Zagreb weekly DANAS (pages 20-22) discusses the increased number of persons leaving the party, pointing to the recent "unprecedented" case of the approximately 70 LCY members, "an entire basic organization," in the UNIS pump and filter factory in Tesanj, Bosnia-Hercegovina, who recently turned in their party cards. She says that, according to research done by Gojko Stanic the end of 1981, in addition to the present membership of 2.1 million, there are about 1.32 million former LCY members living in Yugoslavia.

In discussing party purges, she notes the largest was in 1953 when one-tenth of the members were taken off the rolls. "It is not known how many of them left of their own will and how many were expelled because up to 1963 all were registered as expelled."

Since 1963, however, there have been big fluctuations in membership. For instance, about 1.5 million new members were accepted into the party between 1968 and 1981, but about 500,000 left the party. "And of this huge number," only one-quarter were either expelled or left openly and voluntarily; about one-quarter (largely workers, pensioners, and young people) were taken off the records (for failing to pay dues, inactivity, etc); while most (46 percent), or almost 300,000, were designated as "unregistered" (i.e., proof of their registration was "lost" through organizational error, etc) or as having "left unofficially." Lovric tends to agree with another researcher's view that "it is difficult not to see this "unofficial leaving" of the party by such a large number also "as a critical relationship toward the party or a kind of silent withdrawal."

"But recently more and more are not leaving silently. In 1983 5,528 left, most in Croatia (1,700) and Serbia (1,611); only 31 left in Montenegro, 24 in Kosovo, and 13 in federal bodies and organizations. Most were 38-35 years of age (over 34 percent), while 22 percent were under 27, so it could be said that young people are leaving the party most frequently, but the share of those leaving who are over 56 years of age is also increasing. Most who left in 1983 (3,326, or 44.2 percent) were workers, followed by administrative personnel, pensioners, functionaries, and journalists."

The basic reasons given for leaving the party were above all, "the very poor work of the organization, inactivity, lack of clear orientation and action

programs, the waste of time in meetings, lack of clear party conclusions, the arbitrary conduct of individuals who thwart the process of democratization, neglect of interpersonal relations, disputes, and disagreements. Party workers who leave most often say they are dissatisfied with their basic LC organization or certain of its members (I will not be in the same organization with such and such."

Lovric noted that the workers in Tesanj had left out of bitterness toward higher party forums (opstina functionaries). "Some also leave who can foresee that they will be expelled. This was quite frequent in Croatia at the time membership was being evaluated: better to get out than be expelled. 'But all the reasons given for leaving the party are based largely on the statements of those who are leaving and should be taken with certain reservations, since they [those leaving] say what is easiest and least painful, for instance, that 'the dues are too high'."

The article cites researcher Gojko Stanic's statement that interest in joining the LCY declines in periods such as that since 1981 when LCY leadership is not united, when there is increased opportunism in carrying out policy, when the LC is not capable of offering appropriate answers to the dilemmas of the time, when socio-developmental and economic problems are piling up, unjust social differences and speculative wealth is increasing, when there is lack of clarity regarding the social role of the LC, or when there are excessive standards for accepting new members, and especially when LC organizations are closed within themselves in a sectarian way, especially closed to young people.

Accordingly, former LC members can be divided roughly into three groups, it was said: first, those who left without any special, highly visible reasons, just as they had entered the party without deep convictions (party statistics say 95 percent of those who leave held no party function"); second, those who were believing communists before, but changed their views and no longer feel themselves to be communists. "Some of them join anticommunist positions, but it rarely happens that they leave the LC in order to join the anticommunist camp or form their own informal political clique. Few of them fight against their former convictions; most are disappointed people... A third group which has become ever more visible and numerous recently are those who say they are still communists but are leaving the party to distance themselves from its actions. They do not say that the party is unnecessary, they are still inspired by its program but oppose its practice in the name of the program. They believe that the party can and must be better but believe that they have insufficient influence to change it, so are expressing their disagreement by turning in their party cards."

According to sociologist Ivan Siber, the article says, only one-fifth of the LC members in 1982 were satisfied with other members in their basic LC organization, only one-tenth thought that their comrades were prepared to speak openly, honestly, and critically, and almost one-fourth believed that their comrades were solely concerned about their own personal interests. The

article said that 6 years earlier Siber's findings on these questions were much more favorable with almost 40 percent judging their fellow comrades favorably.

In this regard, Mijat Sukovic, a vice president of the Federal Executive Council, is quoted as saying recently, "I know of no political party in power, either under socialism or capitalism, which has such an opportunistic attitude toward its members who violate, fail to carry out, or only partially carry out, laws and other regulations agreed upon in the party program...as is the case with our League of Communists."

