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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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FAVORITISM IN JOB APPOINTMENT DEPLORED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by Perparim Xhixha: "Friends Come to the Assistance of Their Friend"]

[Text] Cadres have continuously been transferred and moved based on labor requirements. At times, based on a thorough analysis and in the party spirit, cadres have even been moved for family, health and other reasons. Such reasoned and justified transfers will be done again. But cases when transfer requests are unjustified and even more when they are portrayed by comrades and friends as labor, department, and other requirements, are not accepted by our public opinion. As soon as it becomes aware of such practices, it opposes them with force and courage.

A group of cadres from Tirana that works in Mat District recently wrote to our editorial staff about a "history" of unjust interferences and sick friendships that, as it wrote, are displayed "openly." The center of the entire history is located at the offices of the Executive Committee of the Tirana District party committee.

It has been almost six years since Shyqyri Liti has been calm. His two sons that have completed higher education work where he lives, in Tirana. But apparently he did not consider this sufficient and left no stone unturned to bring to Tirana his daughter, who works as a senior economist in the city of Burrel in the forest enterprise. Requests for her transfer were not exhausted and even less were his hopes, since he works in the executive committee of the district party committee (in the industrial section).

At a time when his daughter, Flutura, had not even completed the minimum time of probation (she had less than three years) at the forest enterprise in Burrel, her father after having officially knocked on several doors, returned to the offices of the executive committee of Tirana District party committee (where he works) and, as he tells us, pleaded with the deputy chairman of the committee, comrade Omer Haxhia ("I do not recall this fact. Who can remember everything," he tells us). As soon as the documents arrived, they were properly returned to Burrel. But no one asked any questions or gave any explanations: who asked and why did he ask that the documents be sent from Burrel in violation of the regulations and why were they allowed to be sent? This remains past and forgotten history, but it has to do with attempts to bring about a second transfer: a promise cannot be broken.

During the waiting time for the completion of five years of probation (because then there would be no obstacles?) changes were made: the documents could be sent again to Tirana only through a request from a ministry and it would have been ideal if the request was made by the Ministry of Agriculture, where Shyqyri Liti apparently had no friends and made no "attempts." What could he do? He then resorted to his own section: he got in touch with comrades of the personnel office of the Ministry of Industry and Mines.

"I went to plead as a comrade and an acquaintance with the director of the directorate of personnel, Syavri Gostivishi," he says. "Let us see, maybe something will come up later, he told me, but I cannot give you my word, I cannot promise you."

But "something" came up very soon: the Ministry of Energy was established and was in desperate need of cadres and specialists, including economists. The first cadres of this ministry were those detached from the Ministry of Industry and Mines, i.e., of the "sector line." Thus, the name of Shyqyri's daughter was sent to the offices of the personnel directorate of the Ministry of Energy and preparations were being made on how to bring her to Tirana.

Memorandum No 5058 issued by the Ministry of Agriculture, in which consent was given for the economist from the forest enterprise of Burrel be transferred from one ministry to another, "sanctioned" the transfer of a family plea to an official one. Finally, a fur coat was found that would cover everything. But apparently the coat was shorter than required and the head and legs of the man demanding favoritism remained uncovered.

"The point is that we were not convinced to let her go," comrades of the executive committee of the Mat District party committee told us. "But, because of the insistence of the family and some interventions, we decided to let her go."

"Who intervened?"

"There were interventions even from Tirana. The chief of the personnel section, Isuf Sana, had a strong opinion of the matter. Bluntly, we let her go because of interventions."

Let us pause for a moment in the narration of the case and ask: Why should this cadre return to Tirana? Talking about such problems, Comrade Enver says: "Three children of a family cannot stay with their parents once they complete higher education. They must and will go to work where the Fatherland needs them. The economic aspect, then, does not present any obstacles. A boy that today earns the right to study at a university, tomorrow will have to go and work in any district where he is needed; a girl, after completing higher education could get married to a boy from a distant district and she must go there. This is the way it is done and that is the way it will be done in the future." Dozens and hundreds of such examples could be mentioned here. But let us mention most recent examples: only during the last three or four months, dozens and dozens of teachers, agronomists, agricultural specialists, economists, doctors, and others went voluntarily to Mat and other districts

in the North, where their skills and experience was needed, taking their families or leaving them in Tirana, Korce, Durres, Vlore or Gjirokaster. Can these cadres and hundreds of others resort to their friends and comrades in order to return to their families, as for example in this case? It is understandable that by publicizing such phenomena, those involved will not be pleased. But this is not important, because such a measure is supported by thousands and thousands of others who work with dedication, where the interest of the party and the people calls them; it is supported wholeheartedly by our healthy public opinion, which admires just and honest stands.

Such acts and practices are carried out only by violating criteria and norms, which embody the correct party line in its cadre policy.

"We hired this economist, as any other cadre, based on the regulations and criteria, as the party recommends," the director of the personnel directorate of the Ministry of Energy, comrade Koco Luarasi, told us.

After the documents were studied and it was decided that the candidate could not work in the ministry (for the sole reason that she had an average grade of 6.5), they should have been returned to the Mat district. This was one of the regulations, one of the criteria. But it was violated. Comrade Koco Luarasi, although he has long experience in dealing with cadres, did not respect these criteria, but saw it appropriate to telephone the chief of the personnel sector in the executive committee of the Tirana District party committee, Bajram Peci, and agree with him that the daughter of the communist Shyqyri Liti find a job somewhere in Tirana. And in order to justify such a "good deed," among other things they went so far as to write something in the official documents which was not true, saying that the Ministry of Energy did not have similar enterprises in Tirana.

In order for this history to come to an end, immediate measures had to be taken. But this depended on Bajram Peci and Diogjen Thomai, his subordinate, who apparently believe that they hold both the stone and the walnut. As soon as Bajram received the documents, without studying them he made the following notes: "Comrade Diogjen. Keep them in a safe place. We will talk to comrade Omer. Let's study the possibility of putting her in as a sector chief." First, the office. Any comment would be excessive. Things were going better and better. By "coincidence" a request came from the state planning commission for a planning economist. What can you do, when a good thing comes by, but open the door...

"Hello. Editorial staff? Agreed, Shyqyri is a good man. If a more typical example could be found..."

There were other telephone calls from comrades and friends to help their friend, as this call from the executive committee of the Tirana district party committee.

No one questions the contribution of comrade Shyqyri Liti and his family. But a communist is and must be until the end of his life an example of simplicity and devotion, high principles and depth of judgment. He must be the first one to be found where the Fatherland needs him.

In the work for the implementation of the party line, not only simple people but even cadres who do not understand it, as they should, make mistakes. Therefore, Comrade Enver Hoxha recommends that we work and avoid mistakes, whether they are little or big mistakes, or in cases when mistakes are made, that we correct them immediately, so that little ones do not grow and become big ones.

This should be done by the cadres themselves in their work, but in the first place, by the basic party organizations, where they carry on their party work and where they must give an accounting of their activity.

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ALBANIA

BRIEFS

DOMINICAN MARXIST DELEGATION--Tirana, 16 Jul (ATA)--Upon the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA, a delegation of the Labour Communist Party of the Dominican Republic, led by the secretary general of the party Rafael Chaljub Mejia visited Albania recently. Talks were held with the delegation at the Central Committee of the party on problems of mutual interest, which were characterized by the spirit of proletarian internationalism and the unity of views. Attending were the member of the Central Committee of the PLA Sofokli Lazri and the director of the Foreign Department Agim Popa. During its stay in our country, the delegation paid visits to the districts of Elbasan and Korce. [Text] [AU161330 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 16 Jul 83]

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MODIFICATIONS OF POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL STRUCTURES ANALYZED

Bonn DAS PARLAMENT in German Vol 33 No 20-21, 21-28 May 83 Supplement
pp 17-30

['From Politics and Contemporary History' feature article by Dr Gert-Joachim Glaessner, born 1944; adjunct lecturer. political science, Free University of Berlin: "State and Law in 'Real Socialism': The GDR Paradigm"]

[Text] Any analysis of "Real Socialism" is confronted with the problem that it must deal with a politico-social system which has created a large degree of standardization in those countries where it has established itself. This standardization, however, cannot prevent the fact that the specific historical, national and socioeconomic initial conditions which have marked the individual socialist countries in very different fashions, still continue to make themselves felt and pose differing problems for each of them. Evidence of this is not just the system conflicts in the GDR in 1953, in Poland and Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 as well as Poland in 1970, 1976 and 1980/81. To this extent statements about the general characteristics of "Real Socialism" must always be treated with a certain caution. The same holds true for generalizations which might be derived from the analysis of a single country or a single society. This must be kept in mind in reading this essay which seeks to explore the relationship of party and state, using the example of the GDR.

The GDR and, in their own way, the other states of East Europe are in fact more than simply exemplary cases of a general development. Otherwise, it would suffice to concern ourselves exclusively with the USSR as the dominant power of the community of states within the "Real Socialist" system. Only the analysis of the multiple forms and variants of Soviet-type socialism will make possible a differentiated and realistic judgement. The GDR is particularly well suited to such an undertaking. Along with Czechoslovakia, it is not only the most highly developed country within CEMA but, in spite of all commonalities with the socialist states (in ideology, in shared concepts of the structure and function of the political system, of economic processes, etc.) it is so strongly shaped by its particular national and historical factors that the latitude of possible developments of "Real Socialism" as a system type, particularly its capacity for adaptation and change, can be seen here in a specific fashion. Events in Poland appear to contradict this argument only at first glance. Precisely the development in the GDR since the early 1960's indicates that it is altogether possible in a "Real Socialist" system to deal with the mounting pressure of problems in such a way that social upheavals can be avoided.

I. Party Dominance and Bureaucracy

1. Socialism as a Modernization System

The national and historical singularities of the socialist countries of East Europe cannot fully conceal an experience common to all of these countries: they were all compelled to accept the Soviet model of society and to adapt their own political and social structures as closely as possible to the model of the Soviet Union. This meant that the political system of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" of Stalinist stamp was accepted in its basic elements and modified by a number of elements of a specific "people's democratic" development resulting from the specific alliance circumstances. Yet even these modifications of the Soviet model of state exercise of power within the context of "alliance policy" did not imply any modification of the basic notion that the state was the chief instrument of the party for the execution of its politico-economic goals, that the mass organizations were to function as transmission instruments and that any tendency on the part of these organizations to assert their independence vis-a-vis the party would have to be opposed.

