

244081

JPRS-EPS-84-078

21 June 1984

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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21 June 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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IMPROVED MILITARY TRAINING EXERCISES URGED

Sofia SERZHANT in Bulgarian No 4, 1984 pp 4, 5

[Article by Candidate of Military Sciences Maj Gen Stefan Kovachev: "For High-Level Exercises During the Summer Period"]

[Text] The winter training period was a productive one. The personnel of many subunits, units and ships achieved high results in military and political training and created good conditions for their maintaining, for further increasing and raising the level of the combat skills of the men.

There is intense military labor ahead to effectively carry out the training plans and programs as well as the assumed obligations in the socialist competition for the summer period of the training year. In the training system during this period all forms and methods of personnel combat training will be employed but the main, determining thing is training in the field, in the air and at sea. This is so because precisely there a situation can be established which creates an opportunity to most fully study the essence and characteristic traits of modern all-arms, sea and air combat and to gain practical skills in the combat employment of modern weapons and equipment; because precisely there, in the field, in the air and at sea, such moral-combat qualities, physical and mental conditioning can be developed which serve as the basis for the constant high combat readiness of the subunits.

Experience shows and training practices confirm that the highest indicators in all training subjects of combat training are achieved in those subunits, units and ships where the training process is planned creatively and carried out steadily and where each exercise, drill, firing and training session are conducted using good educational methods and on a highly organized level. However, in practice the struggle for a high quality of every exercise has far from become the primary concern of the commanders of all levels and particularly the sergeants. It is not a rarity for the training exercises to be held without a sufficient coverage of the personnel, with poor logistical support and with flagrant violations of the elementary procedural requirements. Unfortunately, these serious weaknesses are not the fruit of ignorance, because in the same subunits demonstration exercises are prepared and carried out in an exemplary manner and with high quality and efficiency. Consequently, this is an indicator of insufficient conscientiousness on the part of a number of commanders and of their professional attitude toward daily exercises the quality of which predetermines the final results in military and political training.

For precisely this reason and in spite of the expenditure of valuable training time, motor life, ammunition, simulating and other equipment, the training goals are not achieved.

To ensure a high quality for every exercise during the summer period means primarily to organize sound preliminary preparation for each leader so that he fully and creatively studies the training contents and the instructional methods. The art of teaching is a complex one but it must be mastered by the sergeants in order that they become established as the first and full assistants of the officers in both the indoctrination and training of the personnel. For this reason at the instructor-procedural exercises where they can gain the necessary practical and educational aid, they must pay particular attention to the ability in an exemplary manner to demonstrate to their subordinates proper actions with the weapons and equipment as well as actions in combat.

Tactical and weapons training must be a subject of increased attention and concern as on the basis of these rests the ability to correctly assess all elements in the situation, to take proper decisions, to firmly command the subunits and utilize all the fire power of the weapons. The tactical skill of the commanders, including the sergeants, is most closely tied to a profound awareness of the contents of the combat regulations, as well as the study and analysis of new phenomena in military affairs from the experience of local wars and conflicts.

In order to further raise the quality level of the exercises during the summer period, the main focus in training must be the fullest possible realization of the basic principle in combat training, that is, teaching what is required in war. We must constantly increase the implacability against any simplification and feigning in the course of the exercises, trainings and drills and particularly those involving tactical and weapons training. The activities of the trainees must be closely observed, in promptly commending those who show activeness, initiative and creativity and calling to task those who show a negligent, indifferent or listless attitude toward their service and official duties. The reason for the poor quality of a number of exercises is to be found in the poor technical state of various ranges, vehicle and tank driving ranges and moving target ranges. In this area a good deal of harm is caused by excessive interference and routine which, like an invisible obstacle, seriously retard the forming of the valuable moral and combat qualities in the men.

A matter of particular concern must be an improvement in personal knowledge, skills and ability as well as the efficient use of the trainers and other training equipment and the fire capabilities of the assigned weapons. This requires that all types of weapons training be carried out in such a manner that the individual skill of the gunners, operators and other categories of firers be constantly increased as well as the fire coordination of the squads, crews and teams. Of great importance is the improved ability to constantly observe the battlefield, to quickly and accurately detect and correctly evaluate targets in terms of importance and danger and confidently control the fire of the subunits.

The summer training period offers better conditions also for the further study and practical mastery of the most recent combat equipment and the methods of

employing it in combat. The reason is precisely in field exercises and during flights and sea cruises the men and commanders increase their ability to make maximum use of the tactical and technical capabilities of the weapons and equipment, to hit the targets at maximum ranges, with the first shot, round or launch, both during the day and at night, and to make maximum use of the speed, altitude, maneuvering and combat capabilities and protective properties of the combat vehicles and equipment. Unfortunately, however, certain sergeants do not pay proper attention to their military theoretical training. Insufficient concern is shown for maintaining the weapons and equipment in constant good condition and readiness for combat use.

Of ever greater importance is the level of technical discipline, the most profound understanding and precise observance of the special instructions, rules, regulations and manuals on the safekeeping, repair and operation of the equipment and weapons. In this area there can be no compromises. Any negligence, even the slightest deviation from the established repairs and methods of handling the equipment, can lead to severe consequences and at times to casualties.

Great reserves for further improving the new qualitative level of the exercises for combat training are to be found in the correct utilization of the powerful mobilizing strength of the socialist competition in the course of the training process. The effective role of the socialist competition in raising the activity of the trainees in the training process depends upon many factors and not lastly upon the involvement of the most numerous command element, the sergeant. In the subunit where Officer Petrov serves, it is correctly considered that without the active role of the sergeant in this area there cannot be high quality for the exercises and stable results in training activities. However, an analysis which was made during exercises in tactical and weapons training and navigation [?"kormuvane"], shows that the sergeants have experienced great difficulties in establishing an atmosphere of competitiveness in the training areas. At present, a larger portion of them has good theoretical training and procedural experience for the positions which they hold while just a lack of experience or the appearance of confusion leads to the overloading of the platoon and company commanders and ultimately to a worsening of the quality of the training exercises. Officer Petrov followed the solely correct path, a path of filling in this hole in the training of the sergeants. By regular daily instruction sessions and by conducting demonstration exercises for introducing lively competitiveness in the training process and specifically for the training places and training questions which are within the abilities of the sergeant personnel, the activities in this area, certainly not all at once but gradually, have improved. Particularly beneficial and effective has been the work of the sergeants to run the socialist competition according to training tasks and norms. Many of them have begun to more confidently employ the force of the competitive element in the course of instruction, to significantly improve the quality of the exercises led by them and thereby free the officer personnel for preparing for more complicated subjects in the basic training questions.

A higher level of training exercises during the summer period is inconceivable without a further strengthening of military discipline and the standing of military service in full accord with the requirements of the regulations. There can be no doubt that without the active involvement of the sergeants this exceptionally important task for a high-quality training process would be hard to carry

out. Training practice has shown that certain young sergeants and petty officers, particularly at the start of their command activities, either deal leniently with the violators of proper order or are excessively hard on them. This requires that they improve their disciplinary practices and proper exactingness which will help them to improve their command authority. Only the sergeants and petty officers who have learned to be implacable toward oversimplification, feigned conditions and violations of the regulations are capable of fighting for high quality in each exercise for all the training subjects and for establishing strict military order and discipline.

Under the conditions of present-day combat, the capabilities and independence of the small combat units have grown more and more. Consequently, the combat readiness of the subunits, units and ships as a whole is determined by the level of their training and teamwork in conducting active, highly fluid combat operations as well as by the fulfillment of the assumed socialist obligations. Hence the ever growing role for the sergeants, their ideological and political tempering, their command, educational and technical training for improving the level of the combat readiness in their subordinate squads, crews, teams and battle stations.

During the summer training period, complex and responsible tasks confront all the personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army. The commanders, staffs, political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations, inspired by the decisions of the National Party Conference on Quality, have begun to carry out the training tasks and plans for the summer training period with the highest feeling of responsibility to our party and people and with a readiness for self-sacrifice in the defense of our socialist motherland against any imperialist encroachments.

10272

CSO: 2200/124

BULGARIA

ADMISSION POLICY TO SECONDARY SERGEANT SCHOOLS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 May 84 p 2

[Announcement of the Ministry of National Defense Governing Admission of Students to the Secondary Sergeant Military Schools for the 1984-1985 Academic Year]

[Text] Primary school students are admitted to the sergeant secondary military schools [SSVU] by specialties and periods of instruction as follows:

A. Gorna Oryakhovitsa G. Izmirliiev Sergeant Secondary Military School [SSVU]

The school has the following specialties:

1. "Motorized Rifle Troops."
2. "Signal Troops."

The period of instruction for the specialties designated in Points 1 and 2 is 2 years for young men who have completed the first stage of instruction in the ESPU [Unified Secondary Polytechnical School] or 11th grade and 3 years for young men who have completed 8th grade.

3. "Tank Troops."
4. "Engineer Troops."

The period of instruction for the specialties designated in Points 3 and 4 is 3 years. Young men who have completed 8th grade are admitted.

5. "Servicing and Repair of Motor, Tractor and Armored Equipment."

The period of instruction for the specialty designated in Point 5 is 4 years. Young men are admitted from the 8th grade.

Those who have completed the full course of the SSVU are considered to have:

- a) Those who have been admitted from 8th grade for a period of instruction of 3 years--a secondary education, regular military service served and a military skill depending upon specialty;

b) Those admitted from 8th grade with a period of instruction of 4 years, those admitted from 11th grade and those who completed the first level of the ESPU--a secondary special education, regular service completed and a military qualification depending upon specialty.

B. The Sergeant Secondary Military Artillery School [SSVAU]

The school is under the G. Dimitrov VNVAU in Shumen. It has the following specialties:

1. "Line Ground Artillery."
2. "Line Antiaircraft Artillery."

The period of instruction for the specialties designated in Points 1 and 2 is 2 years. Admitted are young men who have completed the first level of instruction in the ESPU (10th grade) and young men who have completed their secondary education who are volunteers and regular servicemen in the BNA.

3. "Ground Artillery--Technical."
4. "Antiaircraft Artillery--Technical."
5. "Servicing and Repair of Artillery Weapons."
6. "Servicing and Repair of Tank Weapons."
7. "Radio Technical Troops."

The period of instruction for the specialties designated in Points 3-7 is 4 years. Admitted are young men who have completed 8th grade.

Those who have completed the full course at the SSSVAU are considered to have a civilian secondary education, their regular military service completed and a military qualification depending upon specialty.

C. The School under the G. Benkovskiy VNVVU

Has the following specialties:

1. "Operation and Repair of Aircraft and Engine."
2. "Operation and Repair of Aviation Equipment."
3. "Operation and Repair of Radio Electronic Equipment."
4. "Operation and Repair of Communications Equipment."

The period of instruction for all specialties is 4 years. Admitted are young men who have completed 8th grade.

Those completing the school are considered to have a secondary special education, completed regular military service and a military qualification depending upon specialty.

For the specialty "Operation and Repair of Aircraft and Engine" students are also admitted for the needs of BGA [Bulgarian Civil Airlines].

D. The Varna Anton Ivanov Warrant Officer [Michman] Secondary Naval School

The specialties in the school are three:

1. "Navigation."
2. "Communications."
3. "Radar and Hydroacoustics."

The period of instruction for all specialties is 2 years.

Admitted are young men with a completed 11th grade who are volunteers or regular servicemen from Navy ships.

Those completing the school are considered to have a specialized secondary education, completed regular military service and a skill depending upon the specialty.

E. The Sofia Maestro G. Atanasov Sergeant Secondary Military Musical School

The school admits young men for the specialty "Military Band." The period of instruction is 4 years. Young men are admitted from 8th grade.

Those completing the school are considered to have a civilian specialized secondary education, completed regular military service and the military qualification of military band member.

As applicants to the SSVU, young men are accepted who meet the following qualities: they are members of the Komsomol; they are physically strong; they are unmarried; they have been commended by the unit commander (for regular servicemen); they have no criminal record and are not under investigation; they have completed 8th grade or the first level of the ESPU or 11th grade; candidates who have completed 8th grade are not to be older than 17 while those who have completed the first level of the ESPU or their secondary education are not to be over 21, counting from 15 December; they must have exemplary conduct.

All the student applicants are to submit through the chiefs of the military districts to the appropriate SSVU chief or the chief of the higher military school responsible for the sergeant school the following documents: an application request to the chief of the school in which the student applicant without fail ranks the desired specialties in the order in which he wishes to be classed; an autobiography; a diploma showing a completed secondary education, a certificate for a completed first level of the ESPU (10th grade) or 8th grade (this can also be a notarized copy); birth certificate; recommendation from the people's

council; criminal record; pedagogical recommendation from school; document certifying preferential treatment; a declaration from the student applicant in which he promises to serve after completing the school at least 10 years in the BNA (BGA). For applicants with a basic education (8th grade), the declaration is signed by the parents and if there are no parents, by guardians.

The documents of regular servicemen recommended for applying to the SSVU with their health booklet, a copy of the military booklet showing imposed penalties and commendations and an official recommendation are forwarded by the commanders to the military districts from where the young men are serving.

The dates for submitting the documents to the military districts are as follows: prior to 4 July for those who completed their secondary education prior to 1984 and for regular servicemen; prior to 17 July for all who completed their education in 1984.

Applicants to the G. Izmirliiev SSVU, the Shumen SSVU and the Dolna Mitropoliya SSVU [Sergeant Secondary Air Force School] with a period of instruction of 4 years are to take a written competitive exam in mathematics on material studied to the 8th grade, inclusively.

Applicants for the Sergeant Secondary Military Music School are to take a competitive exam in solfeggio and a special subject (wind or percussion instruments) following the program for admission to secondary military schools.

Student applicants are to undergo a careful medical exam in the military districts and military schools. In addition to the medical exam, a testing of psychophysiological qualities is to be carried out. For regular servicemen, the medical exams and the testing of psychophysiological qualities are to be performed according to the orders of the chief of the General Staff.