Referring to the need for the party to "purge itself," Lovric concludes that the problem does not lie in the fact that the party ranks are decreasing but to what extent the right people are leaving.

CSO: 2800/195-P

YUGOSLAVIA

RILINDJA EXCERPTS DRAGOSAVAC BOOK ON NATIONAL QUESTION

[Editorial Report] RILINDJA, the Albanian-language daily published in Pristina, runs excerpts in 14 full-page installments, 9-23 January 1985, from Dusan Dragosavac's latest book, "Topical Aspects of the National Question in Yugoslavia."

Proceeding from well-known LCY positions based on the AVNOJ principles, with particular stress on the complete equality of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, some of Dragosavac's major points highlighted in RILINDJA are: Yugoslavia can be stable only if all nations and nationalities in it are equal; anticommunism often manifests itself as nationalism; nationalists prefer inequality; neither irredentism nor hegemony should represent the aspirations of any people; "ethnically pure" is reactionary and damaging; there is excessive nationalism in the media; the one-sided treatment (in both the Serbian and Albanian press) of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo does not contribute to the regulating of internationality relations; the LCY cannot be pan-Slav; the percentage of Albanians and other ethnic groups in the LCY and in the army is small and not in proportion to their share in the overall population.

Dragosavac also discusses the issue of national flags, noting, among others, those permitted under the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In addition, he presents considerable demographic data in these excerpts, including that on population flows in the country, especially the south-to-north migration since the war, pointing out that Montenegrins have figured mostly in this migration and economics has been a prevailing reason.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

HORVAT BOOK ON SELF-MANAGEMENT, 'NO-PARTY' SYSTEM DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] The October 1984 issue of SOCIJALIZAM, monthly organ of the LCY (Belgrade, pp 1504-1530) includes a critique of Branko Horvat's book, "The Political Economy of Socialism" published in Zagreb in 1984. The reviewer, Miladin Korac, who also criticized the book last year in issues of DANAS (Zagreb) and KOMUNIST (Belgrade), mainly objects to what he sees as Horvat's appropriating the self-management socialist system as his own concept and "economic model" without reference to LCY documents.

He also questions the feasibility of Horvat's model of a 'party-less' socialist political system, where the "party apparatus and its monopoly is destroyed and where workers and citizens accept [Horvat's] 'scientific' councils and, in place of political parties, join in various types of political associations, such as a Fabian society" or form organizations with particular causes, such as environment, women's rights, the nuclear question, etc. Horvat reportedly cites Professor Mihajlo Markovic as holding similar views, but Korac says this is not the case: that while Horvat says political parties must be banned, or that is, the election of party heads and payment of party dues should be banned, Markovic "says that parties could be gradually replaced by a large number of flexible political organizations. Thus, if the working people and citizens in self-management socialism, on the basis of their own experience, realize that they do not need political parties, they can gradually replace them with other forms of political organization." This, Korac says, is "something entirely different from banning political parties which Branko Horvat considers necessary."

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

BOMB IN ZAGREB CHURCH--A disquieting incident spoiled the traditional Christmas midnight mass at the St Nikola Tavelic parish church in Kustosija in the western part of Zagreb. After the congregation had sung the opening hymn..., an unknown person threw a gas bomb in front of the church door. The gas spread quickly in and around the church, causing coughing and severe irritation [of the eyes].... Most of the congregation went home... In the church where the gas was very concentrated, the bravest members stayed on, wrapped in shawls, with parish priest Sekelj who, coughing and with eyes watering, ended the service without a sermon or Communion. The next day he reported the incident to the authorities. [Excerpt] [Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 85 p 7]

CHURCH DAYCARE CENTERS CLOSED--SLOBODNA DALMACIJA of 19 December 1984, page 3, reports that the executive council of the Split Opstina Assembly issued a decision on 18 December to close "religious child care centers" in the opstina where nine kindergartens and infant care centers for 230 children are operated by nuns. The archbishop's office in Split sent a letter to the executive council asking that the decision be revised and a tolerable solution be found. The decision clearly discriminates against the church in this area not only in favor of public operated child care centers but also in relation to privately run centers which are even officially encouraged. The centers operated by the nuns are considerably cheaper than the socialized centers and, as a result, most of the children in the religious centers are of poor parents who cannot pay to send their children to publicly operated centers. Parents also have the right to entrust their children to persons in whom they have unlimited confidence that they will care for them lovingly and conscientiously. Does this not raise new fear and unrest among our believers, especially when this decision is issued at Christmas time? [Excerpt] [Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 85 p 1]

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