This model was conceived for a developing country where the issue was the introduction of the process of industrialization under "socialist" auspices. It was not, however, in a position to carry such a process forward in highly developed countries such as the GDR or Czechoslovakia past an initial phase of extensive economic growth involved in the elimination of wartime or war-related damage.¹

Unlike the case in the Soviet Union and in the less developed countries of East Europe, this "revolution from above" in the GDR and in Czechoslovakia did not have the task of initiating a process of modernization whose goal was the foundation of an initial industrialization under "socialist" auspices in which the state would undertake the tasks associated with the capitalist entrepreneur and which would involve even substantially higher social costs than would have been incurred in the course of a gradual and "natural" industrialization process.² At the same time the political and social structures of the Stalinist modernization regime were imposed upon the states of East Europe. These may have been adequate for the takeover of political power and the overthrow of earlier property structures; in view of the differentiated and complex planning and administrative problems in these societies, the failure of the communist parties as vehicles of a new social movement seeking to create a more equitable society, were practically pre-programmed. The aspect of maintaining power moved more and more to the forefront. On the basis of state ownership of the means of production, the state, now instrumentalized for the goals of the party, directed the process of social transformation. Of paramount importance was the extension of the authority of the state to those sectors of the society which had not yet been subjected to the designs and purposes of the party and the state. A strong state appeared to guarantee that the goals of the party could be achieved. A definition of the state is herewith established which while it may find its historical "justification" in the successful modernization of a country, will sooner or later become the central problem of the new social order once the revolutionary transformation process is completed and the primary issue then becomes the cementing and elaboration of the new social order still in its evolving and rudimentary form.

Along with the state, a detached administrative apparatus, functioning largely outside the realm of law, was established. The foundation of the system's validity was not belief in the formal legality of legislated rules and in the morally objective principles of the system, but in personal dedication and loyalty to the party which legitimated itself "teleologically"--it alone was the guarantor that the goal of a communist society would be achieved. The further this goal disappeared from the vision of contemporaries, the more clear did it become that socialism was not simply a short-term transition phenomenon, but instead a social formation designed for permanent existence. This had the result of the system's validity becoming all the more problematic. "Real socialism" found itself in the position of making urgent use of the very instruments whose elimination it still claimed to seek: the state and the law.

Yet what would such a definition of the state mean for the professed goal of eliminating the dominance of men over other men, a goal which no variant of Marxism can abandon without losing its credibility. Even a superficial glance at the political structures and social forms which have arisen in these countries reveals that this goal still lies only in the remote future. Instead, even as early as Lenin's conception of the revolution, a dominance of the assertion of power can be recognized.³ The dominant "parties of the proletariat," in terms of their own self-concept, must resist all temptations to question their own power, at least as long as they have not succeeded in rooting a socialist consciousness among the masses, since only in this way can there be any assurance that the social revolution initiated by them can be secured. In all socialist countries these revolutions have concentrated on the issue of property. On the other hand, it has been and continues to be seen as relatively unproblematic that even there the old (developed under capitalism) forms of the socialization of labor continued to exist--adorned with a number of elements of participation in the planning process by the producers themselves.⁴

That by the elimination of private ownership of the means of production merely some important conditions for the evolution of a more humane society had been created, which must be followed by further decisive steps, is unanimously denied by representatives of Marxist-Leninism. Instead, one can say with Andras Hegedues concerning the conditions of property ownership in socialist countries, "that they are primarily a negation: they were all created in varying fashion by the elimination of private property--more precisely: private ownership of the means of production: confiscation and⁵ mass collectivization led then to new ownership relationship relationships."

The thinking within Marxist-Leninist parties is generally marked by the attitude that it is only necessary to make use of the principles of socialization of labor evolved under capitalism under new political conditions. These would take on a new qualitative dimension by being applied under different "socialist" conditions. With this, the question of socialism reduces itself to the capture of political power, the possession of which would already assure the resolution of basic economic and political problems. This perception began to lose ground during the mid-1950's. There can be no overlooking the fact that since then the forms and methods of the exercise of power have changed substantially and that while this has certainly not led to any change in the system, it has produced manifest changes in the social system of "real socialism" which have had a decisive impact upon the lives of people within that system.

2. Changes in Organization and Administrative Structures

By the time of the massive crisis phenomena in East European countries at the middle of the 1950's, it was clear even to party leaders that a reform of the structures of the planning and administrative apparatuses and a change in the methods of these bureaucracies was needed, if the new social and political tasks were to be mastered. These tasks were determined by the transition from an extensive (deferred development or post-war reconstruction) to an intensive phase in the development of socialist economies. This made it necessary to recognize that a centralized planning system oriented to quantities and not to costs and which ignored the impact of the laws of value and the goods/money relationship was dysfunctional. There was no escaping the question of whether the established socialist systems were in a position to initiate basic reforms.⁶

The fact that party leaderships were on very thin ice on this point is seen from the reproaches or revisionist representatives directed at arguments holding that symptomatic cures held little promise of success. Party leaders did not yet feel themselves strong enough to initiate far-reaching processes of reform of political and economic structures; they contented themselves with minor repairs of evident structural defects. In view of the problems to be resolved, such a strategy held little hope of success.

The crisis in the system ran much deeper: the avant garde parties were no longer able to function as a unitary action center in light of the differentiation and diversification of social processes and structures resulting from economic, scientific-technical and social development. They were unable--and gradually came to recognize this--both to formulate the goals of the process of transformation, to develop strategies for effective action from them, to guide and oversee their translation into action and, at the same time, to assert their ideological justification and advancement.

The use of the term "unitary action center" should not lead one to the false conclusion that in the case of Soviet-type systems that one is dealing with a unitary, exclusively hierarchically structured organizational model, nor even with a unitary administration. Planning and administration of social processes were not modelled, even during the Stalin era as variously portrayed, as a comprehensive unitary administration and only at times did it show signs of attempting to be such. The claim was never abandoned by the party of subordinating the work of all transformation and transmission apparatuses to its control, resulting in a constantly conflict-laden relationship to the increasing differentiation of social administrative structures, nor was this problem ever fully dealt with. The problems of a highly developed industrialized society such as that of the GDR or Czechoslovakia are also not to be dealt with simply by the institutionalization of transformation and transmission instruments.

Party, state and economic apparatuses have been, and continue to be, confronted, each in their own way, with the problems of adjusting their organizational structure to the tasks imposed upon them by a complex society and economy of their own creation, of having to perceive through new working methods the newly evolved social differentiations, group interests and aspirations in society, of searching out solutions to these problems and of developing a greater problem-solving capability by the recruitment and training of highly qualified personnel.

This positing of goals can lead both to the creation of new apparatuses (the various experiments with different planning and control authorities come to mind) and to the expansion and differentiation of highly specialized sectors within existing planning and administrative authorities. The traditional organizational and decision-making structures are thus not "eliminated" but instead augmented with "modern" elements and thus substantially modified. The conflict between modern elements, oriented toward organizationally large-scale solutions and traditionalist-centralist elements based upon Leninist organizational theory, has attained its explosive potential only against the background of changing conditions for goal formulation. The real question is, whether and to what extent the expansion and differentiation of traditional organizations such as the state and economic apparatuses, the assignment of specific responsibilities and partial authority to "special organizations" and the integration of specialized and professional competences (through special consultation bodies, instrumental staffs, etc.) will lead to a limitation of capacity of the determining social force, i.e. the party, in setting social goals, developing strategies for the attainment of goals and of supervising their execution.

This problem first cropped up in the GDR in the mid-1950's during the debate concerning centralization and decentralization and, despite a wide variety of organizational-practical experiments, gained in significance because of its basic dimensions in the course of the constantly growing expansion of formal organizations, a growth that proceeded faster than the advent of any solution. The differentiation of apparatus structure, the shifting of technical decision making to subordinate administrative levels or to specialized institutions and the transfer of preparatory consultation to specialist groups staffed by highly qualified experts, though they primarily affect the internal structure of the instruments of dominance, do, however, have farther-reaching consequences. What should primarily be mentioned in this respect are socio-structural changes. The social group of the intelligentsia (and primarily the "specialists") are gaining an importance which extends far beyond their quantitative proportion within the total population and the role originally assigned to them as an ally of the working class. Even if one does not share the view of Konrad/Szelenyi, which sees this group on its way to becoming a class power, it cannot be overlooked that, in the course of differentiation of the social, organizational and functional structures, they have attained in many sectors a monopoly position which makes their control by the party ever more difficult.¹⁰

This has had a two-fold consequence: on the one hand, it is necessary to organize specialized knowledge and professional competence within the various bureaucracies in such a way that it remains capable of being controlled. The delegation of tasks and the decision-making competences from the the top down to subordinate organizational units equipped with more expertise, in which experts especially qualified through their training and experience, make the day-to-day decisions, require top levels of administration to have available among their own administrators similar levels of training. Only in this way will they be able to pass judgement upon the operations of the experts and specialists.¹¹ On the other hand, the growing expertise in the individual apparatuses impacts upon their relationship to the party (resp. the party apparatus) which --from the point of view of its claim to overall planning and direction--is confronted with the "specialist bureaucracies" of the individual bureaucracies as well as being obliged to maintain its basic authority in setting guidelines.

The response to this problem was a differentiation and specialization of the party apparatus as well, which has in part led to far-reaching consequences for self-concept of the party. It is no accident that repeated warnings have been raised in the GDR against the possibility of the SED becoming an "economic party" and thus no longer meeting the demands of its actual political responsibility.

The possible effects of such changes of its self-concept for the fundamental relationship between the party and the individual bureaucracies and particularly the state apparatus are considerable. In the course of the economic reform efforts of the 1960's, the fundamental decision was made that the thrust of the party was no longer to be in the direction of making all planning and administrative processes the direct responsibility of the party apparatus. A complicated system of parallel bureaucracies and partial decentralization of decision making took the place of the former super-centralism.