Each applicant has the right to apply for all specialties in two sergeant military schools, one from the first and one from the second group. In the first group of sergeant schools are the Dolna Mitropoliya SSVU, the Shumen SSVU and the Varna Anton Ivanov MSVMU and in the second are the Gorna Oryakhovitsa G. Izmirliiev SSVU and the Sofia Maestro G. Atanasov SSVU.

The young men who are applying to two sergeant schools forward their documents to the first school, in designating in them also the second school to which they are applying and a request to the second where they indicate to which SSVU they have submitted the remaining documents.

The reporting time for the applicants and the holding of the exams in the schools of the first group are as follows: the reporting of applicants prior to 1400 hours on 18 August; the testing of the psychophysiological qualities of the applicants and the medical exam on 19 August; the written exam from 0800 hours to 1200 hours in 22 August. The admission commissions are to complete their work no later than 25 August.

In the second group of the SSVU, the time is as follows: reporting of candidates prior to 1400 hours on 1 September; testing of psychophysiological qualities of the candidates and medical exam from 2 September; written exam in mathematics for the G. Izmirliiev SSVU from 0800 hours to 1200 hours on 6 September and the competitive exam for solfeggio and the special subject at the Maestro G. Atanasov SSVMU on 6 and 7 September. The admission commissions will complete their work by no later than 8 September.

The applicants for schools with specialties having a 2-year and 3-year period of instruction are to take a competitive exam and will be ranked by a number of points which is formed from the total of the following grades:

For those completing 11th and 8th grades: the overall grade from the diploma (certificate) for the completed education; the grade on the diploma (certificate, for Bulgarian and mathematics.

For those who completed the first level of the ESPU: the arithmetic average grade of the 9th and 10th grades in Bulgarian, mathematics and physics.

For a 4-year period of instruction the number of points is formed as for those completing 8th grade with the addition of a doubled grade from the competitive exam in mathematics.

Applicants for the Maestro G. Atanasov SSVMU are to be ranked by the number of points formed from the overall grade shown on the certificate for the completed 8th grade, the doubled grade from the competitive exam in solfeggio and a tripled grade for the special instrument.

The problems for the competitive exam in mathematics cover the material studied up to the 8th grade, inclusively.

The admission commissions rank the student applicants on the basis of the number of points received, their state of health and preferential treatment if they have such.

The ranking is carried out in the order of specialties designated by the student applicants.

Accepted students are notified in writing by the appropriate SSVU. They are obliged to report to the school prior to 1400 hours on 14 September while those admitted to the Anton Ivanov MSVMU (not including regular servicemen) are to report prior to 1400 hours on 27 August.

If the admitted students do not report on the stipulated date to the appropriate SSVU, their places will be filled by alternate applicants by the order of their ranking.

Travel and food are at the expense of the applicant and their boarding is organized by the SSVU. Applicants who are regular servicemen travel on military travel documents and may sign up for meals using their meal card.

Those completing the SSVU are considered to have a civilian secondary (secondary technical) education, a qualification in accord with the curriculum and completed military service.

For applicants to the Maestro G. Atanasov SSVMU, from 25 August to 1 September 1984, a preparatory course is to be organized following the program drawn up by the school.

10272

CSO: 2200/124

GOVERNMENT STEPS UP ANTI-EMIGRATION MEASURES

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 20-21 May 84 p 4

[Article by "sk." datelined Berlin 18 May 84: "Strained Inner-German Relations: Emphasis On Bloc Solidarity in East Berlin"]

[Text] Although a decree effective 1 July published in the GDR gazette is directed primarily against growing petty crime in the GDR, it could also give the SED leadership the opportunity for proceeding more harshly against critics of the regime and persons wanting to leave the country. The new decree provides for fines up to 500 marks in case of "disruption of social coexistence." This amounts to roughly the monthly wages of many GDR citizens.

Tool for Stricter Action

Disruption is defined as gatherings likely to "ignore social interests or jeopardize public order and security." Unlawful in addition is the display of objects, symbols and other signs in a "manner which runs counter to the state or social interest." This could serve as a tool for proceeding against persons, such as independent peace activists, who publicly wear the peace badge "Swords Into Plowshares."

Apparently the SED is also finding it difficult to make plausible to the population the rigorous curtailment of exit visas. On Thursday [27 May] the central party organ of the SED, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, carried a dispatch, datelined Bonn of the government news agency ADN which clearly is intended to give the reader the impression that bans on leaving the country are something quite normal, and also customary in Western countries. Quoting the Federal Border Police report for 1983, the ADN dispatch states that last year 123,503 were prohibited from leaving the Federal Republic. The ADN report fails to mention that the persons concerned are people against whom investigations have begun for possible criminal offenses or against whom court proceedings are already underway.

Also apparently the suspicion has increased the GDR citizens have been arrested solely because they have visited Bonn's Permanent Mission in East Berlin. Following the arrest on 14 March of former East Berlin Vicar Quassdorf after he had visited the mission, there now exist reports in West Berlin according to which a 19-year-old GDR citizen from Neustrelitz was arrested on 3 May after having visited the Permanent Mission.

Emphasis of Readiness for Dialogue

Despite the rigorous curtailment of exit visas and stricter action against those wanting to leave the country, people at the Permanent Mission are under the impression that East Berlin definitely does not want to forgo talks with Bonn. In this connection, reference is made to the visit to the GDR by the Bavarian Minister of the Environment Dick. Another indication of a continuing readiness for dialogue is considered to be the first symposium in East Berlin of the GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics and the Committee for European Security and Cooperation attended by numerous representatives of Western companies and banks.

It is believed, however, that no dramatic events in inter-German relations are in the offing. After a visit to East Berlin and a talk at the Permanent Mission, former Federal Finance Minister Apel stated that relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR were facing a difficult time, but presumably the economic needs of the GDR would come to the foreground again next year.

In the current phase, emphasis of bloc solidarity evidently is given priority over inter-German relations by the GDR leadership. What may be playing a role in this is that SED officials are critically reviewing the campaign against counterarming. The flirting with the West German peace movement has not prevented the stationing of Pershing II missiles in the Federal Republic and basically only caused difficulties for the GDR, as is apparent from the growth of the protest potential there and the flood of applications for leaving the country. According to reports available in West Berlin, these and similar things are being discussed by the SED leadership these days.

It is striking, however, that in its efforts to lend emphasis to bloc solidarity the SED leadership by and large is avoiding attacks against the Federal Republic. So far it has been content to publish Soviet commentaries of that kind.

8790

CSO: 2300/493

CULTURAL PAPER SCORES LEADING NOVELIST'S NEW WORK

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 38 No 19, 6 May 84 p 4

[Article by Prof Dr Werner Kahle, head of the department for Marxist-Leninist aesthetics at the Friedrich-Schiller University in Jena: "Cassandra-- Model for a Kind of Utopia"]

[Text] Discriminating art has always been an inseparable symbiosis between the aesthetic-metaphorical and the cognitive-philosophical: the one lives in the other; the one cannot exist without the other. In the creative activity of artistic individuals as well as in the experiencing of books, musical composition, paintings and films, this highly unique intertwinement of reality and the world of thought and images is realized. Thus, optimists-- among whom I count myself--think that they discern the memory and growing self-awareness of the human species in the cyclical ebb and flow of history in discriminating art--no matter when, where or how such art makes its appearance.

Viewed in this manner--perhaps one-sided and inadequate--Christa Wolf's attempt at philosophical literature is indisputably attractive. As witness: "My intention with the Cassandra figure is to trace the myth back to the imagined social and historical matrix." Again: "The Troy and I envisage is--much more than a retrospective description--a model for a kind of utopia." That is indeed a high narrative aspiration, worthy of the novelist's often attested and unquestioned literary power.

And so, in her sensitive probe of ancient Greek mythology, Christa Wolf is successful in creating figures with deeper meaning, figures that rest in the power and originality of the artistic image and make a distinctive and unforgettable impression on the reader. In this sense, the "Cassandra" narrative is an important work of literary art and has considerable conceptual range. The frequent reference to the intensive exchange of ideas between Thomas Mann and Karl Kerényi on the possibilities of the artistic treatment of mythological-historical material is not coincidental but shows above all that Marxist-Leninist thinking still has much philosophical groundwork to do in clarifying the associations between the mythical, the historical and the artistic. This seems to me to be imperative not only in the interest of cultural history but primarily to facilitate the overtimid reapprochement--at times still impeded by prejudice--between the artistic

and the scientific view and perception of reality in nature and history to the benefit of the intellectual culture in our country.

The desirability of such a conciliation is made clear by the "Four Lectures" appended to the novel by the authoress as intrinsic components of the book--and thus deemed essential to the reader for an understanding of the work. In the epic structure of the "Cassandra" narrative, what might be disagreement concerning the essentially multivalent metaphorical ways of considering a multilayered mythological topic appears in the rational argumentation of the "Lectures" as dissent in philosophy and creed--a dissent that, I believe, invites rebuttal. It is necessary in view of a number of dogmatically formulated theses concerning substantive problems of our existence here and now. "There is no armed peace. Peace is unarmed or it is not peace--whatever one believes one must defend...I don't see how anyone could think otherwise about it." I cannot relate to the "Cassandra call" to our present world--as much as I would like to if conditions permitted. In saying this--having to say it, unfortunately, because real socialism is inexpressibly precious to me and to millions of people as the historical chance of survival--I do not at all feel that I am a "partner" in self-destruction," one lapsed into "atomic delusion," when I unconditionally affirm the consistent peace strategy of the socialist community of states. It is for me the single alternative that can secure and establish peace in the face of a likewise very real danger of nuclear-disaster politics, whose socio-historical finality permits no illusion whatsoever of a third choice. The more united the worldwide peace movement is within the diverse possibilities of its alliance policy, the more secure is peace, the true peace that prevents disaster.

To suggest just one more selected philosophical and political aspect of the "Lectures" appended to "Cassandra" that provoked my displeasure, let me refer to the perception expressed there of realism as an artistic method. There, for example, one reads: "The insane fact that literature in all 'civilized' industrial countries, if it is realistic, speaks a language entirely different from any public statement. As if each country existed in two guises. As if each inhabitant led two lives--one his own and a potential subject for artistic treatment, another as the object of statistics, journalism, agitation, appeals, and political propaganda." Well, I personally view and perceive the matter differently in that I clearly recognize an essential solidarity, a mutually fruitful united effort in all intellectual activities dedicated to historical and social progress (Goethe wrote: "In the last analysis, we can only go forward."). This holds true from the arts and sciences to everyday consciousness.

Thus, attributing to socialism such inhumane practices as "making a fetish of living, diverse human beings and processes in public statements until they are rendered lifeless like clones and stage props, even dead, slaying others" indicates a failure to grasp the nature of socialism, and setting up an antagonism between the artistic, the philosophical and the political propagandistic is neither theoretically nor practically appropriate for its terms. Although considerable differences exist between these and other

intellectual methods of grasping reality, they progressively complement one another in the culture of the individual and of our society.

In this area of disagreement, there should also be continued reflection and debate about the artistic model and the thought content of "Cassandra" and its appended "Lectures"--this in the service of peace, which is dear to us all and which we must work together to preserve.

9992

CSO: 2300/488

VIGILANCE IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA WORK ADVOCATED

Increased TV News Depth

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 68, 10 May 84 p 1

[Article datelined Berlin 10 May 84: "GDR Television Faced with 'Tasks of a New Dimension'"]

[Text] The competition of Western television programs, regularly seen by the great majority of the GDR population, is evidently causing East Berlin Television great trouble. At a recently conducted scientific conference of the Journalism Section of Leipzig's Karl Marx University, it was stated in this regard that GDR Television "in the intensifying ideological class struggle" is faced with tasks "of a new dimension in offensively and quickly reacting in documenting the positions of socialism and peace in all international issues, in informing the television audience rapidly and reliably, in arming them with good arguments." It was expressly emphasized that GDR electronic media were also subject to an "external necessity to produce better programs." Technical expertise for that reason attains "political importance." "Great efforts" were being undertaken, it was further pointed out at the conference, to use television increasingly effectively and efficiently as a "device for combat."

At the conference, in this connection progress was noted and critical remarks were made about the political reporting of GDR Television. As shown by the currently available conference materials, among other things, a partial lack of topicality and "relationship to the event" in domestic political reports was noted. With regard to a news-reporting series on GDR cities, it was stated that "there was not enough in-depth exploration in a pleasing wealth of information on life in real socialism." Too many reports were restricted "to the representation of the facades of our life." They demonstrated successes, yet there was a lack of "more in-depth exploration of social processes." A certain "uniformity in content and structure" was detected in individual statements by workers who GDR Television broadcasts in large numbers.

Combating 'Counterrevolutionary Campaign'

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 69, 11 May 84 p 1

[Article datelined Berlin 11 May 84: "Warning Against 'Illusions' About Western Media in the GDR Populace"]

[Text] In the GDR series of writings "Theory and Practice of Socialist Journalism," illusions in the GDR population about the role of "bourgeois journalism" in the Federal Republic, also in particular about the media which cross the borders, have been characterized as "downright dangerous." "Not allowing such illusions to thrive in the entire GDR population" is an "important requirement of the present class struggle," it was stated in a published report in one of the scientific booklets by the Journalism Section at Leipzig's Karl Marx University. In the past few years, months and weeks, the GDR citizens have become "witnesses to more and more frequent, ever sharper and increasingly intensive attacks" on the GDR, its accomplishments, its goals and its international relations. Again and again one comes up "against outright counterrevolutionary campaigns targeted directly at building up an antisocialist movement in the GDR, at destabilizing the GDR from the inside out." In the report the "special political explosiveness" of such "campaigns" was stressed in this connection and mentioned as an example was the "campaign of the past two years directed against the SED military and peace policies" which uses the device of an "independent peace movement in the GDR." An integral part of each of these "campaigns" was the attempt "to mobilize the populace of socialist countries and put it into action against the party and the state, against the socialist attitudes." The Federal Republic electronic mass media which cross borders were employed as "political conducting devices" in "counterrevolutionary campaigns." They were supposed to fulfill "the function of the fastest possible, widest-reaching and operational direction and integration of the forces supporting the campaign, and of the mobilization of the masses in the GDR for the counter-revolutionary principle." As was further stated in the report, special "staffs" were formed specifically for these "campaigns" in the Federal Republic and "leading journalists" were employed.

12331

CSO: 2300/490

WEST-ASSIGNED CORRESPONDENTS FACE READJUSTMENT DIFFICULTIES

Budapest RADIO ES TELEVIZIO UJSAG in Hungarian 21-27 May 84 p 4

[Article by Katalin Mogyoro: "'Veteran' Correspondents"]

[Text] Is a foreign radio correspondent well off? Of course everything is fine while he is present in one of the main scenes of world politics. After all, the listener receives some of the day's most important news and information through his reports and analysis. And this is not just a responsibility for the one who is sent--it is also a professional honor.

But is the correspondent well off when he is again at home? Does he feel good when he sits there in his former room and he "has nothing else to do" except to use his rich experience in his everyday work? It certainly is not easy to answer this with such a simple yes or no. For this reason I tried to ask Eva Szecsi and Istvan Kulcsar, former Radio correspondents in Paris and New York, respectively, using most careful questions, what their feelings were. What I wanted to know finally came clear from the answers, the silences, and the bitter-sweet smiles.

It became clear, for example, that even with 5 years' experience Kulcsar doesn't appear in programs as an expert on America and neither does Szecsi on France. The reason is very simple: in a small country with an even smaller radio an additional expert besides the ones we already have would be too much. And besides, the correspondent who is now out there has a gigantic positional advantage. The foreign newspapers and telexes that can be read here in the news room cannot substitute for knowledge obtained on the spot. Of course those returning are not left without "beats." Istvan Kulcsar now covers disarmament and security questions and Soviet-American relations, while Eva Szecsi watches her old "zone," the Mediterranean. And though the possibilities for foreign travel are not too great, Kulcsar has been able to report on the Stockholm negotiations, and he was able to prepare an interview series in a few Moscow research institutes that study questions of foreign policy.

Of course the two former correspondents' sphere of movement within the Radio has been somewhat more restricted. Because while they were abroad they were expected to report on cultural, scientific and even sports events in addition to "big politics." And they did so with great efforts.

But now people would perhaps regard them a little strangely if, under the heading of "features," they wanted to tell how some domestic problem looks when viewed from the outside. "A person can't become a real domestic news reporter at such an advanced age," says Eva Szecsi. But the attentive listener may have noticed that on magazine programs the former correspondent, who knows France well, still would like to mention every important experience she had as a Paris resident, as a woman, or especially as a mother. Both she and Kulcar write regularly for various publications. It is as if not just the world had broadened for them, but the circle of news-reporting genres they write for as well. More recently both of them have been largely attracted to publications as the most appropriate means of communicating their thoughts and explaining their relationships.

In the eyes of public opinion the returned foreign correspondents is--with good reason--a respected person with great knowledge. Both of them are often invited to lecture throughout the country. On the job, the situation is a little different. "Perhaps the problem is that one can only achieve the most important positions at an older age," says one of them. And it would be nice to find an answer to the question of why younger colleagues are not interested in the professions and life experiences of the "veterans." It is quite true: the correspondent's "star" goes out inside the Radio after he returns home. In the preparation of daily programs the rights and duties are the same. A person who is twenty years younger and has never been sent abroad for a long time gets to do the same things. "In this system, however, it is not clear who is the best," observes Eva Szecsi, who looks forward to the weekly half-hour analytical evening program, where she can step away from "professional barbarism." The framework of the program opens up a way for them to discuss and compare, with the assistance of experts, particular areas of the life of our country and others.

"Everywhere is good, but home is best." This is a hackneyed phrase. The two reporters, who know the world well and thus appreciate the values of others, admit sincerely that there are things that are not better at home. Szecsi, for example, has a hard time putting up with rudeness and indecency, while Kulcsar misses the communications culture and the tolerance. And both [complain about] the telephone system at home...

By the way, these kinds of themes will be the subject of Istvan Kulcsar's soon-to-appear book and the brochure that Eva Szecsi has prepared about the situation of French women.

Now they sit in the same room, back to back. If they look up from their desks, both see the wall. But that is not why they feel their space a little cramped...

9611
CSO: 2500/350

RADIO BROADCASTERS TO EAST EUROPE DESCRIBED

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian May 84 p 27

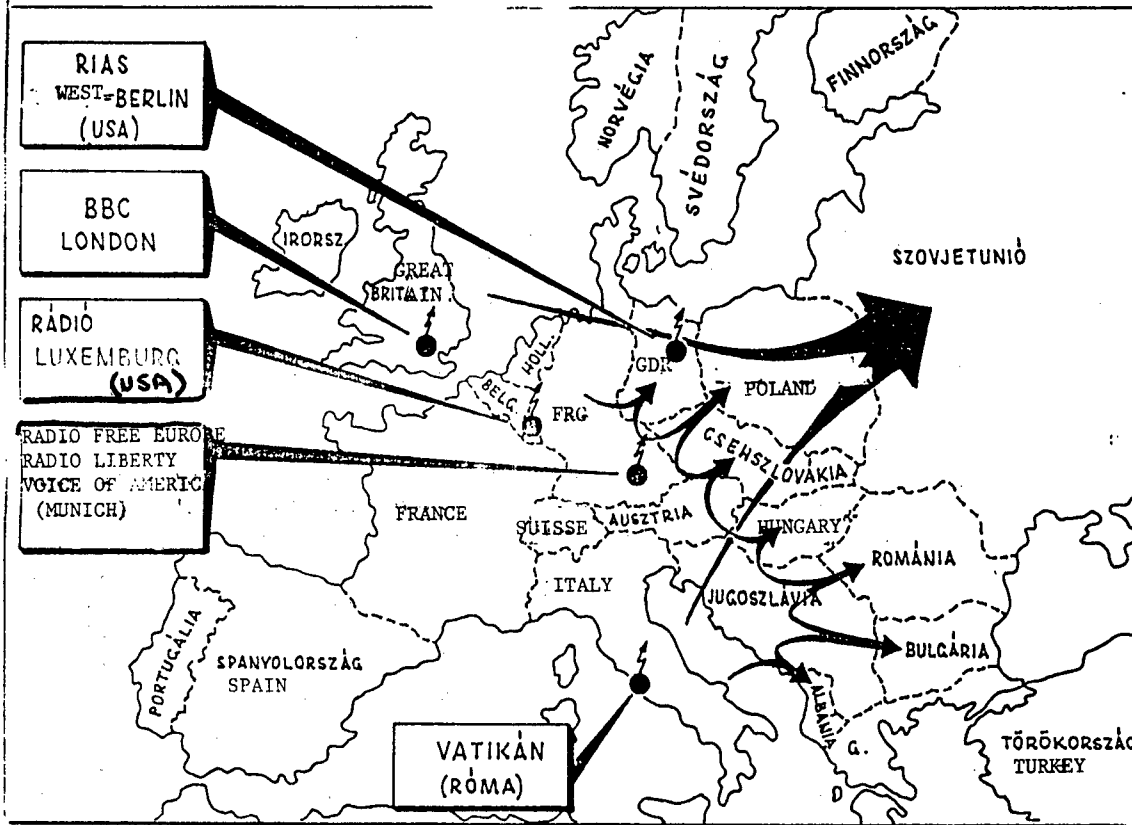
[Article by Istvan Szatai, lieutenant colonel: "Ideological Preparation, Psychological Warfare"]

[Excerpt] To continue the rebellion inciting politics and psychological warfare directed against us, the imperialist circles have at their disposal a large number of special organizations, institutes, modern equipment and billions to pay for it. The most effective method of their activity is mass communications, including radio stations and transmitters. We must note here that from the second half of 1985 we have to deal with satellite broadcasts of television. The following radio stations serve bourgeois propaganda: "Voice of America," with 7,700 employees and 9,677 weekly broadcast hours in 12 languages. They broadcast 2 hours against us daily. They have a budget of 643 million dollars. "BBC London" has a staff of 3,240, with 720 hours of broadcasts in 46 languages. Their daily Hungarian broadcast is 2 and one-half hours daily. Their yearly budget is \$120 million. "Radio Free Europe" and "Radio Liberty" are both in Munich under the aegis of the CIA and operate according to its instructions. RFE employes 3,900, with 110 people working in the Hungarian editorial staff. They broadcast in the languages of six European socialist nations, 554 hours a week. They broadcast in Hungarian 19 hours daily. Their annual budget is 220 million dollars. Radio Liberty has 2,500 staff members, who broadcast all day long in Russian and in the languages of the 14 Soviet republics too.

The following stations are also serving the disruptive activities of the imperialists: "Deutschlandfunk-Deutsche Welle," "Radio Vatican," and "Radio Israel." The enemy radio stations are controlled by the basic principles of a central organ, and carry out their assignments in a divided and differentiated manner.

[Map on following page]

THE MAIN CENTERS AND TRANSMITTERS OF MISLEADING AND INCITEFUL PROPAGANDA IN EUROPE



26 **PROPAZSIVNICHESKIY**

CSO: 2500/368

TOGO PRESIDENT VISITS CEAUSESCU

Ceausescu Toast at Dinner

AU291235 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 May 84 p 1, 3

[Toast by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 23 May Bucharest official dinner in honor of visiting Togolese President General Gnassingbe Eyadema]

[Text] Mr President, esteemed guests, comrades and friends:

We have the great pleasures of warmly greeting you on your first visit to Socialist Romania and wishing you, Mr President, welcome to our country.

Your visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania is an expression of the positive evolution of Romanian-Togolese relations and of the joint desire to further develop these relations on the basis of full equality of our rights and mutual esteem and respect.

We note with satisfaction that relations of cooperation have developed between our countries and that they may further expand in the economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other fields of mutual interest, to the benefit of the two peoples and in the interest of their free development along the road of progress, independence, and peace. We are convinced that during our current talks we will agree upon new ways and means to better utilize these opportunities, so as to base the mutually advantageous Romanian-Togolese cooperation on a lasting, stable, and durable foundation.

During your visit you will be able to directly acquaint yourself with certain achievements and concerns of the Romanian people, who are celebrating this year the 40th anniversary of the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, an event of decisive significance for the country's destiny, which paved the way for the successful transition to building the new socialist system in our fatherland. The historical successes attained and the great revolutionary changes in the Romanian society in the past 40 years clearly demonstrate the force of a free people masters of their own destiny, a people who have eliminated exploitation and oppression forever and are taking united action to develop the economy, science, education, and culture. Our people are aware of the fact that everything being built today in our fatherland serves the well-being, independence, happiness, progress, and flourishing of Socialist Romania.

We are familiar with the efforts made by your country and people to eliminate the backwardness inherited from the past and promote their own socioeconomic progress. We wish the friendly Togolese people ever greater successes along the road of promoting their development, strengthening their country's independence, and building a new, free, and happy life.

Mr President, your visit to our country takes place at a time when the international situation is very serious and complex. The arms race has acquired an alarming scope, particularly the nuclear one, something which has greatly increased the danger of a war that may lead to the destruction of life itself on our planet. Therefore, we believe that the key issue of our times is to defend peace, halt the arms race, and proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear.

We are particularly worried over the situation created in Europe in the wake of the start of the deployment of the U.S. Intermediate-range missiles in West European countries and the nuclear countermeasures announced by the USSR. It is necessary to resolutely work to halt the implementation of these measures by both sides and to resume Soviet-U.S. negotiations in order to attain appropriate agreements and understandings which can free Europe from intermediate-range nuclear missiles and any other kind of nuclear weapons.

We firmly work to strengthen cooperation and security in the Balkans and to turn this region into a zone of peace and cooperation, without nuclear weapons and foreign military bases. At the same time we support the creation of similar nuclear-free areas in other parts of Europe and the world.

Romania is developing broad relations with the socialist countries, the developing countries, and all states, regardless of social system, on the basis of principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

I believe that, in the current international circumstances, firm action should be taken to eliminate force and the threat of force from international relations and to solve all contentious issues between states exclusively through peaceful negotiations.

In this spirit, Romania has consistently advocated an overall political settlement of the Middle East problems and the convening of an international conference for this purpose, under the UN aegis, with the participation of all interested countries, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

We deem it necessary that an end be put to the conflict between Iran and Iraq and that the differences between them be solved through negotiations. All existing conflicts should be settled in this spirit.

We believe that, in the current circumstances, it is all the more necessary for all peoples and progressive forces everywhere to strengthen their cooperation and solidarity in the struggle to eliminate the imperialist and colonialist policy of exploitation and domination and to assert a new policy of equality, respect for national independence, understanding, cooperation, and peace.

Romania expresses full solidarity with the struggle of peoples in Africa to completely eliminate colonialism--thus we are solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization]--to ensure their independence, to consolidate and defend the independence of all African peoples, and to promote their socioeconomic progress. We firmly speak out for strengthening the unity and cooperation of African peoples. We believe that an important role in this respect devolves upon the Organization of African Unity, which can make an active contribution to politically resolving various conflicts, strengthening African solidarity and cooperation, and promoting the socioeconomic development of these countries.

In view of the continuous aggravation of the socioeconomic situation of developing countries--as a result of the world economic crisis, the inequitable financial policy, and the high interest rates at the international level--it is necessary for these countries to strengthen their cooperation and unity in establishing a common strategy in the negotiations with the developed countries and struggling for a new world economic order based on equality and equity in relations between states.