3. Democratic Centralism and the Leadership Role of the Party

Uniformity in the positing of goals and in the practical activity of all planning and administrative institutions is to be assured through universally binding, formalized patterns of action: recognition of the leading role of the party, of democratic centralism as the fundamental principle of administration and organization and of the personal presence of the party (cadre policy), with the help of which an instrumentalization of the various organizations can be assured through the party. This hierarchical organizational concept is legitimized through the principle of democratic centralism: "Its essential substance consists in the scientific and planned leadership from a single center with the simultaneous evolution of the creative power, individual responsibility and democratic contribution of the masses. This principle and its thoroughgoing execution assure the unitary, self-contained action of the politically organized working class and the full evolution of its strength in the struggle."¹²

Leaving aside the ideological flourishes contained in this definition (evolution of creative power, etc.), the claim to the leadership of the center--the party--is laid down here: democratic centralism in its relationship between the party (resp. the party apparatus) and the other organizations and their apparatuses constitutes a hierarchical relationship which can be characterized as the structural consequence of the avant-garde concept which sees the state and social organization as merely instrumental. The consequences of such a concept for the activity, the organization and the responsibilities of these "instruments" and their relationship to the party are made particularly clear in the case of the GDR in a joint resolution of the SED Politburo and the Council of Ministers of 14 July 1960. This should be dealt with in somewhat more detail.

In the report of the 9th meeting of the SED Central Committee of 1960, the reasons were indicated which led to this resolution: the directives of the party and the government had not been "correctly and precisely carried out;" in many sectors of the state apparatus there continued to be found inadequate substantive knowledge on the part of bureaucrats, decisions were generally made in a bureaucratic, uncoordinated and "departmental" fashion and the unity of decision making and execution was not assured.¹³

The resolution--having drawn its conclusions from this assessment of the situation--focussed on four problem areas:

1. The highest guideline for action on the part of the state apparatus was the resolutions of the party; they were to be, without delay and without modification, the basis for the work of state institutions. So as to eliminate the evident difficulties in the transformation of party resolutions into state action or at least to diminish these difficulties, it was resolved that in the future, joint resolutions of the Central Committee or its Politburo and the Council of Ministers or its Presidium should be enacted wherein the collaboration of the National Front was also provided for.
2. Responsibility for the improved translation of party resolutions into action would be transferred to the Council of Ministers or its Presidium.
3. The Politburo resolution took objection once again to bureaucratic administrative practices and "retrograde tendencies regarding a permanent on-the-spot operative political activity." A simplification of administrative activity--especially in the area of the complex and time-consuming reporting system--was to lead to more effective work on the part of state institutions.
4. In order to fulfill these tasks, monthly seminars under the immediate direction of the SED with leading cadre members of the state apparatus were to be held, which were to focus on the indicated problems. In monthly consultations of the Council of Ministers with the chairmen of the regional government councils, all important questions of state administrative activity were to be discussed and, as far as possible, to be resolved immediately.¹⁴

The significance of the Politburo resolution lies not so much in the detailed proposals for an improvement in the work of the state apparatus as much as in the formulation of the principle stated for the first time in these general terms that party resolutions have the force of law. To be sure, this was the accepted practice earlier. In the instance of party policy primarily oriented toward economic goals, the aspect of its dominance should not be overlooked, this making it appear advisable to have decisions of fundamental character continue to be made within the party itself and, in fact, to make this explicit in order to circumvent any conceivable independent economic or technological aspirations. Party resolutions were to be made binding upon all levels of the system of control. With this the formalised rank order--i.e. party resolutions, their translation into resolutions of the Council of Ministers and execution of the resolutions of the Council of Ministers through the state apparatus under the control of the party organization--was suspended, in any case for fundamental questions, and a common decision-making process by party and state apparatus set in its place for fundamental questions. The greater capability of the party to intrude itself into the process of state and economic administration, set in motion in this way, began with an "economization of party activity" which found its organizational expression in the replacement of the "territorial principle" as the basic structure of the SED's organization by the "production principle" which followed the introduction of the NOeS (New Economic System).¹⁵

What had begun as an effort to tie the state apparatus closer to the will of the party was to have consequences quite the reverse of what was intended. The party became more and more directly involved in the state planning and administrative process, which led, in the opinion of many observers, in the direction of the party becoming an organ of the state.¹⁶

4. "Real Socialist" Corporatism?

This thesis requires--at least for the GDR--expansion; at least since the 6th Party Congress of the SED, a tendency has been evident there of gaining for itself the support of non-state institutions in the resolution of important political and social decisions, e.g. the trade unions in the planning and execution of sociopolitical programs or the churches in the resolution of social conflicts.

These efforts allow certain aspects of a "real socialist corporatism" to come into view, pointing to something beyond the traditional instrumentalization concepts of the party and assigning defined, legally established and politically guaranteed tasks to the individual social groups within terms of a partial political-social basic consensus.¹⁷

The advantage of such a modification of the organizational fabric is clear beyond any doubt: the social organizations and institutions are in a better position than ever to represent the interests of their clientele; at the same time binding them even closer to the political system and even making them "accountable" to the system. In this way, discontents do not have so direct an impact upon the party, individual conflicts and partial dysfunctions do not attain immediately a dimension which would affect the social order. At the same time, however, it should not be overlooked that even a partial renunciation by the party of its intrusion into all planning and administrative processes can lead to the appearance in the systems of Soviet-type socialism that significant basic elements of their political-social constitution were being removed. This could awaken the illusion that a basic change in this system would be possible.

Recent events in Poland demonstrate one thing clearly: the planning and administration of a highly complex industrial society cannot function without a partial balancing of interests between the "rulers" and the "ruled," between the various social interests and without at least partial participation of those dominated by the system in the political and social systems. Participation is thought of primarily in vertical terms as a formalized framework for action within which the centrally enunciated basic interests can gain validity in a process from top to bottom. At the same time it is linked to the problem of how impulses from below can be selected in such a way that they can be incorporated into the social development process.

The dilemma of the party leaderships is unmistakable: if they deny the wishes for participation arising from within the society, then manifest conflicts such as have repeatedly surfaced in Poland are unavoidable; if they allow a lessening of their distance from the society, i.e. even a limited curtailment of their decision-making and organizational monopoly, they are faced with the problem of how to direct and to control the momentum which could arise from such a process.

II. The Theory of State and Law in Marxist-Leninism and its Application in the GDR

An inherent theory of law had been slow in evolving in the socialist states until the "de-Stalinization" of the mid-1950's. Not until 1958 did the SED undertake the effort in the GDR to define its concepts of the state and the law more precisely. Until that time they had made do with the generally continued validity of the earlier legal system which had been instrumentalized with some success for their own purposes. At a conference on the theory of the state and law at Babelsberg near Potsdam in 1958 the focus was on the question of how the old legal system related to the new one. In doing so, condemnation was aimed at the "dogmatism" which held that social development would allow itself to be guided into the desired direction if only the appropriate legal controls were available.¹⁸ What was meant by this was not the dogmatism of representatives of a Stalinist theory and practice of law, but rather the pragmatism of those GDR theoreticians of the state and the legal system who had learned to manipulate the existing old and new legal systems and had thereby lost sight of social goals, at least as perceived by the party.

The question was not one of the fight against dogmatism but instead of criticism of a legal positivism which¹⁹ resisted the constant instrumentalization of legal forms through the party. At the same time it was also a struggle against "revisionist deviations" which saw the time as ripe to conceive of "de-Stalinization" not simply as a criticism of the "cult of personality" but as the elimination of the social and political structures of Stalinism.

Only in the course of the economic and political reforms following 1963 did the SED overcome the use of legal forms which had been practiced until then and which were oriented exclusively on political expediency and begin to make conscious use of the criteria of functional positivistic law for the formal governance of social processes.²⁰ In the SED's 1963 party program, a definition of law is asserted which has retained its validity until today: "Our socialist law gives expression to the will of the working population under the direction of the working class. It arises from the objective legalities of the development of society and is aimed at their enforcement. Our law has as its main substance the tasks of this development and the basic rules of the state in governing the socialist communal life of individuals."²¹

1. State and Law in "Developed Socialism"

The definition of law given in the handbook, "Marxist-Leninist Theory of the State and Law," in use in the GDR makes clear the present state of discussion and the changes in legal theoretical positions of post-Stalinist Marxist-Leninism as against the Stalinist theory of law: "Law is the national will of the dominant class, the substance of which is ultimately determined by its material conditions of life, expressed in a system of universally binding norms, serving to operate upon social relationships and whose realization is assured by the state by the use of compulsion."²²

Five aspects are contained in this definition:

1. The law is understood as a system of universally binding norms.
2. The law is the expression of the will of the ruling class which is transformed into political-social action through the state.
3. The substance of the law is "ultimately," i.e. not always and in each individual case, determined by the material conditions of life.
4. The state, through its monopoly upon compulsion, assures the enforcement of the legal norms.
5. The law is the instrument for the shaping of society or, as it states in one Soviet textbook: the "state regulator of social relationships."²³

It is obvious that the substantive definition of the law remains relatively vague and that the term "ultimately" leaves a wide latitude open for interpretation. What remain open here are the specifics of "socialist" law. The GDR handbook remarks on this point: "Socialist law is the system of universally binding norms which give expression to the national will of the working class and the working population led by it, [this will] being ultimately determined by the socialist relationships of production, being laid down by the state or sanctioned and guaranteed--if necessary by state compulsion as well--and which as instrument (regulator) supports and protects the development of social relationships with the goal of the establishment of socialism and communism."²⁴ There is no longer any mention here of the national will of the ruling class but instead of the working class and the working population led by it, which represents the law and its further development as indicated if one calls to mind the corresponding passage in the previously mentioned Soviet textbook. There it states that socialist law is the will of the state which gives expression to the working class and all the working population, i.e. the entire people.²⁵ "Socialist" law, like "bourgeois" law is an instrument for the regulation of the communal life of mankind; its regulatory function touches "every activity of the individual which is or could be of significance for his social environment;"²⁶ as an instrument of the socialist state, however, it is--in the opinion of the theoreticians of the state and the law in the GDR--of a different quality. The law is socialist because the state is socialist.

2. State of the Entire People?

In Soviet-type socialist societies the state is assigned three central functions; it is expected to be:

1. The instrument for the achievement of the politico-economic goals of the party,
2. The instrument for securing sovereignty at home and abroad. and
3. The transmission instrument for party dominance and the participation of members of the society. The latter, in combination with the Leninist party in its function as a mass party, the mass organizations and--to the degree that these exist--the "bourgeois" parties.

As the instrument which is intended to enforce the "objective" laws of the development of society in all sectors of social life, the state cannot abandon this function. Securing dominance in a society in which the state is active as the "proprietor" of the general "people's property" includes the organization of the social production and distribution process.