We speak out for the participation of all states, regardless of social system, in resolving the complex problems of the contemporary world. In this respect, a particular role devolves upon small and medium-sized countries and the developing and nonaligned countries, which represent the great majority of states and are directly interested in a democratic policy of independence, cooperation, and peace.

We also believe that one should increase the role and contribution of the United Nations and other international bodies in solving problems, democratizing relations between states, and ensuring peace and understanding among nations.

Life and today's world realities clearly highlight the ever more important role played by the peoples in shaping the course of the international life. We are firmly convinced that, through united action, the peoples and progressive forces everywhere can ensure the triumph of the policy of disarmament, peace, detente, independence, security, and cooperation between all nations.

Mr President, with the conviction that your visit to Socialist Romania and the agreements to be reached will open up new prospects for comprehensive cooperation between our countries, to the benefit of both our peoples and in the interest of the overall cause of cooperation, independence, and peace, I propose a toast to:

Your health, Mr President,

The progress, peace, and prosperity of the friendly Togolese people,

The continuous development of Romanian-Togolese friendship and cooperation,

The health of you all,

Peace and cooperation between all nations! (applause)

Joint Declaration

AU291237 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romania 26 May 84 pp 1, 3

["Joint Declaration on Strengthening Friendship and Developing Cooperation Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Togo" issued on Togolese President Gnassingbe Eyadema's 22-25 May visit to Romania]

[Text] The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Republic of Togo,

Determined to expand and deepen relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples,

Profoundly convinced that the development of these relations is in accordance with the national interests of their countries and also makes an important contribution to strengthening cooperation and solidarity between developing countries and nonaligned countries in their endeavors to consolidate their national independence and promote peace, progress, and understanding in the world,

Convinced that, in the current most serious and complex international situation, firm action should be taken to ensure the right of all peoples to peace, life, and free and independent existence,

Determined to firmly work to promote an active policy of broad cooperation between all states, on the basis of principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs of other states, full equality of rights, mutual advantage, nonuse of force and the threat of force, and respect for each people's right to freely choose the path of its socioeconomic development,

Having conducted official talks, in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual understanding and respect, during the 22-25 May 1984 official friendship visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania by General Gnassingbe Eyadema, founding chairman of the Rally of Togolese People [RTP] and president of the Republic of Togo, at the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Having briefed each other on concerns of their parties and countries in the field of socioeconomic construction, having examined in detail ways and means to promote Romanian-Togolese relations of friendship and cooperation, and having exchanged views on topical issues of the international life,

Agreed upon the following:

I

The two presidents expressed satisfaction at the good relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between their parties and countries, which are in full accordance with the basic interests of the Romanian and Togolese peoples. The presidents stressed the need and opportunities to further develop Romanian-Togolese cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical, social, cultural, and other fields.

The RCP secretary general and the founding chairman of the Togolese people pointed out the important role incumbent upon cooperation between the two parties and emphasized the need to expand this cooperation so as to strengthen relations of friendship between the two countries and peoples. They decided to strengthen the ties and contacts between the two parties and between trade union, youth, women, and other mass organizations; with this aim in view, they decided to stimulate exchanges of delegations, information, and data concerning the political, socioeconomic, and cultural activities in their countries.

Pointing out the particular importance of economic cooperation and trade for developing ties between the two countries and peoples and in view of the growing potential of their national economies and the priorities of their socioeconomic development programs, the two presidents recommended that relevant Romanian and Togolese bodies endeavor to expand bilateral trade exchanges and establish concrete targets for developing economic cooperation particularly in agriculture, industry, mining, energy, and other fields.

In order to consolidate the framework for promoting economic ties between Romania and Togo and place them on a stable and long-term basis, the two presidents signed a Program-Agreement on Long-Term Development of Economic and Technical Cooperation and Trade Exchanges between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Togo.

The two presidents also decided that the second session of the Joint Romanian-Togolese Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation should meet as soon as possible.

II

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Republic of Togo examined the complex problems of the current international life and expressed their profound concern over the particularly dangerous tension reached in the international life as a result of the escalation of the arms race, primarily nuclear; the manifestation of the policy of force and threat of force in relations between states; the attempts at maintaining and consolidating zones of influence; the examples of interference in domestic affairs of other states; and the perpetuation of conflicts and hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world.

Likewise, the two presidents expressed concern over the widening gaps between poor and rich countries, at a time when the consequences of the world economic crisis persist and no progress is made in the efforts to establish a new, more just, and more equitable international economic order.

In view of this situation that jeopardizes international peace and security and profoundly affects the supreme interests of all peoples, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Gnassingbe Eyadema believe that resolute and urgent measures should be taken to put an end to the course toward confrontation and war and to promote a new policy of detente, respect for national independence, peace, and cooperation among nations.

The two presidents believe that the key problem of our age is to halt the arms race, proceed to concrete disarmament measures, primarily nuclear, and ensure lasting peace in the world.

In this respect, they deem it necessary to proceed without delay to a total ban on nuclear tests, to cease the production of and gradually cut back on stockpiles of nuclear weapons, until their complete elimination, to ban the use of nuclear weapons, to forbid the development of new kinds and systems of mass-destruction weapons, to reduce military expenditures, to eliminate foreign military bases, to create nuclear-free zones of peace in various parts of the world, and to dismantle military blocs.

The presidents of the two countries stressed that the financial resources resulting from a reduction of military expenditures should be used for speeding up the socioeconomic progress of peoples, particularly of those in developing countries.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Republic of Togo express concern over the serious situation as a result of the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe and believe that, in the newly created situation, both sides should end the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles and the negotiations between the USSR and the United States should be resumed, so as to reach agreements capable of freeing Europe from intermediate-range nuclear missiles and any other nuclear weapons.

Examining the situation in Africa, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Gnassingbe Eyadema point out the ever greater assertion of the desire of African peoples and states to live in freedom and peace, to consolidate their national independence, to deepen their economic cooperation, and to strengthen their action unity.

They point out the important role devolving on the Organization of African Unity in the struggle against the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy, racism, and apartheid on the continent and in the efforts to resolve political differences and states of tension in Africa, with a view to giving impetus to broader economic cooperation between African states.

The presidents of Romania and Togo point out the urgent need to ensure Namibia's undelayed access to independence and the Namibian people's right to independently choose their future development road. The two presidents reiterate their countries' solidarity with and full support for the Namibian people's struggle for independence, under the leadership of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], their sole legitimate representative. The two presidents also point out the need for greater international efforts and efficient measures to implement Resolution No 435 of the UN Security Council concerning Namibia's independence.

The two presidents spoke out for abolishing the policy of apartheid and racist discrimination in South Africa and ensuring equal and democratic rights for all citizens of that country. They also demanded that South Africa observe the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states in Southern Africa.

Expressing particular concern over the growing tension and the complex situation in the Middle East, the two presidents reiterate the conviction of their countries that a lasting, just and global peace in the Middle East can only be attained through Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war; the resolution of the Palestinian people's problem through their right to self-determination, including the creation of their own independent state; and ensuring the existence, integrity, and security of all states in that area. The two presidents speak out for convening an international conference under UN aegis, with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the USSR and the United States, as well as other countries that can contribute to resolving the Middle East problems.

The two heads of state advocate the withdrawal, without preconditions, of Israeli troops from Lebanon, and the conclusion of an agreement between the political and social forces of Lebanon in order to ensure the national independence and sovereignty, the unity, and the integrity of that country.

Referring to the great human and material losses caused by the continuation of the war between Iraq and Iran and to the danger posed by that war to peace and stability in that region and throughout the world, the presidents of Romania and Togo stress the need for an end to military operations, for the withdrawal of both armies within their national borders, and for the start of negotiations to peacefully resolve the differences between the two states.

Pointing out the serious consequences of increased world economic instability and the persistence of the economic energy, and currency-financial crisis for all countries, the two presidents believe that the elimination of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new world economic order is an imperative requirement of peace and progress for all peoples. They advocated a broad world economic cooperation by eliminating protectionist measures, securing the sale of raw materials at profitable prices for the producer and equitable prices for consumers, working for an appropriate currency reform, drafting special programs to assist the developing countries in agriculture, industry, transportation, and other fields of activity, ensuring a substantial transfer of modern

technology to these countries under advantageous conditions, helping them with the training of national economic cadres, and stimulating the development of economic cooperation between developing countries.

The two heads of state also believe that resolute measures should be taken to solve the problem of the foreign debt of developing countries, to agree upon practical means to reduce and stabilize interest rates at reasonable levels, and to ensure that these countries have access to international loans under preferential conditions.

The two presidents point out the need for an undelayed start of overall negotiations in this respect, within the United Nations and with the participation of all states, on the basis of a constructive political consensus.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Gnassingbe Eyadema believe in the great importance of expanding and deepening economic cooperation between developing countries and strengthen their action unity and solidarity. Hence, they advocate a summit meeting of developing countries which should discuss the complex problems of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order and should adopt concrete measures of cooperation between developing countries and a common strategy in the negotiations with the developed countries.

The two countries believe that the United Nations is the most appropriate forum for comprehensive negotiations and for political solutions to all international problems. To attain these goals, the two heads of state believe that actions should be taken to increase the role and efficiency of this world organization in consolidating peace, security, development, and cooperation and peacefully resolving differences and conflicts between states. They spoke out for adjusting the structures and activities of this organization to the requirements and realities of the international community.

The presidents of Romania and Togo reiterated the conviction that the small and medium-sized countries, the developing countries, and the nonaligned states should play a greater role in discussing and resolving topical international problems. In this respect, they highlighted the importance of the Nonaligned Movement and the "Group of 77" in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, for peace, security, and national independence, for halting the arms race, for disarmament, and for building a new international economic order.

The two presidents decided to intensify cooperation between the two countries at the international level, at the United Nations and its specialized institutions, and within the "Group of 77" and the Nonaligned Movement in order to increase their contribution to a just and democratic settlement of key problems of international life and to promote peace, security, and cooperation throughout the world.

III

During their visit, President Gnassingbe Eyadema and the members of the Togolese delegation visited socioeconomic units in Bucharest and the provinces.

The high-ranking guests were received everywhere with esteem and warm hospitality, and expression of sentiments of esteem and friendship between the two countries and peoples.

The presidents of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Togo express full satisfaction at the talks conducted and agreements reached, something which confirms the particular importance of high-level meetings. They are convinced that this visit makes a great contribution to deepening relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and marks an important point in developing their cooperation, to the benefit of the Romanian and Togolese peoples and in the interest of peace, progress, and cooperation in the world.

At the end of the visit, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, founding chairman of the Rally of Togolese People and president of the Republic of Togo, warmly thanked Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Romanian people for the very warm reception extended to him and the Togolese delegation during their stay in Romania.

General Gnassingbe Eyadema, RTP founding chairman and president of the Republic of Togo, invited Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to pay an official friendship visit to the Republic of Togo together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be established later, through diplomatic channels.

The official talks between the presidents of Romania and Togo were attended, for Romania, by the following comrades: Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Nicolae Constantin, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions; Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Ana Muresan, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Women's Council, Nicu Ceausescu, member of the RCP Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, and minister of youth; Gheorghe David, minister of agriculture and food industry, Alexandru Rosu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation; Constantin Mitea, counsellor to the party secretary general and president of the Republic; Vasile Chivulescu, Romania's ambassador to Lome.

For Togo, the talks were attended by: Anani Kuma Akakpo-Ahiany, member of the TRP Political Bureau and minister of foreign affairs and cooperation; Barry Moussa Barque, member of the RTP Political Bureau and minister of public works, mines, energy, and hydraulic resources; Anani Gassou, member of the RTP Central Committee and minister of rural development; Yao Kunale Eklo, administrative secretary of the RTP; Lassissi Kerim Dikeni, ambassador of the Republic of Togo to Bucharest; Ayele Nubukpo, member of the RTP Central Committee and chairman of the Togo National Women's Union; Eshohanam Pere, vice chairman of the Togo National Women's Union; Dr Sougoulimpo Kerimou, member of the National Executive Commission of the National Confederation of Togo Working people; Tchabao Alassani, deputy national commissar of the RTP Youth Organization

IGLESIAS LUMEA INTERVIEW CITED

AU240934 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0835 GMT 24 May 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24 May 1984--In an interview granted to the Bucharest weekly LUMEA, which is printed in this week's issue, Gerardo Iglesias, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Spain, who recently visited Romania at head of a party delegation, showed that "the close relations between the Communist Party of Spain and the Romanian Communist Party follow the line of fine traditions."

Highlighting the particular significance of his interview with RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, Gerardo Iglesias said:

"I was deeply impressed with my first interview with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, an interview which proceeded in an atmosphere of understanding and mutual respect and which I consider as highly positive. As a matter of fact, and I wish to stress it, the Spanish and Romanian Communists have always got on well together. Approaching the highly complex problems of the international life, we both underscored the principles underlying the two parties' policies. Obviously, we conceive the links between communist and workers' parties, within the international working-class and progressive movement, as based on mutual respect, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs. These are the principles we cherish, which guide our attitude and behavior. And we consider that in these moments when international life has grown extremely tense and is faced with the threat of war, a war which will not be like the previous ones, a war which might destroy life itself, the whole complex of international relations should be grounded on these principles, as it is only in this way that a future of peace is possible. We both reiterated the need for everything possible to be done so that no litigious issue be approached from the stand of the use of threat of force."

Requested to assess the stance taken by Romanian Communists vis-a-vis the need for strengthening the unity and solidarity of communist and workers' parties under the current international circumstances, the collocutor stated:

"Naturally, unity is a fundamental principle in the fight of the working-class movement. The Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Spain conceive this unity as based on a strict observance of each party's independence to work out its policy and strategy in keeping with the specific conditions in the respective country. Consequently, unity as we understand it is a dialectical unity, is unity in diversity."