The state is the institution which holds the society together in terms of organization, the party the institution which serves the same purpose politically and ideologically. This means that the state must be a party-linked state, thus an organization which in all its actions is guided by the will and the intentions of the party.

At the same time, the state, more strongly than it was during the Stalin era, is tied into a relationship of party-state-society organizations to "allied" parties and organizations. The social circumstances and conditions of state activity are thus more clearly presented than in the completely instrumental concept of the state as the chief instrument of the party. Unlike in the Stalin era, when party commitment was already a sufficient characteristic of the state, it is now intended, according to contemporary understanding, to incorporate and to represent social interests and to function as the "interest representation of the entire working population."²⁷

Here something on the order of a mediator function is "expected" of the state --and, in fact, deliberately expected, since two scarcely compatible concepts collide here: the state as the instrument of the party and as representative of social interests (in the Soviet Union, the phrase "state of the entire people" is heard). This contradiction can only be resolved by way of an ideological construct. Since the party represents the interests of the working class and the latter represents the entire society, the state is constituted as the representative of the interests of the entire population since it is the instrument of the party. Thus Soviet authors argue that "under present conditions, since the establishment of communism is the practical task of the party and of the Soviet people," it has become possible to redefine the role of the state. "The transformation of the socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the socialist state of the entire population means the development of its essence, the expansion of its social basis, the total development of its substance and its definition as a state of a new and higher type. The socialist state of the entire people is by its nature the natural continuation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the conditions of its expanded social basis and its more fully cemented social foundation."²⁸

Following the 6th party congress of the SED, the thesis was held for a brief time in the GDR that the GDR state would develop into a "people's state,"²⁹ The generally accepted view in the socialist states of East Europe and the GDR tends in the direction that one cannot yet speak of a state of the entire people in these societies, since they are still a step behind the Soviet Union which has already gained the victory of socialism and, at the beginning of the 1960's, had entered upon the stage of the full development of communism.

Those socialist states which, in their self-concept, have not yet fully achieved communism but instead the "developed socialist society," are not yet states of the entire people.

At the 10th party congress of the SED in 1981, Erich Honecker characterized the GDR state as a "form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." It represented the interests of the entire population and was the guarantor of freedom and human rights. No one was to be allowed to infringe upon this socialist state.³⁰

With this statement a formulation had been found which was intended to characterize the state as both the weapon of the ruling party as well as the representative of the interests of all its citizens. Which aspect would dominate was decided by the political situation, the purported or real domestic or foreign threat.

III. State Functions and State Administrative Activity

The preceding argumentation points toward the question of which tasks the socialist state is intended to fulfill, what are its functions under the changing political, economic and social conditions. From the example of this discussion in the GDR, the close connection between the political decision of the party, the change in the assignment of state functions and the theoretical reflection (often only its corroboration) of these changes can be clearly shown. The fact that the evaluation of theoretical considerations ensues exclusively in accordance with the principle of political opportunity, is shown by the discussion of the proposals of Wolfgang Weichelt, who as early as 1957 sought to advance past the still held and dogmatized definition of the functions of the state (and of the law). He characterized the "economic-organizational and cultural-educational function" of the socialist state as the functions which in his mind distinguished it particularly from all exploiter states and characterized its "creative, active role in the establishment of socialist and, later, communist society."³¹ Although Weichelt made use here of nearly identical formulations by Stalin, he drew different and diametrically opposed conclusions. For Stalin, the distinction between repressive, economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions of the state served to produce the "proof" that the state was not dying out in any of its functions, but instead that the maintenance and strengthening of the repressive function, in the face of capitalist encirclement and the intensifying social class struggle, made it necessary to postulate the growing role of the state in other sectors as well.³²

For Weichelt, on the other hand, the repressive function--in contrast to the economic-organizational and cultural-educational--was not permanent and unconditional, but instead evoked in each case by the resistance of counterrevolutionary forces and the extent of the repressive function determined in its extent by these forces. "Such periods cannot, however, change the fact that the economic-organizational and cultural-educational function of the state is and remains the basic particular function which corresponds to the nature of that state and its social goals from the very beginning."³³

The party leadership, in the person of Walter Ulbricht, made it clear at the earlier mentioned Babelsberg conference in 1958 that it rejected not only any weakening of the repressive function of the state but even viewed any discussion of the differentiation and precise definition of the functions of the state and the law as revisionist. Uniformity and centralism were expounded and a clear "no" asserted to all tendencies to confront the changed social

problems with a deviersification of the process and a decentralization of structures.

1. The Functions of the State in the New Economic System

The chances for political changes afforded after the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 culminated in a comprehensive reform concept, the "New Economic System of Planning and Administration in the National Economy" (NES), enabling the party leadership to abandon their reservations concerning a differentiated discussion of the tasks and functions of the state. It was, in fact, itself interested in such a discussion to a considerable degree, seeing in the reform program of the NES a lever for far-reaching changes in other sectors of the society as well. It did not, however, see the reforms as a process in which the initiative from above would be joined by that from below, with the one important exception: the material stimulation of individual performance of the "working population" for the fulfillment of assigned goals.

The party program enacted at the 6th party congress of the SED characterized as a task of the state, "the planned and conscious direction of the comprehensive realization of socialism, of constantly developing the productive forces and socialist relationships of production, the improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the people's lives, the support of the creative initiative of the working population, the strengthening of socialism and the protection of the socialist order from foreign intrigues. Primary among the tasks of the socialist state are its economic-organizational and cultural-educational function and the direction of the economy, science and culture."³⁴

This emphasis upon the organizational and educational functions of the state is characteristic of a situation in which the party was concentrating fully upon the realization of the economic reforms which was later to evoke criticism from its own ranks that it had become a purely economic party. When in 1968 in Czechoslovakia the dangers became evident which could threaten the SED in the event of a neglect of its ideological responsibility and leadership functions, an about-face took place. The concept of the state that had been generated by the connections of the NES and which was fixed upon technical-organizational problems of state administrative activity was pushed to the background and linked to what were more traditional arguments emphasizing the repressive and political-organizational function. This new assessment of the state was given expression in a programmatic speech by Ulbricht in October 1968. Making a consciously positive reference to the Babelsberg conference of 1958, he sought to bolster a continuity of politico-theoretical concepts of party and state leadership which could only succeed if a presentation of the central idea of the NES as an essential phase of development were renounced. Ulbricht indicated as characteristics of the socialist state "in the period of formation of the developed social system of socialism," "the development of scientific leadership activity, associated with the democratic cooperation of working people in political, economic and cultural leadership, the comprehensive elaboration of the system of socialist laws and norms of national order, the suffusion of all sectors of public life with the teachings of Marxist-Leninism and its conscious and creative application by the individual citizen."³⁵

This positing of tasks makes it clear that one can only speak of a substantive connection with the theses of the 1958 Babelsberg conference with considerable reservations. While there too the comprehensive influence of ideology upon all sectors of social life was demanded, this was certainly not linked to the idea that a closed system of legal norms could be created, within which social and state activity would be confined. The legal form was, on the contrary, subordinated to the conditions of the purportedly intensifying class struggle and instrumentalized for its purposes. The idea of being able to elaborate a systems and norms of state order "completely," i.e. definitively, reveals instead a shift toward the relative isolation of the social transformation as it had found its real expression in the tendency toward the legal norming of all social processes.

2. State Functions and Social Policy

This process was not only not terminated by the political and ideological course changes which followed the removal of Ulbricht from office and the 8th SED party congress in 1971, it was even accelerated. In the report of the SED Central Committee to the 8th party congress, the growing importance of the "power of the state," while being emphasized, was primarily presented as the result of economic necessities. The tasks arising from the direction of the national economy and the consequences of the economic integration of the member countries of CEMA served as a justification for this assessment. These statements appear at first glance to be marked by the same economistic attitude as the statements of the party after the 6th party congress. The fact that at the same time the social and social welfare consequences of the development of the economy were stressed, points to wide-ranging programs of the "unity of economic and social policy" initiated at this party congress and since then pressed forward in many sectors. The report cited as other causes the growing importance of the GDR in world affairs and the increasing "often cleverly camouflaged aggressiveness of imperialism," which imposed upon all state institutions the task of "promptly seeing through the intentions of the enemy and of thwarting them." Finally, the growing consciousness of the working people was mentioned, making an "improved quality of state administration" necessary. It was stressed, however, that this consciousness was measured in terms of good performance in the production process and was primarily directed toward the improvement of individual living standards. This becomes clear with the point being stressed that what was at stake was "to create a good, trusting and objective atmosphere, so that initiative will be fostered and that people will see that their labor will bear fruit, that it serves the general welfare and will be to their own advantage as well."³⁶

This definition of the essential tasks of the state set off a resumption of the discussion of the functions of the state and gave it at the same time a new thrust: the main function had to be the direction of the economy in national terms and increasingly also in the international context of "socialist economic integration."³⁷ The political program, primarily economically motivated but socio-politically as well, defined by the so-called main task, the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of the national economic plan, while simultaneously elaborating and expanding the system of social security and rewards, leads to the assertion that the economic (or economic-organizational) function of the state takes on "ultimately decisive significance."³⁸

The actual socio-political sense and the social causes which had led to the formulation of the "main task," however, remained unspoken: for one, the fact that economic growth alone is not able to assure a more equitable distribution of opportunities, even if orientation toward performance is an essential lever for the realization of this growth; for another, that it requires socio-political measures to equalize disparities generated by these very goals. The economic activity of the state is much more the "conscious assertion of the class interests of the working class and its allies" and has thus a political function, even if it represents a necessary condition for the functioning of the socialist mode of production. Economic policy is not simply a policy for the development of the economy, but rather an aspect of the overall policy of the party within the economy as the "most important sector of social activity;" and, by that fact, at the same time the exercise of power.³⁹ A pattern of argument is accepted in this definition which was introduced by Belych into the discussion of administrative science: technical--in this case, economic--problems are defined as directly political.⁴⁰

The fact that the new political program of the SED was not to be comprehended in its full dimension using older categorizations, is shown in the scholarly discussions of the state and the law following the 8th party congress. Ingo Wagner, one of the leading legal scholars of the GDR, remarks in light of the indicated political line, that new main functions of the socialist state could evolve, that this process was already beginning with the establishment of the developed socialist society and that, parallel to that, the cultural-educational function would recede into the background. The realization of the "main task," in the context of this argument, while it is "under certain aspects a basic concern of all main functions of the socialist state," assigning clear priority to the economic-organizational function since it links "the tasks of economic development and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress" thus creating the prerequisite that "through a comprehensive utilization of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution, the standard of living can be raised even further."