Answering a question referring to the way in which the Spanish Communists assess the options of the RCP and Romania on an internal plane, in the work of building socialism, as well as internationally, in the assertion of peace and socialism in the world, the secretary-general of the Communist Party of Spain said:

"The Spanish Communists' image of the Romanian Communist Party is based on the feelings of friendship, brotherhood and gratitude for the solidarity it has shown ever since the period of Franco's dictatorship. We will never forget these feelings and actions of solidarity. As for the public opinion, especially the Spanish public opinion with which I am best conversant, I may say that Romania enjoys high appreciation owing to the international policy it promotes. The stances are well known taken by the Romanian party and state, by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in particular and they are highly appreciated."

In his interview, Gerardo Iglesias also referred to the current tasks of the Communist Party of Spain which he considered as being numerous and complex taking account of the complex political, social and economic situation in Spain. In this context, he showed that the communist party "is always receptive to dialogue with all leftist forces." In connection with the requirements of the Spanish masses for a referendum on Spain's remaining in the NATO, the collocutor said the government, which pledged to call a referendum, will eventually call it because of the powerful pressure exerted by the masses. He also pointed to the peoples' capacity to bring about peace.

CSO: 2700/203

ROMANIA

PARTY STRATEGY ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 10 Mar 84 pp 2-9

/Speech by Manea Manescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, at the Conference of Teachers of Social Sciences in Higher Education: "RCP's Strategy for Romania's Transition to a New Stage of Economic Development"

/Text/ The great 40th Anniversary of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for National and Social Emancipation and the proceedings of the coming 13th Party Congress constitute a special occasion for analyzing the glorious record of the Romanian people under their Communist Party's leadership and for evaluating, in the light of the party documents, the theoretical, practical and social-political work of Nicolae Ceausescu and the outlook for the nation's advance on the historic path of its all-around development and for further improvement of the Romanian socialist nation's standard of civilization.

His treatment of the complex problems of the present stage and future prospects of Romania's economic development, subjects of the greatest theoretical, political and practical importance, emphatically demonstrates the inestimable ability of Nicolae Ceausescu, an eminent political and state leader and a learned scientist and scholar, to develop in a revolutionary dialectical conception and an original historical view theories and conclusions of vital importance to construction of the fully developed socialist society and transition to communism in Romania.

I. Place and Role of Economic Thought in Ceausescu's Social-Political Work

By virtue of its theoretical and practical value, Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant social-political thinking is a highly significant contribution to generalization of experience in building the new order, to continuing improvement of scientific socialism, and to development of world science.

Covering broad fields of knowledge from philosophy to economics, from history to political science, and from ethics to sociology and making a growing contribution to constant enrichment of the heritage of scientific socialism, the system of theories and concepts Nicolae Ceausescu has developed is the result of a

brilliant political acumen and an outstanding ability to determine, analyze and fathom the essence of social phenomena. These theories reflect his creative spirit and unceasing evaluation of the aspects of Marxism in connection with the national-historical requirements of socialist and communist construction and in keeping with the development of contemporary society and civilization.

This monumental scientific work is focused upon the idea of social progress, a concept approached from a broad dialectical and historical viewpoint and in a truly humanistic spirit. On the basis of the concept of social progress, which is the starting point of his whole work, Nicolae Ceausescu uniformly and harmoniously substantiates the leading idea upon which the RCP policy of building the fully developed socialist society on Romanian soil.

He views general socioeconomic progress in close connection with the political potential for organization and management of all society, since growth of the national wealth and the public's prosperity is closely related to the political options and decisions and to the efficiency with which the whole dynamic process of socioeconomic development is managed.

The theory that social progress and its corollary, enhancement of socialist civilization, are based upon steady development of the productive forces and the national division of labor along with continuing improvement of the productive forces is of particular theoretical and practical significance. It brings out the close connection and interdependence between the concept of social progress and that of the production method.

Economic theory and practice are central to Nicolae Ceausescu's vast work. The entire problem of economic development is treated in a scientific, creative way that is always subordinated to the requirements for raising the people's living standard, the supreme goal of party policy. The contributions of this kind make critical points about the operation of the objective laws and their use in economic policy; rapid and balanced development of the productive forces and material production as decisive factors for growth of the national wealth and the people's prosperity and for the steady progress of all activities; steady growth of the national income through intensive reproduction based on high social labor productivity; optimal distribution of the national income between accumulation and consumption as a priority of the investment policy; national industrialization on a modern basis and intensive development of agriculture and all production sectors in accordance with the requirements for making the national economy a harmoniously structured complex; rational distribution of the productive forces throughout the nation through combination of the economic and social criteria; introduction and expansion of technical-scientific progress; as well as the most effective use of the labor force and fixed capital, better use of raw material and energy resources, substantial reduction of material outlays, greater profitability, and growth of socialist Romania's wealth.

Nicolae Ceausescu's works contain new theories about improvement of the science of management and the critical part played in the entire social and economic system by the Communist Party as a dynamic force of the people's creative energies and as the vital center of society.

Guided by the idea that socialism is and must be the masses' purposeful creation and a society built by the people and for the people, the party secretary

general devised the whole series of measures that led to the formation of an efficient system for the workers' extensive participation in national socioeconomic and political management. Scientific determination of the original concept of the economic-financial mechanism is particularly important, basing all units' activities as it does on principles of workers self-management and self-administration and greatly increasing the initiative and responsibility of the workers collectives in the most efficient management of the share of the national wealth entrusted to them.

Combining the internal and external factors in economic growth and harmonizing the overall development of the national economy with the requirements for Romania's intensive participation in the world economic cycle are particularly important concerns of Nicolae Ceausescu's in the field of economic policy. Actually no area of socioeconomic development has escaped his attention. It is to the great credit of the party leader that he determined the scientific criteria for the periods of the past revolutionary stages, the essential characteristics of each period, and the connections and interactions of the various historical stages.

His conception of the fully developed socialist society as a critical stage on Romania's march to communist society is a striking illustration of Nicolae Ceausescu's revolutionary, innovating political thought and profound scientific outlook. This concept specifies the dialectics of the revolutionary process of building the new order in Romania, correlates all the socioeconomic aspects uniformly, and harmoniously combines the major aim of the nation's present developmental period with the main directions of its future progress.

The RCP and its secretary general feel that construction of the fully developed socialist society requires further expansion of the productive forces, achievement of an advanced economy based on a strong industry and a modern agriculture, intensive application of the scientific-technical revolution to all areas, emphasis upon the qualitative aspects, greater labor productivity and efficiency in all activities, and development of education, culture and the personality.

Meanwhile construction of the fully developed socialist society is considered closely interdependent with continuing improvement of production relations and the whole system of social organization and management, development of the party's role as a leading political force in the nation, consolidation of the state's functions, increasingly intensive enhancement of socialist democracy, workers self-management and self-administration, consolidation and development of socialist ownership, and generalization of the principles of socialist ethics and justice throughout Romanian society. Intensified political-ideological and educational efforts to form the new, well-rounded man with a revolutionary conception of the world and life, an inspired patriot and a purposeful and dedicated builder of the new society, is a critical aspect of the program to construct the fully developed socialist society.

Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 that the concept of the fully developed socialist society correlates "all aspects of society, the material base, management and development of democracy, the increasingly important role of science, and ideological and political-educational work."

In the context of the stages to be traversed by the whole process of building the fully developed socialist society the RCP and its secretary general developed the strategy for Romania's transition to a new developmental stage, a revolutionary strategy based upon the level reached by the productive forces and social relations, or the economic potential achieved by the diligence of the Romanian people, and upon realistic evaluation of the material and human potentials for Romania's rise to new heights of progress and civilization in the future.

II. Notable Progress in National Socioeconomic Development

The Romanian people have made notable progress in economic development and in national socialist construction under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party. Held about two decades ago, the Ninth Party Congress inaugurated an era in the nation's history wherein the people's selfless labor strengthened by their great leader's political and scientific thought accelerated the progress of the new order and lent a new content to a historical period characterized by matchless feats of labor and heroism that gave Romania a worthy place in the world concert of nations.

The important achievements of this period bear the stamp of Nicolae Ceausescu's personality. He devised the wise domestic and foreign policy of socialist Romania's national sovereignty and independence in a revolutionary dialectical conception and an original view.

With his characteristic scientific power, with political vision and courage, and with patriotic and revolutionary dedication the party secretary general set the guidelines and pointed out the ways and means to build a modern, efficient economy. He effectively mobilized all the nation's forces to construct the fully developed socialist society in Romania and to secure the people's well-being.

The radical revolutionary changes in the years of socialist construction graphically bear out the RCP's ability to carry out an extensive effort to develop and implement a strategy for socioeconomic development that always allows for the particular conditions in Romania in every stage as well as the phenomena and trends in the world economy and international affairs.

The party's economic strategy is based on the objective necessity of developing the productive forces as essential factors for economic and scientific-technical progress, improving education and culture, and securing a high level of prosperity and civilization for the entire people. Since the Ninth Party Congress the highly dynamic progress of the productive forces and growing reproduction have resulted in growth of the national wealth and continuing improvement of the workers' material and cultural living standards.

Some of the most profound structural changes of a political, social and economic nature have been made in Romanian society that are unprecedented in the nation's entire history. In the years of socialism Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country with a fully developing industry and an agriculture in full modernization. In terms of national income, Romania's economic power is now over 16 times greater than in 1950.

Romania now has a technical-material base including more and more features of modern economies and a potential for further dynamic and effective economic

growth. Romanian industry is increasingly capable of equipping the entire national economy, it can make products that are competitive on the international market, and it can solve some of the most complex problems of contemporary technical progress. Agriculture is firmly committed to accelerating intensive production and producing higher yields in all activities, and the other economic sectors are prepared for constantly gaining activity.

Romania's strong potential for scientific research and technological creativeness is being more and more closely integrated with production and education and is an essential factor for the nation's all-around development.

The rapid gains in material production and efficiency of social labor and the steady growth of the national income brought about increases in workers' incomes, progress in public instruction and culture, better health protection, intensified housing construction, and general improvement of the entire people's welfare. The policies of rational allocation of the productive forces and development of social and economic activities throughout the nation have definitely contributed to the prosperity of all cities and villages and to consolidation of the material base of all Romanian citizens' social and national equality. Socialist production relations have been developed and consolidated throughout the nation.

The social-political structure of Romanian society reflects the close unity of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and the other social categories, and it is characterized by all citizens' community of interests and ideals regardless of nationality. Good conditions have been created for the workers' direct involvement in politics and social management. We have a broad democratic framework for all workers' equal participation in preparation and implementation of party policy and a system of organization, management and planning that has been perfected over the years and is always open to renovation.

As we know, there have also been some difficulties in the course of Romania's economic development. Socialist society, being dynamic by nature, does not develop in a straight line without contradictions. Nicolae Ceausescu's report to the National Party Conference in December 1982 is a model of penetrating analysis of the main contradictions in the present stage of Romanian society. It clearly indicates what action should be taken on all levels to solve the problem promptly in order to eliminate the defects in some activities as soon as possible and to secure all-around social progress.

Romania presents the picture today of a country committed with all its forces to a vast program for socioeconomic development that will secure rapid growth of the national wealth and the entire people's well-being as they advance victoriously on the path of socialism and communism.

The first 3 years of the current five-year plan show good progress in the evolution of all Romanian society, since the efforts of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and all workers have produced notable results in all activities. In 1983 industry produced an output amounting to more than 1.1 billion lei. The intensive character of agriculture has been enhanced. Good results have been obtained in construction, transportation and all sectors of the national economy. Labor productivity has grown, production costs are down, and effectiveness, profitability and the national income have been increased. The socialist units'

financial results have improved steadily, resulting in healthy cash circulation and consolidation of the budgetary, financial-monetary and foreign exchange balances. As it says in the Statement on Fulfillment of the 1983 Plan published at the end of January, Romania has largely overcome the difficulties that arose in the first 2 years of the five-year plan despite the problems created by the world economic crisis.

The results obtained in 1981-1983, the improved procurement of energy, raw material and material resources in 1984, and the intensive mobilization of the workers reflect the Romanian national economy's potential for attaining the goals set in the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

At a time of great international tension, when the whole planet is braving the hurricane of the world crisis, Romania is facing the world with a strong and healthy economy, having achieved a surplus of more than \$4 billion in its balance of trade in 1981-1983. This increased its potential and ability to make payments in foreign exchange, which helped to reduce a large portion of its foreign debt. The progress made in the first 3 years of the five-year plan graphically reflects better use of national labor and the Romanian people's creative power, which is a certain guarantee of fulfillment of the programs for economic and social development.

Romanian society is characterized today by increasingly pronounced social leveling and by the entire people's solidarity around their guiding force, the RCP, and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu.

III. Start of a New Developmental Stage of the Whole National Economy

The 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference approved extensive programs with the main strategic aim of starting a new stage of development and attaining a new quality of work and life in all areas, so that Romania will join the ranks of countries with medium economic development.

In the party secretary general's social-political thinking the concept of a socialist country with medium economic development means a qualitatively new and higher stage of construction of the fully developed socialist society. The following are characteristic of the developmental strategy in the new stage of development: accelerated modernization of the production structures, especially in industry and agriculture, the two basic economic sectors; rapid growth of labor productivity; better use of raw materials and energy resources, with pronounced reduction of material outlays and considerably improved product quality; more effective Romanian exports on the international market; and a greater contribution from all intensive, qualitative and efficiency factors, which are critical to steady growth of the national income. Meanwhile Romania's transition to a new developmental stage means further improvement of production relations and of all economic and social organization and management, as well as continuous improvement of the people's material and cultural living standard.

Qualitatively higher development of industry is particularly important in the new stage.

The experience of nearly four decades and especially the last 20 years tells us that creation of a modern industry, an extensive undertaking of which Nicolae

Ceausescu is the initiator and architect, is the most important factor for further development of the national socioeconomic potential and for better use of material and manpower resources. The facts prove that a strong industry, based on rational use of Romania's natural resources and developed according to the needs of the Romanian economy, is the galvanizing factor that advances all society. Industry's contribution to national socioeconomic development is growing ever year, contributing over 55 percent to the formation of the national income.