The significance of the socio-political function of the state was said "to have visibly gained⁴¹ in strength following the victory of socialism" and was now rapidly increasing.

The political decision of the 8th and 9th party congresses for the purpose of guaranteeing economic goals, to supplement education for "genuine" consciousness by a system of social security rewards in social policy, through which an integrative effect was expected, is here corroborated through theory and raised to the stature of objective social legalities:

The dominant teaching in the GDR--oriented on its Soviet model--ascribes to the state at present six main functions:

- the repressive;
- the economic-organizational;
- the cultural-educational;
- that of the "protection of the socialist legal order, of socialist property and of the rights and freedoms of its citizens;

--that of "defense of the country against attacks from abroad;"

--the function of "the struggle for peace, for the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing socio-economic systems which are peculiar to them since their founding."⁴²

The currently accepted textbook on constitutional law asserts that the cultural-educational function of the state also continues to evolve with the elaboration of the developed socialist society. Its task is "to cause the ideology of socialism gradually to become the ideology of the entire society, and thus to carry forward the revolution in the area of ideology and culture."⁴³ What appears to be merely a change in the ideological stage setting, when looked at more closely, has two essential aspects which will have far-reaching effects for the understanding of state and law in socialist countries, specifically in this case, for the GDR:

1. Indicated as a particular function of the state is the protection of the legal order and the rights and freedoms of its citizens. This has led to an elaborate legislative and legalization process; what appear to be most significant in this instance are the administrative and labor regulations.

2. The cultural-educational function, i.e. the ideological tasks of the state, do not diminish under this concept, but rather increase. In light of the expansion of legal regulations far beyond the realm of state activity, this ideological function is no longer limited to the transmission of the "correct" political consciousness, but sees itself faced with the task of rooting the norms of "socialist" law in the minds of its people: by education to the law.

The fact that the problem of state functions could be tolerated and discussed by the party under the aspect of possible substitution of state tasks by social organizations and groups has been, until now, scarcely conceivable.

IV. Summary

The "real socialist" states operate with a theory of state and law which is mechanistic and ahistorical in its consequence. This mechanistic concept which has led to an almost total instrumentalization of state and law, was able, in large part, to overcome its terroristic aspects by replacing it with a vision of society that was more effective than any socio-technologically manipulable system. The differing definition and the extension of the functions of state and law in the individual stages of the political-social development indicate a tendency toward increasing organization of the society with the aid of legal regulations which are being used with ever greater deliberateness for execution of the political intentions of the ruling party. The evolution of law thus continues to exist in close dependency upon the political will of the Marxist-Leninist party. The process of legalization aids the elaboration of operating modalities which, in the case of future political, economic and organizational decision making, can no longer be simply ignored, but which will have instead a considerable influence upon these decisions. For this reason, such a process always contains within itself the tendency to limit the party's opportunities for political influence to specific individual sectors and to specific individual measures in favor of expanded, legally guaranteed competences of other social institutions. This will less affect the individual or single social

as much as it will the competences and the operational modes of the various fractions within the bureaucracy. The elaboration of the social system and the expansion of the authority of the law as reflected in legislative practice and the scholarly discussion of the state and the law, like the repeatedly undertaken efforts to clarify the politico-ideological priority of dealing with the law, point in this direction.

In general, the picture that emerges is a contradictory one: the subordination of the state remains, the real opportunities for the effectiveness of which have more likely been expanded rather than curtailed through the growing bureaucratization, through organizational reforms and primarily through the process of legalization. Yet associated with this are also changes, the ultimate goals of which are not yet clearly evident.

The process of legalization appears to afford at least the opportunity for a corporative opening up of the system and opportunities for individuals with respect to the overriding authority of the state. How far, in the long run, these corporative tendencies will modify the leadership role of the party and thereby enlarge the latitudes of individual citizens and social institutions and organizations such that it assigns to them a legally established and assured field vested authority is more difficult to answer since the events in Poland than at any time in the past. In view of the fundamental crisis in Poland, a renewed encapsulation of the system against all reform efforts is not to be excluded; furthermore, the new "roll-back" mentality in certain important states of the West makes its own contribution to the support of such conservative efforts.

1. Cf. Wlodzimierz Brus, "Sozialisierung und politisches System" [Socialization and Political System], Frankfurt/M. 1975.
2. Cf. Dieter Senghaas, "Sozialismus. Eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche und entwicklungstheoretische Betrachtung" [Socialism. Historical and Theoretical Aspects of its Development], LEVIATHAN, Vol 8 (1980), No 1, pp 10 ff.
3. Gert-Joachim Glaessner, "Herrschaft durch Kader. Leitung der Gesellschaft und Kaderpolitik in der DDR am Beispiel des Staatsapparats" [Administration of Society and Cadre Policy in the GDR as Seen in the State Apparatus], Opladen 1977, pp 37 ff.
4. Cf. Katherina Belwe, "Mitwirkung im Industriebetrieb der DDR--Einzelleitung--Beteiligung der Werktaetigen an Entscheidungsprozessen des VEB" [Co-participation in GDR Industry. Planning--Management--Worker Participation in State-Owned Enterprise Decision Making], Opladen 1979.
5. Andras Hegedues, "Sozialismus und Buerokratie," Reinbek 1981, p 99.
6. Cf. Gert-Joachim Glaessner, "Ende der Reformen? Bedingungen und Grenzen der Wandlungsfahigkeit soviet-sozialistischer Systeme am Beispiel der DDR" [End of the Reforms? Circumstances and Limits of the Capacity for Change

Within Soviet-type Socialist Systems as Evidenced in the GDR], DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Vol 15 (1982) No 7, pp 700 ff.

7. Cf. Martin Jaenicke, "Der Dritte Weg. Die antistalinistische Opposition gegen Ulbricht seit 1953" [The Third Way. Anti-Stalinist Opposition to Ulbricht Since 1953] Cologne 1964; Hartmut Zimmermann, "Wissenschaftlich-technische Revolution in der DDR. Studien zur Entwicklungs- und Problemgeschichte des gesellschaftlichen Konzepts der SED seit Mitter der fuenfziger Jahre" [Scientific-technical Revolution in the GDR. Essays on the History of the Development and Problems of the SED's Concept of Society Since the 1950's], Dissertation, Berlin 1981.

8. Cf. Balint Balla, "Versuch einer Idealtypisierung der 'Buerokratie' sowjetisch-volksdemokratischen Typs" [Attempt at a Typology of "Bureaucracy" of Soviet-People's Democratic Type], Stuttgart 1972.

9. Cf. Alfred G. Meyer, "The Soviet Political System. An Interpretation," New York 1956, pp 49 ff.

10. Cf. Gyoergy Konrad and Ivan Szelenyi, "Die Intelligenz auf dem Weg zur Klassenmacht" [The Intelligentsia on the Way to Class Power], Frankfurt/M 1978.

11. Cf. Alfred G. Meyer, loc. cit., pp 225 ff.

12. "Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus. Lehrbuch fuer das marxistisch-leninistische Grundlagenstudium [Scientific Communism. Textbook for the Introductory Study of Marxist-Leninism], East Berlin 1974, p 444.

13. From the report of the Politburo to the 9th plenary session of the Central Committee; referee Paul Verner, candidate member of the Politburo, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, No 208, 30 July 1960, pp 3 f.

14. Gerhard Wagenhaus, Wilhelm Havel, Heinz Bartz, "Mehr Tempo und Qualitaet bei der Entwicklung der Kader im Staatsapparat" [Greater Speed and Quality in Developing Cadres in the State Apparatus], East Berlin 1969, p 36; Hans Jendretzky, "Hoehere Qualitaet der staatlichen Leitung--ein entscheidendes Kettenglied fuer die Verwirklichung unserer Aufgaben. Zum Beschluss des Politburos und des Ministerrats ueber die weitere Qualifizierung der Arbeit der Organe des Staatsapparats" [Higher Quality of State Administration--a Decisive Link for the Achievement of our Tasks. On the Resolution of the Politburo and the Council of Ministers Concerning the Further Professionalization and the Work of the Agencies of the State Apparatus], STAAT UND RECHT, Vol 9 (1960) No 9, pp 1451 ff.

15. Cf. Peter Christian Ludz, "Parteielite im Wandel. Funktionsaufbau, Sozialstruktur und Ideologie der SED-Fuehrung. Eine empirisch-systematische Untersuchung" [Party Elite in Transition. Organizational Structure, Social Structure and Ideology of the SED Leadership. An Empirico-systematic Study] Cologne/Opladen 1968, 2nd Edn. pp 71 ff.

16. Cf. Gero Neugebauer, "Partei und Staatsapparat in der DDR. Aspekte der Instrumentalisierung des Staatsapparats durch die SED" [Party and State Apparatus in the GDR. Aspects of the Instrumentalization of the State Apparatus

by the SED], Opladen 1978, p 197.

17. Ruediger Thomas, "Mit altem Kompass zu neuen Ufern? Anmerkungen zum X. Parteitag der SED" [To New Shores with an Old Compass? Observations on the 10th Party Congress of the SED], DDR REPORT, Vol 14 (1981) No 5, pp 270 ff; Gert-Joachim Glaessner, "Sozialistische Systeme. Einfuehrung in die Kommunismus- und DDR Forschung" [Socialist Systems. Introduction to Research into Communism and the GDR], Opladen 1982, pp 241 ff.
18. Cf. Norbert Reich and Hans Christian Reichel, "Einfuehrung in das sozialistische Recht. Grundlagen, Grundprobleme, System, Quellen, Rechtsbildung, Rechtsverwirklichung" [Introduction to Socialist Law. Foundations, Basic Problems, System, Sources, Legislation, Enforcement], Munich 1975, pp 31 ff.
19. Karl Polack, "Der Auftrag der Babelsberger Konferenz und der Entwurf eines Lehrplans fuer die Ausbildung leitender Funktionaere der Staatsorgane" [The Mission of the Babelsberg Conference and the Proposal for a Curriculum for the Training of Senior Officials of State Agencies], STAAT UND RECHT, Vol 8 (1959), No 4 pp 483 ff.
20. Cf. Heide M. Pfarr, "Auslegungstheorie und Auslegungspraxis im Zivil- und Arbeitsrecht der DDR" [Theory and Practice of Interpretation in Civil and Labor Law in the GDR], Berlin 1972.
21. "Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VI. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands [Official Record of the Proceedings of the 6th Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany], East Berlin 1963, p 371.
22. "Marxistisch-leninistische Staats- und Rechtstheorie. Lehrbuch" [Marxist-Leninist Theory of the State and the Law. A Textbook], East Berlin 1975, p 88; s.a. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie des Staats und des Rechts" [Marxist-Leninist General Theory of the State and the Law], East Berlin 1974, Vol 1, p 273.
23. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie," loc. cit., Vol 1, p 273.
24. "Marxistisch-leninistische Staats- und Rechtstheorie," loc. cit., p 356.
25. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie," loc. cit., Vol 4, p 19.
26. Juergen Baumann, "Einfuehrung in doe Rechtswissenschaft. Ein Studienbuch" [Introduction to the Study of Law. A Handbook], Munich 1977, 5th edn., p 15.
27. Cf. Gerhard Schuessler and Wolfgang Weichelt, "Zur Staatsfrage in den Dokumenten zur Vorbereitung des IX. Parteitages der SED" [On the Question of the State in the Documents Preparatory to the 9th Party Congress of the SED], STAAT UND RECHT, Vol 25 (1976) No 4, p 355.
28. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie," loc. cit., Vol 3, p 63.
29. "Protokoll des VI. Parteitages der SED," loc. cit., Vol 1, p 87.