The party secretary general believes that continued industrialization, the strategy of the new developmental stage, is incorporating the advanced technologies more and more rapidly and changing the industrial production structure to meet the standards of a greater efficiency comparable to that in the economically advanced countries. A series of special programs for sectors, subsectors and products has been prepared and is being applied in order to implement those major objectives.

The option for further improvement of the industrial production structures, with far-reaching implications for Romania's economic growth and general progress, emphasizes expansion of the domestic raw material base and gradual attainment of the nation's energy independence. With his characteristic scientific insight and his broad, far-sighted thinking, the party secretary general anticipated the extent and consequences of the world energy and raw materials crisis for all civilization long before the first symptoms appeared, and he concentrated efforts upon programs for further expansion of raw material and energy resources and prepared the national economy to cope with the effects of the world economic crisis. That priority option, scientifically and economically substantiated by Nicolae Ceausescu, resulted in extensive actions partly to intensify geologic studies and speed up development of the extractive industry, and partly to improve the procedures for processing and better exploitation and to carry out firm measures for conservation of energy and raw materials and for recovery and reuse of all material resources.

Creation of a modern processing industry is emphasized alongside development of domestic material resources. Notable progress in this area has been made in the years of socialist construction. Instead of an underdeveloped manufacturing industry Romania now has an industry with a fine technical inventory and a high technological potential. In Romania's present stage, one of transition to a new developmental stage, the strategy of increasing the nation's industrial strength is based upon a new conception with the major aims of intensive modernization of the production structures and priority promotion of the peak, automated and highly technical sectors with high productivity, quality and competitiveness in order to meet the requirements for the best possible satisfaction of the needs of the national economy and for increasing the volume and effectiveness of exports as well as the contribution of industry to the nation's general progress.

Pursuant to these aims, in the machine building industry priority development is given to the advanced sectors, namely electronics and automation, electrical engineering, precision machinery and optics, nuclear energy engineering, aeronautics, and production of machine tools and highly technical machinery and equipment. In the metallurgical industry steps are being taken for priority development of production of higher-grade steels and rolled goods with advanced processing to support the qualitative development of the machine building industry.

The chemical industry is concentrating on increasing the proportions of the sub-sectors for complex processing and fine synthesis with low energy inputs. In the consumer goods industry the emphasis is placed on diversification of production and improvement of product quality.

The evolution of industrial development has had and has exceptionally important social-political consequences. The accelerated industrialization process has continuously created and developed a numerically and qualitatively strong working class capable of functioning as a leading class in Romanian society. Sound geographic allocation of industry has permitted fulfillment of the working class in all counties and provided for the political presence of the most revolutionary social detachment throughout the country, with some of the best effects upon Romania's socioeconomic development as a whole.

Agriculture has an essential part to play in the RCP's strategy for Romania's transition to a new stage of development. The party's agrarian policy is based upon Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive action to increase the contribution of agriculture and the peasantry to the nation's economic and social development. Romanian agriculture has made outstanding progress. The average annual yield of bread grains in the last 5 years has been about 20 million tons compared with about 8 million tons in 1951-1955.

The qualitatively new problems confronting agriculture today are largely due to the demands for higher yields in all crops and in zootechnology as well. These problems were masterfully surveyed in the basic policy for a new and radical agrarian revolution, which in Nicolae Ceausescu's view is an all-inclusive concept covering the production forces and relations, the development of agrobiological science, mechanization and chemization, growth of production and labor productivity, and the whole process of improving agricultural organization and management.

The bread grains, especially wheat and corn, will still be foremost in crop production. Special emphasis will be placed on increased production of technical plants, so that the raw material requirements of some important sectors of the consumer goods industry will be met out of domestic resources as far as possible. Truck gardening and orchard and vineyard cultivation will be further developed.

Considerable improvement of operations in zootechnology (a sector characteristic of an intensive agriculture) is a major aim, so that faster growth of livestock production will bring it up to about 50 percent of the total agricultural output.

To accomplish those major aims, the decisions of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1983 and the laws enacted by the Grand National Assembly on agriculture have been collated in a broad and comprehensive program that will secure greater and also more stable agricultural outputs through the most productive use of the land, an important natural resource and an inexhaustible source of the national wealth whose productive potential can be steadily enhanced by application of efficient measures. For this purpose better organization and intensive use of the agricultural lands and the whole area of the country are planned, as well as the irrigation, drainage and soil erosion projects that are essential to rich harvests.

This veritable program to change nature, developed upon the initiative and under the direct guidance of Nicolae Ceausescu, is of vital importance to Romanian society's general development. The national program is a veritable charter for use of the land reserve and the soil, the everlasting treasure of the Romanian people. The provisions of the program will liberate agriculture from climatic conditions, which are often unfavorable. Good and stable harvests will be possible every year regardless of the caprices of nature.

The National Program for Land Improvement and Irrigation, the measures adopted at the conference in December 1983, and the Unified Program To Increase Agricultural Production on Private Farms reflect the efforts of the party and the secretary general to make all arrangement for a major qualitative leap in Romanian agriculture.

The success of the new agrarian revolution, a cause of the entire people, will be an important contribution to further consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and of Romanian unity as a decisive factor for construction of the fully developed socialist society.

Based upon development of industry and agriculture as sectors forming the framework of the Romanian economy, the RCP's strategy includes practical measures and objectives for development of the economy as a whole and all sectors of social activity. In the RCP's view, creation of a modern, highly developed economy to meet the demands of socialist and communist society calls for a harmonious and balanced national complex combining in one optimal structure industry, agriculture, construction, circulation of goods, transportation, services, scientific research and technological development, in close correlation with education, culture and public health protection.

The party secretary general has made points of great theoretical and practical importance concerning the growing interdependence among the economic sectors and the need for every component of the socioeconomic complex to function beyond reproach. Taking a firm stand on the theories that were wrongly contrasting some economic sectors with others, Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 that "There is no more important or less important sector. Each sector has its place and its importance in the division of labor."

This principle applies not only to the economy but also to the superstructure, production relations, and all components of society. The party has made extensive efforts to develop education and culture as well as ideological and political-educational work, which have a vital part to play in further social progress. The whole task of organization and management is integrated in a process of continued improvement on a national scale such that all the economic and social sectors will be included and will function as effectively as possible.

The new stage of economic development is based upon an appropriate program of accumulation and investment. Experience has demonstrated the close interdependence between the proportion of the national income allocated to socioeconomic development and the growth rate of the national wealth and economic growth as guarantees of a rising living standard. Within certain optimal limits the rate of accumulation, along with the efficiency with which the allocated funds are used, has

been and is functioning as a stimulus to the nation's all-around progress. The necessity of allocating a large, rationally proportioned part of the national income to accumulation, as a long-term political and economic option for Romania, has been completely integrated in the party's and state's unified conception of the steps to be taken to resolve the vital problems of development.

The steady accumulation rates of about 30 percent of the national income in the last three five-year plans have made it possible to implement some extensive investment programs.

The party is consistently investing in high parameters of effectiveness in pursuance of the strategy of Romania's transition to a new developmental stage. At the same time it is also emphasizing the most productive use of existing production capacities. In the present stage the investment policy is characterized by a priority on expansion of domestic raw material and energy resources, intensive development of agriculture, and better use of all resources. A much greater proportion of the investments are being allocated to technical and qualitative improvement of the operations of the existing enterprises. Priority is also given to sound proportioning of the investment front and concentration of material and manpower resources upon punctual and earliest possible activation of the investment capacities in order to secure steady growth of material production.

Thanks to the correct policy of accumulation and investment, the value of the fixed assets operative today in the economy, which are the most dynamic part of the national wealth, has reached 2.3 billion lei and more. The fact is significant that over 80 percent of the existing fixed assets have been acquired since 1965, indicating the high degree of modernization of Romanian society's technical-material base. There are great reserves in the management of the fixed assets that must be exploited to increase production, labor productivity, profitability and the national income. Since Romania has such a vast source of national wealth, the party and its secretary general are making a stirring appeal to the entire people to make every effort to make better use of this immense resource for Romania's socioeconomic development to secure the entire nation's progress and prosperity.

IV. Interdependence of National and World Economies

Romania's more intensive participation in the world economic cycle is one of the basic components of the party's economic strategy.

Combination of the internal and external factors for economic growth has a very important place in Nicolae Ceausescu's social-political works. It is intended to bring about socioeconomic development through internal forces and maximum mobilization of the national economy's domestic resources (but without losing sight of the economic processes and phenomena in the contemporary world) and also through further expansion of economic relations with other states, thus amplifying the internal factors for expanded reproduction and the possibilities of economic progress.

The complex and contradictory state of the contemporary world, characterized by effects of the prolonged economic-financial crisis, is affecting practically all states because of their existing interdependences. Under these

circumstances the RCP and its secretary general are making persevering efforts on the international level to break down the barriers to economic exchanges among states, and on the national level to develop and keep modernizing the economy in order to expand international economic collaboration more effectively.

Romania's dynamic and increasingly effective participation in the international economic exchange is graphically illustrated by the fact that manufactured products now account for more than 75 percent of Romanian exports compared with about 5 percent before World War II, when we had to export 8-12 tons of raw materials and semifinished goods in order to import 1 ton of processed products. This demonstrates the national economy's ever growing capacity to eliminate the unequal exchange that existed in the prewar period from Romania's foreign trade and to provide for a highly effective foreign trade operation. But we must also take decisive action to export highly technical and high-quality products, to meet the contractual time limits, and to gain new foreign markets through competitive power.

As we know Romania is specially emphasizing expansion of relations with the CEMA countries and all socialist countries in order to better meet the mutual need for raw materials, energy, machinery, equipment and other products. Intensified relations with the developing countries are important, and relations with the developed capitalist countries are also being expanded.

As the party secretary general said at the Working Conference of the RCP Central Committee in January 1984, it is an important objective in foreign economic relations to develop long-term cooperation in production, primarily with socialist countries but also with other states and with firms and companies throughout the world. This form of economic collaboration is becoming more and more important because of the advantages it has to offer. Of course a number of requirements must be met in this case, especially recovery of the investments we make in connection with the cooperative actions through supply of products needed by the Romanian economy, especially raw materials.

Expansion of Romania's international economic collaboration is based upon observance of equal rights, national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit, principles that form the essential guidelines of the foreign policy of the RCP and the Romanian state.

Nicolae Ceausescu's conception of constructing a new economic order in the world is aimed at creation of conditions for elimination of underdevelopment and political and economic domination, as well as conversion of international economic exchanges to factors for all peoples' progress and civilization.

V. Role of Qualitative Factors in the New Developmental Stage

Romania's period of transition to a new stage of development is chiefly characterized by enhancement of the intensive, qualitative factors of efficiency, profitability and competitive power and the emphasis upon them in the efforts to bring about a dynamic and balanced economic growth.

In view of the requirements for Romanian society's development and the quantitative accumulations from the preceding five-year plans, the firm orientation of

economic growth toward emphasis on the qualitative aspects received a solid scientific substantiation in Nicolae Ceausescu's social-political thinking.

The accelerated growth of economic effectiveness will cover all aspects of the reproduction process and all sectors of the national economy through measures that will help to improve the whole series of factors for development of scientific research, introduction of modern technologies, greater labor productivity, reduction of production costs and especially of material inputs, better use of resources, and further improvement of product quality.

Concentration of efforts on the problems of economic effectiveness is especially necessary because that is where the decisive factors for growth of the national income and of the general national wealth and for the public's greater welfare are operating. The importance of accomplishing the tasks for accentuating the intensive aspect of the reproduction process is demonstrated by the fact that the effect of the qualitative factors is becoming predominant in the growth of the national income.

If the qualitative aspects of the economy are to be developed, the effectiveness of scientific research and promotion of technical progress must be considerably improved. The RCP's policy of socialist and communist construction is based on introducing the latest advances of modern science and technology consistently in the economy and in all social activity. In connection with this, it is a known fact that the scientific-technical revolution, a vast worldwide process with some of the most profound effects upon all walks of life, has made the introduction of advanced technology a basic component of contemporary economics.

In pursuance of this policy, the material and manpower potentials of Romanian scientific research have been regularly increased since the Ninth Party Congress and today it is playing a vital part in development of the peak sectors (nuclear energy engineering, the aeronautics industry, fine chemistry, electronics and electrical engineering, and construction of machine tools, assemblies and installations), in automation of production processes, and in bringing some new material resources into economic circulation.

The formation of a broad network of units for research, technological engineering and design and increasingly close integration of research with education and production provide a suitable background for intensive development of the scientific and technological capacities of the Romanian people's genius. The Program for Scientific Research and Technological Development for 1981 and 1990 and the Main Objectives up to the Year 2000 was crafted under the direct guidance of Nicolae Ceausescu together with Academician Dr Eng Elena Ceausescu. The research program directs scientific work toward steady development of the national energy and raw materials potentials, considerable reduction of material inputs, rational management and pronounced conservation of energy, use of the new energy sources, expanded mechanization and automation, assimilation of new products with better properties and lowest possible material inputs, modernization of manufacturing technologies, and higher quality and technical levels for products.

Better use of national labor and rapid growth of social labor productivity are among the main points made by Nicolae Ceausescu of vital importance to socio-economic development.

Intensive growth of labor productivity is a basic component of the strategy of emphasizing the intensive factors in reproduction. The RCP and its secretary general regard the most efficient use of the time reserve of the nation and that of every unit as a fundamental law of socioeconomic development.

For Romania as a socialist country in full development the problem of closing the gaps that still separate it from the heavily industrialized countries of the world is particularly a problem of using the time reserve within the national division of labor. Accordingly the existing gaps cannot be closed without maximum use of material and manpower resources, high labor productivity, and a growing productivity of the Romanian people's labor. The indices of labor productivity are critical for the effectiveness of the international economic exchanges because labor productivity is a constituent element of the exchanges of values among countries and peoples.