30. "Protckoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der SED," East Berlin 1981, Vol. 1, p 120.
31. Wolfgang Weichelt, "Zu einigen Fragen der Funktionen des Staates" [Concerning a Number of Questions on the Functions of the State], STAAT UND RECHT, Vol 6 (1957) No 1, p 16.
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33. Weichelt, loc. cit., p 17.
34. "Protokoll des VI. Parteitages der SED," loc. cit., Vol 4, pp 366 ff.
35. Walter Ulbricht, "Die Rolle des sozialistischen Staates bei der Gestaltung des entwickelten gesellschaftlichen Systems des Sozialismus" [The Role of the Socialist State in the Formation of the Developed Social System of Socialism], East Berlin 1968, pp 9 f.
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37. Wolfgang Weichelt, "Der sozialistische Staat--Hauptinstrument der Arbeiterklasse zur Gestaltung der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [The Socialist State--Chief Instrument of the Working Class for the Creation of Socialist Society], East Berlin 1972, pp 71 ff.
38. Ingo Wagner, "Zur sozialen Funktion des sozialistischen Staates" [On the Social Function of the Socialist State], STAAT UND RECHT, Vol 23 (1974) No 10, p 1707.
39. Hans Hofmann, "Die objektive Bedingtheit der oekonomischen Rolle des Staates" [The Objective Limitation of the Economic Role of the State], STAAT UND RECHT, Vol 22 (1973), No 10/11, pp 723 ff.
41. Wagner, "Zur sozialen Funktion," loc. cit., pp 1706 ff.
42. "Marxistisch-leninistische Staats- und Rechtstheorie," loc. cit., pp 232 ff.; also, "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie," loc. cit.. Vol 3 pp 89 ff.
43. "Marxistisch-leninistische Staats- und Rechtstheorie," loc. cit., p 239.

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LEADING CADRES INTERVIEWED ON PERSONAL TASTES, HOBBIES

Reporters' Account

Hamburg ZEITMAGAZIN in German No 26, 24 Jun 83 pp 19-23, 26, 28, 30, 46-47

/Report by Marlies Menge and Rudi Meisel: "At the Forefront in the GDR"

/Text/ In the other Germany, too, a group of people just below the all-powerful cabinet level singlemindedly, dynamically and, in many cases surely, opportunistically hold leading positions. Some from this "nomenclature" (a Soviet term) have met with our reporters and provided very personal responses to the questions that Karl Marx once asked his daughters.

"Leading cadres are people who have to work harder than others without getting paid overtime, and whose heads are on the chopping block when anything goes wrong." This description was provided by a friend in the GDR, a fitter without ambition for higher office. He prefers to conserve his energies for his private life, in particular his garden. Many think the same. Consequently the pushing and shoving on the upward ladder seems less rough in the GDR than it is in the FRG.

Peter Faltin, first secretary, SED kreis leadership in Berlin-Marzahn and, therefore, the most powerful man in Marzahn, used to breed Irish Setters. At that time he lived in a one-family home with a garden. "Now I no longer have time; after all, in a house something constantly needs to be seen to. Or one needs to be wealthy and able to afford tradesmen." Peter Faltin is not wealthy; he has none of the privileges he may be assumed to enjoy, does not shop in special stores, drives a normal car, does not travel to the West, does not spend his vacations on the Black Sea but on the Baltic. He exchanged his house for an apartment in a new residential building in Marzahn. "We moved right in the mud," he says proudly. "There was no landscaping at all. By now we have jointly planted front yards."

Marzahn has some 100,000 residents. It was constructed in a manner typical for the GDR, that is by prefabricated slab construction. Still, Peter Faltin is optimistic. He hopes that the annual district festival, the "Marzahn Spring," for example, will imbue Marzahn residents with civic pride. "I simply cannot be anything but an optimist," he says. A SED Central Committee calendar sits on his desk. From it he reads off his appointments, mostly discussions--with comrades from Marzahn factories, for instance, or from the stores where Marzahn residents shop. Once every 3 months

he attends a meeting of the Berlin Bezirk party leaders, and the kreis leaders meet each quarter also. Each February the kreis secretaries meet: "We establish key points. Plan fulfillment is in first place."

Who actually rules Marzahn, he or the mayor? "We organize the party, not the state." But his party does, after all, hold power in the state? "That is a fact," he says confidently.

Shortly after 06.00 hours he looks in at the various building sites, and later in his office reads the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. "That has everything that is going on. Every word of our general secretary is printed." He reveres Erich Honecker. Does he know him personally? "Sure. However, I have not had a cup of coffee with him yet." On the other hand he refuses to have his photograph taken below Honecker's portrait: "We stand solidly and strongly behind our general secretary, but we do not put ourselves forward." A safe stands next the door: "It holds our resolutions."

He was born in Wroclaw, in his words is a "backpack Berliner." He has been living in his present city district since 1938, with only a few breaks. As a boy he caught frogs in old Marzahn. Later he became a bricklayer. "Sometimes I still drive past chimneys I helped to set. That is a good feeling." He has three daughters, one a nursery school teacher like her mother, another one a sales clerk, the third a beauty operator; and he has five grandchildren. His family is important to him. "The battery must be charged somewhere."

Liane Lang, chief mayor of Halle-Neustadt, also rules a new district, constructed for a population of 93,000, the families of workers at the Leuna Works and the Buna Chemical Works. It seems the GDR has no choice but to settle its housing problems by such dismal new districts as Marzahn or Halle-Neustadt. But is it really necessary to pretend that they are heaven on earth? "I am pleased that our people are happy in our city," says functionary Liane Lang. She is a woman approximately my age. Why can we not talk freely with one another? And yet she is friendly, has coffee and pastry served to us and readily answers my questions. Her mother was a farm worker, her father a miner. Liane became a tractor driver. That job, though, was of short duration. Subsequently she worked full-time for the FDJ, wanted to become a youth prosecutor but instead entered local politics and was first mayor of Wolfen and, since 1970, has been chief mayor of Halle-Neustadt. She enumerates the Halle-Neustadt apartments enjoying distance heating, the schools and kindergardens of the city.

Her daughter, mother of two children is just on maternity leave (1 year), her son is a student at a construction college. "After graduation he will struggle at a front we consider very important indeed: He will work for the defense organs." She uses such well chosen words in her official capacity. The family has a second home outside the city, on Sweet Lake. It is a weekend residence. She says "when I was away on official business, at least my husband and children needed to be able to get away."

Johanna Toepfer, deputy chairman of the FDGB--the sole labor union in the GDR--is only a few years older than Liane Lang, but she lived through the immediate postwar period fully realizing its significance. I noted the same among other interlocutors in this series of portraits: Those who opted for this part of Germany in 1945, when

they were young, who helped trace the course of events here, differ from those who grew up in a finished GDR. Maybe they still remember the expectations of those days, maybe they feel responsible for the actual state of affairs.

Johanna Toepfer was a carriage cleaner on the railroad, early committed herself to union work and was a member of the Antifa Youth (antifascist youth union). She might be termed a GDR emancipated woman although in a different meaning than Alice Schwarzer. She helped with the introduction of the baby year in the GDR. "I think it is nice that we are more advanced in this respect than the snobbish FRG."

She is more often to be found in factories than at her desk: "Lately, for example, I was in a calf rearing facility. The boss was mad because every woman has a favorite among the calves. I think that is wonderful. Usually the favorite is a runt, and the woman manages to bring it up to standard. It would not be easy to find such an example in a male brigade." Could she imagine a strike in the GDR? Those who, by her standards, ask silly questions deserve a silly answer: "Against whom is there to be a strike?" Of course there are problems: "Things are not so simple as all that: Rationalism plus socialism, and everything is fine."

Her son is a structural engineer like his father, the daughter works in the social welfare department of Prenzlauer Berg, an East Berlin city district. She has one grandchild, spends her vacations in the Ore Mountains. She only recently learned to drive a car: "I always need to do something new." She is a member of the SED Central Committee and the Council of State, also a FDGB representative in the People's Chamber. However, that is not the same as being a Bundestag deputy: "Our People's Chamber does not meet so often..."

Kerstin Fenzke is the youngest deputy in the People's Chamber; she sits for the FDJ fraction. She is appetizing, a little heavy in her blue FDJ blouse and checked skirt. She answers my questions as if she were still at school. Her father is a physicist, her mother a teacher. She learned machine construction drafting and studied to become a structural steel engineer. She was always politically committed, as a young child in the Pioneer organization, later in the FDJ. She was elected to the People's Chamber in 1981. And outside FDJ and work? She likes to dance, plays volley ball, likes needlework. Yes, she does have a boyfriend: "He does something for peace," she says, "he is a career officer in the NVA /National People's Army/."