In the course of society's evolution the economic value of time has been critical to social progress. The party program for intensive growth of labor productivity illustrates the time-value equation.

Accordingly the RCP Program includes labor productivity as a basic factor for construction of an advanced economy. Its steady growth is a source of amplification of the national income and a decisive factor for the continuous development of the national economy, the general progress of society, and further improvement of the public's material and cultural living standard. Last year labor productivity was 13 times higher than in 1950.

Despite this progress, labor productivity in some sectors is still lower in Romania than in the economically developed countries. In order to secure continuous social progress, rapid growth of the national income and resulting improvement of the entire public's living standard, the party is concentrating general attention upon faster growth of labor productivity.

Thanks to the specific measures taken in enterprises down to the last work place, the entire gain in industrial output this year will be obtained by increasing labor productivity. It is planned to expand mechanized and automated production processes, further modernize manufacturing technologies, improve organization of production and labor, and manufacture every product with labor inputs closely correlated with the level of the technical inventory. In particular, the party and state leader has pointed out that continuing efforts must be made to improve the professional and technical training of the labor force and to retrain and refresh the knowledge of all workers as elements critical to full use of the possibilities offered by the technical-material inventory and to dynamic growth of labor productivity.

In summation of Nicolae Ceausescu's creative idea that the problems of better use of social labor are to be resolved in a broad context considering all factors for growth of labor productivity, the Program for More Intensive Growth of Labor Productivity and Improved Organization and Standardization of Labor in 1983 and on to 1990 includes measures that will double industrial labor productivity in this decade and make a vital contribution to growth of the national income and improvement of the public's living standard.

This program is based on the main theoretical and practical idea that the nation's reserve of working time, the time the entire people devote to material and cultural production, is the controlling factor for Romania's rise to ever higher levels of progress and socialist civilization.

The program to lower material outlays is particularly important in the present state of the Romanian economy's development. Constant reduction of material outlays is a main political objective of activity in all sectors and an essential problem of national socioeconomic progress.

The party secretary general has repeatedly pointed out that an immediate start on this task is especially necessary because the Romanian economy is still logging heavy material outlays in comparison with the economically developed countries. The proportion of material outlays in the social product is now over 60 percent compared with about 50 percent in some economically developed countries. Although a new and responsible opinion has been formed about this great economic problem, we are bound to say that we still find waste in some enterprises' management of material and financial resources and unprofitable products with losses. The battle to lower every percentage of material outlays according to sectors of activity and the whole national economy is a vital problem critical to growth of effectiveness and of the national income. To this end and in consideration of the level of the technical and technological inventory as well as the training of Romanian personnel, the party administration is concentrating efforts on reduction of specific consumption of raw materials, energy and fuels and on better use of all material resources.

The extensive activities in industry and the other economic sectors are subordinated to accomplishment of these vital tasks. In accordance with the special programs for lowering material outlays, efforts are being intensified to further improve design work in the field of assimilating new products and in making highly technical products that make better use of raw material and labor resources. As the party secretary general pointed out, we must approach the whole series of productive activities, from design to marketing the products, from a new viewpoint based on a high sense of responsibility for rational management of the material resources and comprehension of the fact that reducing consumption is the cheapest and quickest way to secure the material base of economic growth. Thanks to the measures to improve the economic and especially the industrial structures for better use of raw materials, the 1985 commodity output, which will be up about 30 percent from 1980, will be produced with the inputs of raw materials, materials and energy of 1980.

This objective requires special measures to strengthen order and discipline in production as well as the standards and responsibility in better exploitation of the energy and raw material resources, including reuse of the recoverable ones and strict observance of the consumption norms, which are vital problems of Romania's economic development in the new stage we are going through.

Improvement of the quality of all products, the main criterion for evaluating the efficiency of economic activity, is an essential component of the idea of achieving a reproduction of the intensive type. The Program to Improve Product Quality, approved by the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in November 1983, includes measures to improve the entire planning-design-manufacture-use cycle

in order to enhance the technical, economic and operating characteristics of the products in keeping with the needs of domestic consumption and the more and more exacting demands of the foreign markets.

Specific measures have been planned on the enterprise, section and job levels for better organization of production and labor and for ensuring product quality through irreproachable manufacture which will contribute to improvement of the technical-economic parameters and to the reliability and qualitative competitiveness of the commodities.

VI. Importance of the Economic-Financial Mechanism to Developmental Strategy

In his masterful development of the science of management of socialist society, the party secretary general has consistently promoted a new conception taking account of the close interrelation between social progress and the scientific level on which economic and social management are conducted.

Nicolae Ceausescu's broad, unified view of the functions and ways and means of management and planning has been graphically reflected in the measures taken to assert the principles of workers self-management and economic self-administration in society and in the new economic-financial mechanism.

In this light the program approved by the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1983 for consistent application of the principles of workers self-management and self-administration, improvement of the economic-financial mechanism and the wage system, and raising wages in this five-year plan is of particular political, economic and social importance. The program provides new measures that widely open the way to enhancing the role of the workers councils and general assemblies in more efficient management of the entrusted property, in further development of socialist ownership, and in management of the socialist units' entire activity.

The social character of ownership, labor and distribution is basic to strengthened awareness and intensive fulfillment of the workers' capacity as owners, so that in every socialist unit they will fully exercise their responsibility for the part of the entire people's wealth entrusted to them for management and development.

The provisions of the program are based on the view that if the aims and tasks of construction of the fully developed socialist society are to be accomplished the workers must directly and more fully assume their responsibility for the good management of the units wherein they work and actively participate in their most efficient administration and in management and development of all economic activity.

The pledge-contract, regulating relations between the state and the workers collectives, was introduced for this purpose. It entrusts the socialist units' property, a component of the entire people's property, to the working personnel for the direct exercise of their capacity as owners, producers and beneficiaries of all material values.

To bring about a closer tie with the unit wherein they work and a stronger incentive to obtain better economic results, the workers' right was instituted to

contribute with social shares to the development of productive capital and thus obtain an extra income from the profits made by the respective economic unit. This measure contributes to the workers' responsibility, to their more active participation in enterprise self-management and self-administration, and to the more efficient performance of its economic and social activity.

A higher form of management of socialist ownership, workers self-management is one of the basic features of the economic-financial mechanism for consistent promotion of the goals and interests of society and all workers. Implementation of the specific forms that vitalize the principle of workers self-management is intended to enhance the critical role of the working class in the management of the primary units and of all aspects of social existence.

Workers self-management is based on and interacts with economic-financial self-administration. Consistent application of the self-administration principle improves the economic-financial levers and especially the profit, whose role is considerably augmented, the crediting system, and the prices while stabilizing the national currency.

Economic-financial self-administration is a qualitatively new form in the evolution of economic management which induces all enterprises to take decisive action to implement the quantitative and qualitative tasks specified in the plan as well as the budgets of incomes and outlays so as to ensure complete coverage of the outlays out of the internal incomes; restoration of the funds advanced by society and increasing participation in formation of the state's centralized resources; creation of the funds that can be formed on the enterprise level for uninterrupted production, development of the activity, and the material incentive of the workers collectives.

The conceptions of the new economic-financial mechanism and of development of self-management and self-administration include as a basic principle close correlation of workers' incomes with fulfillment of the plans and the other production obligations. To this end and in accordance with the program approved by the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1983, steps were taken to improve the wage mechanism by generalizing the overall contract system in all sectors of material and technical-scientific production and also by measures to increase the variable portion of workers' total incomes. Drafted under the direct guidance of the president of Romania, the program consolidates the correlation between prosperity and economic development and that between increased production and labor productivity and increased wages by correlating individual and collective incomes more closely with the overall results of the work performed, with complete fulfillment of the plan in its quantitative, qualitative and structural aspects, and with the greater efficiency of the entire activity. In stressing the importance of these measures Nicolae Ceausescu said, "It is especially necessary for us to apply the new economic mechanism with all firmness and to implement in all fields the system of socialist remuneration in proportion to work, which provides every worker with incomes that are unlimited and, in one way or another, in proportion to his work and the contribution he has made to Romania's development. We must apply the provisions of the overall contract system more consistently in all activities and bases the activities of all sectors firmly upon socialist principles of work and remuneration."

The economic-financial mechanism must be responsibly, consistently and completely applied because the results obtained so far demonstrate that the combination of workers self-management and economic self-administration of the enterprises with uniform management of the economy on the basis of the Uniform National Plan concentrates efforts in the critical directions of socioeconomic development and progress of socialist Romania.

VII. Higher Living Standards and Quality of Life as Supreme Goals of RCP Policy

The major aim of the strategy for Romania's transition to a new stage of development is to permit a new and better quality of life for the entire people by considerably improving the quality of work.

A new and higher stage of workers' living conditions corresponds to every stage of national economic development. Thanks to the notable progress made in growth of material production and its effectiveness, the last two decades are the most fruitful period in achievements and living standards. It is significant that last year the public's total real incomes were 2.5 times higher than in 1965. The action to raise nominal wages was begun in 1983 and is planned to be finished in August 1984, with good effects upon the workers' purchasing power and real incomes. Qualitative changes were made in the public's consumption of goods and services. Increasing funds have been allocated to housing construction, municipal equipment and development of education, culture and health protection.

The RCP has always acted for constant improvement of all workers' living and working conditions, taking account of the inseparable tie between production and consumption and between economic development and the people's prosperity, all of which is based on the conclusion, borne out by all social evolution, that there can be no consumption beyond society's potentials at a given point. It is the major correlation of socialist economics to increase workers' incomes only if material production and the national income increase faster, creating the resources needed to increase the consumption funds.

Meanwhile it is to be noted that the president of Romania treats improvement of the people's prosperity in an all-inclusive conception, the major aim in this direction being not only to satisfy the material requirements but to provide the whole series of conditions that determine a better quality of life and a higher standard of culture and civilization.

The public's higher living standard graphically reflects the intensive promotion of revolutionary humanism, characteristic of Romanian socialist society, which emphasizes social ethics and justice, freedom, dignity, human happiness, and full development of the personality.

Increasing satisfaction of the public's material and cultural needs, constant improvement of the quality of life, effective enforcement of the basic human rights (rights to work, leisure, public instruction, economic and social security, unrestricted participation in public life and social management) are processes that are being perfected and acquiring new meanings with progress in the nation's general development.

The entire people's well-being is the result of the masses of workers' labor and efforts as owners, producers and beneficiaries of all material and cultural

values, and of the progress made in national economic development and in building the fully developed socialist society in Romania.

The entire Romanian people have mobilized their creative energies to greet with new successes the 4th Anniversary of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation and the 13th RCP Congress, events of historic national significance. The entire nation's monolithic unity around the RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu, the wise tribune of the people and the brilliant strategist and founder of socialist Romania, surely guarantees fulfillment of the programs for the future and confers full confidence in the Romanian people's ability to gradually bring Romania to new heights of progress and socialist civilization.

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CSO: 2700/200

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

ISRAELI EMBASSY RECEPTION--On the National Day of the State of Israel, that country's ambassador in Bucharest, Tzvi Brosh, gave a reception on 7 May. The reception was attended by Nicolae Gavrilescu, minister of tourism and sports; Gheorghe Chivulescu, minister of justice; Gheorghe Dolgu, deputy minister of foreign affairs; representatives from other ministries and central institutions, by scientific-cultural figures, and by journalists. Chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited to our country and diplomatic corps members were also present. [Text] [AU131619 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 May 84 p 5]

CSO: 2700/203

IMPLICATIONS OF CONTROVERSIAL ARTICLES, BOOKS NOTED

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 397, 7 Apr 84 pp 16, 18

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "Debates, Polemics, Pamphleteering, Apologetics...."]

[Text] Magazines concerned with domestic politics, literary journals and newspapers, reviews and popular periodicals, entire libraries of books, indeed even private editions have recently been involved in the widespread and unusually variegated public debates in which all sorts of ways out of the social difficulties are being sought or offered or on the other hand light is being shed on debatable topics from recent history. Many political tendencies are, of course, breaking forth to the surface in this connection, even oppositionist tendencies. But should the entire debate be suspended as socially undesirable because of certain unacceptable viewpoints?

The leadership of the Croatian youth organization decided a few days ago to suspend the sale of No 5-6 of the young people's journal IDEJE for last year, and it will ask the courts to ban that issue. All because of an interview published with the painter Mica Popovic, whose views were judged to be hostile and nationalistic. Let us leave aside the question of how it is that the leadership of the youth organization came to adopt this procedure (banning), which after all we would expect to be the last to do that, which is a question of no small importance at this point. Still more important questions have been raised by this case, which is by no means an isolated one, although it stands out from a number of similar ones that have occurred recently because of its exceptional potency: both in the views expressed and, as we shall see, also in the reactions.

There have been increasingly frequent articles in various journals which have stuck like a bone in the throat of politics, causing it to react appropriately, with the ultimate result that can be compared to the results of a loud advertising campaign: they say that journals have never sold so well, some are being sold under the counter because the printing is not large enough to satisfy the increased interest. There are even people who think that the present journals have provided a quite decent replacement for the former

PRAXIS and for JAVNOST, which never got started and which was supposed, according to the assessment of politics, and politics was the only sphere that had access to the conception proposed—to become an oppositionist paper.

The situation is similar in publishing. Books have appeared which could not even have been imagined a year or 2 or 3 years ago. They have all built their attractiveness on experiences and secrets of the immediate or not so distant past: "Politika kao sudbina" [Politics as Destiny], by Esad Cimić, "Monizam ili pluralizam" [Monism or Pluralism], by Kosta Cavoski and Vojislav Kostunica, the book about Kopinic, and the writings of Terzić and Dedijer....