Compared with the brief and straightforward (not to say prim) recital of Kerstin Fenzke's life story, the biography of Guenther Wyschofsky, minister for chemical industry, seems like a colorful ballad. His father worked in an Oberlausitz quarry. "We collected potatoes off harvested fields. We gathered mushrooms. At times the entire family lived off the money gotten from the sale of the mushrooms." Even then he was fascinated by chemistry and experimented in the shed: "Anything that stank and banged." He was apprenticed to a plastics firm. After the war he himself dabbled in chemistry, produced creams and lipsticks in a drug store. Only later did he take the secondary school certificate at the worker and peasant school (ABF) and studied chemistry. He says reflectively: "That is just about my most important experience---that I was able to catch up, to be able as an educated man to do that which I could not do in my parental home."

These days he is one of 45 ministers, member of the SED Central Committee. He receives us in the well appointed guest house of the Council of Ministers, offers us

coffee, sparkling wine and cake. He even presents me with flowers--because Woman's Day is just being celebrated.

In the GDR chemicals account for about 18 percent of goods production (11 percent in the FRG). Wyschofsky is responsible for "plastics and rubber from Schkopau," for the Schwedt Oil Combine, the Leuna Works, Bitterfeld and Buna, also for ORWO film production in Wolfen. He is, as it were, minister for 312,000 people. They produce detergents and artificial kidneys, gasoline and nitrogen fertilizers, manmade fibers and tires.

And chemicals as polluters? "We are only in fourth place; farming, mining and the woodpulp industry are ahead of us. Admittedly, I too need to pay fines to Herr Reichelt" (minister for environmental protection and water management), he says with a smile. And he complains about the throw-away mentality that German citizens have adopted from the West.

Even while a minister, he has remained a working chemist. He has a small laboratory in the basement of his family home and produces toilet water and shampoo for the family's use. When he visits Paris, he brings back for his wife Chanel No 5 instead of elegant clothes. "That is still the most fragrant perfume," says the expert. His son is a student but prefers mathematics. The minister spends most of his vacations in the garden. Or he goes mushroom gathering early in the morning, then cleans and freezes the mushrooms himself.

In contrast to the domesticated minister for chemical industry, Prof Horst Klinkmann is on the go for 6 months of the year, as president of the World Society for Artificial Organs with offices in Rio, Tokyo, Cleveland and Rostock. Or as president of the GDR Medical Sciences Council. He is also professor at Rostock University and head of the clinic of internal medicine there. Rostock medical school has 200-250 students per college year. He is pleased to examine their medical grounding: "We are concerned about the student's first contact with the patient. If a student is unable to read an EKG during an examination, that is not too bad, but if he is unable to hear cardiac sounds, percuss the lungs or write a case history, I will not let him loose on humanity."

His father was killed in the war, his mother died shortly after war's end. A teacher took him under his wing. He graduated secondary school and went on to study medicine. The Americans called the young physician to Salt Lake City, appointed him professor, wished to keep him and offered a lot of money. He refused. "Even if I did not know that I am on the right side, it would be a matter of sheer decency to stay in the country that provided my education. Coming from a poverty environment, I would probably not have had that opportunity anywhere else."

The rolling "r" betrays his Mecklenburg origins. Beside his city apartment, he has a small house in Mecklenburg, on a lake in the forest. He spends all his vacations there, fishing and hunting. The family consists of physicians exclusively. His wife is one, and his son is a medical student. "Once I get to be at home more, I will keep a proper zoo, Klinkmann jokes. "I must have a Persian cat and two parrots, one of whom must speak north German dialect."

Hans Anselm Perten, general director of Rostock People's Theaters, is the boss of 600 employees. Due to lack of space his photograph does not appear in our gallery of leading GDR functionaries. During our talk he was sitting on a couch with a button on the side. Like an impatient child he frequently pushed the button until his secretary appeared. He recounted that his actors had made guest appearances all over the world, with the exception of the United States and Australia. "Nobody from this theater has defected to the West."

Perten was educated by the Jesuits in Hamburg, learned typesetting, was wounded in the war and studied acting with Neustrelitz' Josef von Sanden whose daughter he married. She is an actress at his theater. His son is a teacher at Rostock party school. After the war Perten worked first in Hamburg but, already in 1946, left for the Soviet occupation zone, was appointed director in Mecklenburg and later in Rostock. He was in Berlin for just 2 years in between. A sore spot, because he was not very successful there. As he now says: "In Berlin I merely discharged a state assignment."

Almost all plays by Peter Weiss and Hochhuth have been shown on his Rostock stages. And GDR authors? No, he did not stage Plenzdorf. "The issue he dealt with in 'The New Sorrows of Young W' is interesting but was handled too superficially."

On his 50th birthday Perten was appointed professor, but he does not teach. "I am actually more of a cultural propagandist in factories, talk about the ethical and moral values of art." He calls himself a "fighting communist artist." He lives in one half of a two-family home in Rostock and spends his vacations in a house he rents in Ahrenshoop on the Baltic.

Hermann Kant, president, Writers' Association, prefers to receive us at his home, in a new apartment on Leipzig Street with a view of the Wall from one window, of the French Cathedral and the Victory Column from the other. We are even permitted to say hi to 6-months old Deborah in her cot. Kant spent his childhood in Hamburg, was trained as an electrician, was a soldier for 4 weeks and subsequently a prisoner of war for 4 years. "There I learned something unforgettable about war, fascism and antisemitism," he says. In the camp he founded an antifascist committee. He got his secondary school diploma at the worker and peasant school, then studied journalism. His book "Aufenthalt" /Sojourn/, lately made into a movie, describes his life in a Polish prison camp, his "Die Aula" /The Assembly Hall/ the time he spent as a "worker-student."

He was appointed president of the Writers' Association in 1978; he did not inherit an easy job. After Biermann's expulsion, some important writers left the GDR. "I reproach my colleagues for having left for no good reason," he says. And adds: "If it were possible to rerun history, some plays would not be played again."

In recent years three quarters of his time have been devoted to official business: A meeting of the presidium every month, executive board meetings every quarter, a membership meeting once a month, trips to the districts, talks with colleagues.

"We must mediate between writers and people who think that they do something much more useful than writing," he says. In his opinion to be a writer means to be an interpreter. "We must speak for people who cannot speak for themselves." Hermann Kant is a man who tends to polarize people: Either they are his friends, or they reject him. There seems to be nothing in between.

When he wants to write, he drives to a small house on Zierke Lake near Neustrelitz, with his 10-year old wirehaired fox terrier who often creates domestic problems: He is jealous of Jessica and Deborah, the two daughters of his second marriage.

From the poet's den to the bustling world of industry: The press spokesman of the combine talks of his boss as "the general." In fact Karl-Heinz Jentsch, director general of the Mansfeld Combine and senior director general in the GDR, cuts an imposing figure. He leads us to a giant conference room with dark wood paneling in Eisleben city palace where the Mining Office used to be located in the old days. He is indeed a boss, director general over 48,000 people, but he is a boss more by stature, by his calm and excellence than by an authoritative manner. "I always try to keep free of undue excitement so as to arrive at properly considered and calm decisions," he says. He also explains that this is his reason for smoking cigars instead of cigarettes.

He lost his left arm in the war. Nevertheless he manages to light his own cigar and goes hunting.

He grew up in the Ore Mountains, his father was a wood merchant. After graduating from secondary school he wanted to study timber management but was called up. Having been wounded, he was able to study management at home--both in the war and following it. Since 1950 he has worked for the Mansfeld Combine, the nonferrous center of the GDR. The combine factories process copper and silver, produce welding equipment, construct drills for do-it-yourselfers; all face cream tins in the GDR are turned out in Jentsch's combine, and so are all milk bottle closures. In 1945 he joined the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD): "At that time I was not yet so close to the basic ideals of the working class." Jentsch visits his factories often, talks to everybody. He also attends many discussions in the ministry or with other directors general, for example on marketing strategies. Moreover, he is chairman of the German-Soviet Society in Halle Bezirk--additional obligations.

With his wife, director general Jentsch has always lived in an apartment "because we did not want to make slaves of ourselves." His son is a physician, he has one grandson. In vacation time he goes to the Baltic, to one of the combine's 16 vacation homes. He confesses his passion: "I love cake, as you may see by my bulk. You know, in my job I simply have to have this kind of figure. If not, my bank director would refuse to loan me money; he would think that I could not fulfill the plan!"

Bishop Heinrich Rathke is the only one of the GDR cadres we visited, who does not like being a boss. Nor does he belong with the nomenclature, even though he is taken seriously in the GDR, and he is loyal to that state. He is already looking forward to the time when he will be a simple pastor again. Also to having more time for his family. He is the father of six boys and one girl. The slim woman who pours our coffee and offers home-baked cake does not look like the mother of seven. Bishop Rathke tells us that none of the four older sons attended secondary school; they were trained as bricklayer, carpenter, nurse and again carpenter. The bricklayer later got his secondary school certificate and is going to be a structural engineer; one of the carpenters is now studying theology, and the male nurse will be a congregational educator. The daughter is the first in the family to graduate from expanded secondary school and wants to study nursing. The two youngest sons are also still at school.

After having been a prisoner of war of the English, the Mecklenburg native went to Schleswig-Holstein as a farm worker, graduated secondary school in Luebeck, studied theology in Kiel, Tuebingen and Erlangen, met his wife in Bavaria. "Yes indeed, I was a proper citizen of the Federal Republic," he says with a laugh. "We came here in late 1953, quite deliberately. At that time there was an opportunity to legally go to the GDR as a minister." He does not regret this step, on the contrary: "Here are the people to whom I feel committed."

Hanging on the wall are photographs of the church in Althof near Doberan Spa, where he served as a curate. Subsequently he spent 7 years in the Wangenhagen village congregation, 8 years in the new city district of Rostock-South. Another photograph shows the circus wagon where holy service used to be held: "It was easier there to achieve a feeling of community than in the often impersonal new church buildings."

He shows us school notebooks where hymns are copied out in fancy script, also parts of the Gospel. He twice traveled with the Lutheran World Federation to Lutherans in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Siberia. He is enthusiastic about the lay preachers there.

Mecklenburg has 350 ordained ministers, the Church a total of 2,500 staff, counting charitable institutions, community personnel and administration. Tithes are paid by 650,000 people. "But what is the use of such figures? Some 20-year olds have themselves baptized, or unbaptized children attend Sunday school. Are they or are they not to be counted among the Christians?" "Many certainly look for a community that will take them seriously, certainly seek for a feeling of security and belonging; others are attracted by welfare and charitable work. The younger generation is ready for commitment; they assume that the Gospel offers a peace message." He keeps aloof from those who wish to make the Church the base of a political opposition. "That is not the business of the Church."