Perhaps the example that speaks most eloquently about the kind of changes that are involved and about how great the hunger is of a new reading public, which has new interests and new demands, is that of the publishing house "Globus," which was about to shut down 10 years ago or so, and last year the literary critics, because of its success and its openness toward certain areas which have been untouched in our country, called it the event of the year in publishing. We can best indicate the kind of memoirs and documentary series that are involved, the kind of (as someone said) "always a bit suspicious philosophical and sociological works" are involved, if without any sort of order and special selection we merely enumerate several titles of books which have been published or those which are about to come out: just now sales are excellent for "Politicka ekonomija socijalizma" [The Political Economy of Socialism] by Branko Horvat; Josip Zupanov's book "Marginalije o drustvenoj krizi" [Marginalia Concerning the Social Crisis] appeared last summer; it seems that Fischer's book "Zivot i delo Vladimira Iljica Lenjina" [The Life and Works of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin] will finally appear after being postponed for years; along with the first extensive selection of Machiavelli's writings in Yugoslavia; poems, plays and essays by Pope John Paul II; the "Dachau Trials" by Igor Torkar; Latinka Perović with a book entitled "KPJ od centralizma do federalizma" [The CPY From Centralism to Federalism]; "Komunisticki svijet na raskrsću" [The Communist World at the Crossroads] by Adam Schaf; the list of authors also includes the name of Ivan Sibl and six volumes of the selected works of Vitomil Zupan, for which "Globus" purchased the rights back last year for the Croatian or Serbian language and the Slovenian language, which even now, since his "Levitán" has already been snatched up, has proved to be an excellent investment.

So what is actually happening to us? How is one to account for this wave of politicized writings, regardless of whether the authors are our own or are in translation, and how come such writings all of a sudden have a numerically very sizable public?

We have been having the biggest gadfest in the world, as it was recently put by a politician, who took this as the crowning proof that there is nothing to the assertion of those who complain of the lack of democracy in our country. It is difficult to dispute that judgment, although the real weight of democratization might be measured more accurately according to the possibilities for real influence, which certainly need not be in proportion to the opportunity to speak. If gabbing freely is the beginning of freer expression in other ways as well, is this a good sign, or should it be a reason for malicious discomfort?

"It might truly be said that in our journals, especially over the last 2 years, the entire spectrum of both theoretical and political reflections has been represented," says Branko Caratan, professor at the School of Political Science at Zagreb University. "Sometimes the new arguments are an expression of the fashionable position of questioning everything, since it turns out that an argument is intellectually stronger if it is more radical politically. But there are also very serious discussions which are truly open, very well documented and in that sense very instructive both as to theory and practice. It is simply a question of this: when the discussion is opened, it is difficult to channel it exclusively into politically desirable reflections. But it might even be said that certain politically unacceptable arguments could have beneficial results precisely because they arouse keen reactions and create a need for the issues and the ambiguities to be thoroughly cleared up. They could become an occasion for beginning to speak about the real problems; people follow such discussions with interest; scholars and scientists gladly participate in them, since everyone has had his fill of sermons by those who see nothing but success in our country."

Thus interesting discussions have begun concerning the economic system in which a diverse bouquet of opinions has been created, from radically leftwing views to extremely dogmatic views. This was not a question of anyone's goodwill or of a decision to truly begin a free discussion for participants representing all the shades of socialism.

When the lid on the pot begins to jump, it is not difficult to guess what is going on inside. The pressure has not risen only because every statement or phenomenon which was different was muffled for a long time, but also because certain external circumstances, which were a surprise to us, caught us altogether unprepared, having been so pleasantly lulled to sleep in the nirvana of our own prosperity and exceptionalness, and brought us to the boiling point. The bumpy landing prepared by our creditors raised questions which were altogether down to earth, and when the questioning began, it just went on from one thing to another. The discussions were initiated under the pressure of necessity: what previously was only whispered about has now been given its clear and rather outspoken articulation: certain generally accepted principles are encountering great difficulties in their implementation, and those difficulties are not merely technical and practical in nature. They are perhaps an expression of theoretical disputes which have not been cleared up, such as, for example, the dispute about a socialist economy. Some people feel that any insistence on economic laws represent a slide into Reaganomics; for them firm public control is the only solution; to be sure, there are not many spokesmen of state control, but social control could take the form of a hypertrophy of the areas in which economic laws would be restrained by self-management accords, for example.

"Recently there have been truly a great many books concerning very sensitive political topics," says Vladimir Goati, director of the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade. "Although some of them are debatable, some have been criticized, and in some places have been praised, I still think that this is the result of an expanded field of freedom. All books need not be recognized by society. But that means that we have begun to examine even those topics

which until recently were not spoken about, which is a sign of a certain democratization of society, of its opening up, and of its facing the real problems, even though erroneous conceptions might be manifested in this. This resembles the dialogue which we have incidentally been advocating in our verbal statements to date, but we have practiced it very little.

So, the area of what can be debated has broadened significantly. Almost everything is being inquired into, everything can be called into question, almost everything is being verified (once again). That famous concluding sentence from the party program is no longer viewed only in the sense of *l'art pour l'art*: nothing is so sacred to us that it could not be replaced by something still better, and it could now be rephrased this way: nothing is so sacred to us that we dare not ask about it or think differently about it. To be sure, even before we frequently changed many things, but the initiative for the changes always came from the leadership. Now it is no longer alone in that role. It is difficult to say whose proposals for changes have more survival value: the ununified implementation of what has been agreed on is detracting somewhat from the otherwise very good chances afforded the changes advocated by the political leadership, and the habit of the political initiative coming "from above" once again augments them somewhat.

But to whatever extent everything that does not come from the leadership or has not at least been accepted by it has little prospect--that still does not mean that all of this has been thrown to the winds. Certain new ideas, reflections, and indeed even recently were anathema have been gradually, little by little, penetrating the social consciousness and the collective outlook.

That is the case now, for example, with talking about 1948, a year which for a long time was represented only at the level of the phrase "the historic No! to Stalinism." Without questioning that assessment in the least (though such attempts have been made), there are also certain other facts about those years that are known and spoken about. Indeed let there be some criticism, this country can stand it, since the year 1948 in this country, taken as a whole, was truly a very great one. Society has no reason to be silent about that.

Or just take the effort to diagnose our situation. For a long time there was rather hypocritical, but persistent, insistence from official quarters on the judgment that everything was fine in our country, that we have a slight hitch in our growth, that we must stabilize a little, but that otherwise everything is as it should be. To be sure, there were other opinions to be heard as well, but they were regularly ignored. Only 2 years ago, after a gathering of sociologists in Ljubljana, when all those who otherwise differ quite a bit from one another, unanimously agreed that there is indeed a social crisis in our country, whose utterance even caused some people physical difficulties, has come into public circulation, given the assessment that is almost universally accepted.

Recently the debate was also initiated concerning the functioning of the party, which previously was reserved by and large for top-level party forums, but today there is open and public criticism both of the League of Communists and of its oversights and shortcomings.

Can the consequences of this kind of flaring debate be bad? Can these discussions, when they are extremely radical or when unacceptable views are expressed for one reason or another, end up being bad for society? The answer is unambiguous: Caratan summed up the assessment tersely: a good book, even if its thesis is biased, is always better than a bad book which has the right and accurate argument. The latter is good only when political votes are being taken, but from the intellectual and theoretical standpoint it is always better to have a good book (though its author may be wrong) which compels one to reflect, opens up certain new issues and new perspectives.

"There is no work that is more socialized than the work on a book," says Mladen Zuvela, member of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee. "Even when the problems are approached from some other angle, a book teaches us how to do or how not to do, and it is merely addressed to the reader for his assessment. The only question is whether it has been done in accordance with the existing postulates: if it is to be scientific--if it is not objective, if it is not systematic, if it is not truthful--then it does not have the dignity of the scientific, and from that standpoint it should be contested. It is the same with literature: it has to be thought over, it forces a man to reflect; it must tend to broaden a man's interest, it must be freedom-loving. There have always been books--somewhat more of them recently--which did not strive for convergence, which were exclusive, a priori, which denied the right to freedom and the right to one's own opinion. They can also be disputed as such when they are published. Indeed even a bad book, if it causes one to reflect, is not without its use; every one has its own function, if nothing else to give more emphasis to what is good, to what is right. In the final analysis we will arrive at truth through a confrontation of differing opinions. The question is only whether we should print something ephemeral for the simple reason that perhaps we have not done anything more urgent?"

Goati advises us that it is not only books inclined to criticism of the status quo that can be pamphleteering in nature, but that one can also speak about the pamphleteering nature of those books which are an excessive apology for the status quo. It is often thought that they are neutral, which need not be so. If a social action has been directed toward books which question our foundations, that same kind of social action must also be carried out against the saccharine social apologies, since both are false and counterproductive. The bustle being created concerning certain journals, known to publish courageous and "very courageous" articles indicates not only the passion for the forbidden fruit, but also the ever more critical social attitude.

We now have a whole stratum of popular theoreticians (some of them superb specialists--that cannot be denied) who with their sharply phrased arguments are arousing both attention and anger at the same time: the public is "swallowing" them, since it is fed up with insipid articles that have no life in them, but the fact that they are being read need not mean that they are being accepted in all respects. The success on the market of certain series (the best examples are "Globus" series "Prometheus" and "New World"), which it was thought would win only social recognition and plaques, speaks quite clearly about the altered and larger needs of the public.

Branko Caratan, who is also one of the editors of the series "Prometheus," says that everything published of the Marxist classics is welcome and, still better, accepted, regardless of how late it is. Before the war and immediately after it that literature was translated more than in the last 10 or 20 years, so that the gaps are huge. The existence of a public for the classics of Marxist literature, as well as for current writing which has appeared in our own country and elsewhere, is evidence that we now have a mature Marxist culture, which is the result of certain dogmatic taboos having been demolished. The level of education, the cultural level, and the level of Marxist needs have risen, since we have become aware of the fact that the type of reflection which existed in the time of the political and ideological monolith not only can no longer be applied, but is profoundly defective in a theoretical sense.

But the sphere of everything which is not on the line of the last political reflection has still not altogether disappeared: in some places there is more of it, in others somewhat less. The reaction to what we do not like best shows how strong that intolerance toward different thinking, toward a different attitude, still is: instead of a calm, patient, reasonable and critical speech, campaigns flare up, demonstrating either our impatience or lack of confidence, or a habit of taking a shortcut to nip something we do not like in the bud, but in any case it indicates intolerance.

"Our social life," Vladimir Goati says, "fluctuates between two extremes, between apathy and hysteria. When the tension rises, a sense of proportion is lost, though that is something that any well-thought-out politics must be mindful of. I do not believe that books cannot be very important, but it is obvious that neither books nor theater performances are our central problem, although we might conclude from the reactions that we do not have any greater or more urgent business.

A reaction which is not mindful of the two dimensions of the issue and of incidence can be of greater harm than good (regardless of the good intentions). Ideas of one sort or another which might have been read by 500 people become all but the central question of Yugoslav society because of the intensity, the breadth and the depth of the reaction. Why should we wonder, then, when many curious people want to see what this is actually all about, what it is that is so horrible? The general public rushes to ephemeral performances, but their most appropriate criticism would have been to forget about their existence altogether. To be sure, this is difficult to achieve because of our great sensitivity about all of our achievements, but we ourselves ought not to lower the criteria through our immoderate broadening of their circle.

Fear has big eyes, goes the popular saying, and the exaggeration of certain things seems to indicate that we cannot become accustomed to the fact that we are after all a stable society in which no article, no book, however loaded they might be, can change anything essential. The question of whether society will go forward or will stagnate, that depends on altogether different things. There are even those who think that we are sensitive to the random mentioning of the name of some holder of public office (which at times is treated like a frontal attack on the entire society and its sacred foundations) than we are to fundamental criticism.

If one is to judge by certain quite recent debates in the pages of the daily press, the only reason for entering into polemical skirmishes is to prove (to someone) one's intellectual or political superiority, in which there is quite a bit of narcissoid and provincial rivalry, as well as that rather gossipy approach attractive to the broad public, which, though it may not understand the merits of the case, still carefully keeps up with who is going to get whom.

When discussions with serious pretensions end up at the level of name-calling and classification based on those names, when the participants are divided up into those who are "ours" and all those others, then that kind of debate is condemned in advance to yield no more result than bad blood.

We are not prepared at all to acknowledge that a part of the truth, let it be even the smallest possible part, might be possessed by that other person. If it is proven to someone that he is wrong even in a detail, his entire intellectual and political position is immediately jeopardized. If it is to be fruitful, if it is to be the seeds of democratization, every debate must first be civilized. At times that is an excessive requirement for us. We are faced with a crisis and a blockade against our development, which has one and only one favorable circumstance: the situation forces us to reflect, to reassess all the topics which might help us to understand where we are and what we are in and how to find a way out. Nevertheless, it is easier today than yesterday. Tomislav Pusek, director of "Globus," tells us that everything can be published, just so you do not ask anyone, you just turn your back to them and assume your part of the responsibility.

But regardless of what they have shown, what they have advocated, what sort of means they have used, and regardless of the fact that they have been conducted mercilessly, the debates, which remain within the limits of professional journals which have a small circulation, have little influence among those who read only daily newspapers. "Not a single book, not a single article, will be decisive for us, nothing like that can jeopardize our fundamental process, socialism will not stand or fall depending on them. Questions that have to do with work are more important to us than that," we were told by Mladen Zuvela.

And now that we have already begun to engage in forecasting, it would not be out of the way to recall that even in the past from time to time--the last time some 10 years ago or so--we have had more or less flood tides of open discussion which were regularly followed on the public scene by silence, calm or neglect--depending on how various persons have wished to assess it. Will this recur? Branko Caratan assures us that the present discussions far exceed previous ones in their seriousness, that they are much more solid, profound and speak more broadly about the merits of the case than the former discussions, which insisted on a particular detail, on a particular argument. Now everything is being discussed: life as a whole is subject to inquiry, so that the discussion itself cannot be eliminated merely by cutting it off.