We have introduced you to 10 people who have something to say in the GDR, are part and parcel of the indispensable infrastructure of the state--some with little influence (such as the young People's Chamber representative), some with more (such as the party secretary or the minister). All work very hard; their working day begins between 05.00 and 06.00 hours and usually does not end until the evening. They must indeed toil, the unambitious fitter we cited at the beginning of this report was quite right. Most of them were born in the 1920's, and the end of World War II has left its mark on them; many were committed members of the Antifa Youth. Almost all originate from modest circumstances--the GDR's aristocracy. By their own testimony all seek constant contact with the rank and file, the party secretary on construction sites, the combine director among the factory collectives, the bishop in the congregations. Many have a garden, a small home in the country; all take their vacations in the GDR, and all are much attached to their families. With one exception they are still married to their first partner; in the GDR, the country with the highest divorce rate, that is by no means a matter of course.

When asked what the GDR, what Germany means to them, some of them respond with some bitterness. Professor Klinkmann cites some West German reports of sporting events with the reporter saying: "Kur Mueller from the GDR won, the best German was Rolf Meier..." Bishop Rathke recalls West German visitors who look at some gray facades in Schwerin and comment: "At home in Germany things look very different."

The 10 answers to the question what Germany means to them are almost identical: No more than a historical concept. All of them describe the GDR as their homeland, the country of their children, where they assumed responsibility. "Nevertheless I certainly respect people in other countries," says Minister Wyschofsky, and Bishop Rathke talks of the responsibility we Germans carry: "We should venture to talk with one another as Germans."

Bio Data, Interview Excerpts

Hamburg ZEITMAGAZIN in German No 26, 24 Jun 83 pp 18-23, 26, 28, 30

/Addenda to article by Marlies Menge and Rudi Meisel, "At the Forefront in the GDR"

/Text/ Peter Faltin, first secretary, SED Kreis leadership, Berlin-Marzahn.

Born 1930 in Wroclaw; 1945 apprentice bricklayer; 1947 preparation for the construction technical school (evening classes); 1949 university, majoring in occupational education. From 1952 vocational teacher. 1955 deputy director construction school. SED member since 1954. From 1963 on in the party apparatus, initially responsible for popular education issues. Correspondence courses at Karl Marx Party College, 1970 graduation as diploma sociologist, subsequently working in the field of agitation and propaganda at various party levels. 1974 second party secretary in Berlin-Pankow. Since 1976 member of Berlin Bezirk party leadership. Since 1979 first party secretary in Berlin-Marzahn.

/Question/ Your favorite virtue?

/Answer/ Truthfulness and modesty.

/Question/ Your main quality?

/Answer/ Persistence and loyalty to the cause of the working class.

/Question/ Your interpretation of happiness?

/Answer/ To work successfully for peace and the welfare of man.

/Question/ Your favorite occupation?

/Answer/ To talk to a lot of people.

/Question/ Your poet?

/Answer/ Erich Weinert.

/Question/ Your hero?

/Answer/ Ernst Thaelmann.

/Question/ Your favorite dish?

/Answer/ Pig feet with sauerkraut.

/Question/ Your favorite saying?

/Answer/ The world is changed by deeds rather than words.

Liane Lang, chief mayor, Halle-Neustadt, SED member.

Born 1935, trained tractor driver. 1953-1957 studied at Walter Ulbricht German Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence in Potsdam-Babelsberg. Graduated with diploma in jurisprudence. Worked in municipal politics. 1964-1970 mayor of Wolfen, followed by promotion to present office. Fatherland Order of Merit in bronze.

/Question/ Your favorite virtue?

/Answer/ Honesty and persistence.

/Question/ Your main quality?

/Answer/ Resolution, never satisfied with present achievement.

/Question/ Your interpretation of happiness?

/Answer/ A healthy family, healthy and happy grandchildren. That the citizens in my city be happy and continue to be happy, that is live in peace.

/Question/ Your favorite occupation?

/Answer/ To meet with people, talk with them, find something new.

/Question/ Your poet?

/Answer/ Anna Seghers and Konstantin Simonov.

/Question/ Your hero?

/Answer/ Antifascists who struggled and, after 1945, were the first to begin building a new life. And for me the Soviet Union remains the hero.

/Question/ Your favorite dish?

/Answer/ Home cooked dishes.

/Question/ Your favorite saying?

/Answer/ Carry on, with discernment and optimism.

Guenther Wyschofsky, Berlin, minister for chemical industry, member SED.

Born 1929 in Bishoswerda, Oberlausitz. Trained as skilled chemical worker. 1945 woldier. After end of World War II attendance at Halle worker and peasant school,

graduated with distinction. Studied chemistry in Dresden and Leipzig, graduated in 1953 as diploma chemist. Senior jobs in research laboratories and chemical firms, on the staff of the SED Central Committee, 1962-1965 deputy chairman, State Planning Commission. Since December 1964 member SED Central Committee, since 1966 in his present ministerial job. Fatherland Order of Merit in gold.

/Question/ Your favorite virtue?

/Answer/ To act with creative impatience.

/Question/ Your main quality?

/Answer/ Not to rest before everything has been properly settled.

/Question/ Your interpretation of happiness?

/Answer/ To live and work with good people. For me happiness is not an accident, it is something to be deliberately achieved.

/Question/ Your favorite occupation?

/Answer/ To realize my ideas.

/Question/ Your poet?

/Answer/ Goethe.

/Question/ Your hero?

/Answer/ People who conquer themselves. Personalities who changed the world by their attitude and effort.

/Question/ Your favorite dish?

/Answer/ Potato soup.

/Question/ Your favorite saying?

/Answer/ What you can do today...

Kerstin Fenzke, Leipzig, youngest People's Chamber representative,
SED member.

Born 1963 in Borna, Leipzig district. Ten-grade polytechnical secondary school, trained as draftswoman for machine construction, graduated as skilled worker. FDJ group leader at school and during apprenticeship. Draftswoman in the S.M. Kirov Heavy Machine Construction Combine. Delegated for management studies to Walter Ulbricht Engineering School for Heavy Machine Construction in Rosswein, currently in second semester. 1981 nominated by the FDJ as candidate for the People's Chamber and elected. Member of the People's Chamber's youth committee.

/Question/ Your favorite virtue?

/Answer/ Honesty.

/Question/ Your main quality?

/Answer/ Helpfulness.

/Question/ Your interpretation of happiness?

/Answer/ To be successful.

/Question/ Your favorite occupation?

/Answer/ Sports (volley ball, bicycling).

/Question/ Your poet?

/Answer/ Horst Bastian.

/Question/ Your hero?

/Answer/ Pavel Korchagin (hero of Nikolai Ostrovsky's novel "How the Steel Was Hardened").

/Question/ Your favorite dish?

/Answer/ Cabbage rolls.

/Question/ Your favorite saying?

/Answer/ Life is man's most valuable property.

Hermann Kant, Berlin, president, GDR Writers' Association, SED member.

Born 1926, Hamburg, trained as electrician, soldier, 4 years prisoner of war in Poland. 1949-1951 attendance at Greifswald worker and peasant school, 1952-1956 studied German language and literature at Humboldt University, Berlin. Graduated as diploma philologist. Political essayist of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. Novels, short stories. 1969-1978 vice chairman, subsequently chairman of the Writers' Association. 1980 honorary doctorate at Greifswald University, since 1981 People's Chamber representative. Heinrich Heine Prize, National Prize first class.

/Question/ Your favorite virtue?

/Answer/ Composure.

/Question/ Your main quality?

/Answer/ Curiosity.

/Question/ Your interpretation of happiness?

/Answer/ A major effort turning out to have been meaningful.

/Question/ Your favorite occupation?

/Answer/ Doing nothing.

/Question/ Your poet?

/Answer/ Volker Braun and Heiner Mueller.

/Question/ Your hero?

/Answer/ Justyna Sierp (Polish Jewess, member of the Red Chapel resistance organization).

/Question/ Your favorite dish?

/Answer/ Cabbage with knockwurst.

/Question/ Your favorite saying?

/Answer/ Erwin Strittmatter wrote this as a dedication in a book when I was very badly off: "We have to make it through this, and then comes the next, and we have to make it through that, too."

Johanna Toepfer, Berlin, deputy chairman FDGB, SED member.

Born 1929 in Schneidemuehl, trade school, 1944-1951 carriage cleaner, bookkeeper and member of the works trade union leadership at the railroad. 1952-1954 deputy director FDGB school in Beesenstadt/Halle, 1959/1964 student of sociology, 1964 doctor of economics, 1965-1970 deputy director Labor Union College, professor of political economics of capitalism. Since 1971 member SED Central Committee, since 1976 People's Chamber representative, since 1981 member Council of State. Fatherland Order of Merit in gold.

/Question/ Your favorite virtue?

/Answer/ Patience with reporters.

/Question/ Your main quality?

/Answer/ Showing myself to reporters in the best possible light.

/Question/ Your interpretation of happiness?

/Answer/ To be well treated by the press.

/Question/ Your favorite occupation?

/Answer/ Reading my own interviews.

/Question/ Your poet?

/Answer/ F.C. Weiskopf; he began as a reporter.

/Question/ Your hero?

/Answer/ Johann Gutenberg; without him there would be no press.

/Question/ Your favorite dish?

/Answer/ Line salad.

/Question/ Your favorite saying?

/Answer/ Usually as you call into the paper forest, the echo returns.

Horst Klinkmann, Rostock, professor of internal medicine, SED member.

Born 1935, Teterow, father killed in war, mother died shortly after end of war. School in Teterow and boarding school in Rostock. 1954-1959 studied medicine at Rostock University. Doctorate in 1959. 1969 license to teach at Rostock University, governor Society for Artificial Organs, since 1980 president Medical Sciences Council at Ministry for Health. National Prize second class.

/Question/ Your favorite virtue?

/Answer/ Honesty and loyalty.

/Question/ Your main quality?

/Answer/ Cordiality.

/Question/ Your interpretation of happiness?

/Answer/ To be useful to others and to be loved.

/Question/ Your favorite occupation?

/Answer/ Reflection.

/Question/ Your poet?

/Answer/ Homer, Goethe and James Baldwin.

/Question/ Your hero?

/Answer/ Man.

/Question/ Your favorite dish?

/Answer/ Bockwurst, pig knuckle.

/Question/ Your favorite saying?

/Answer/ Born to see, commanded to look, sworn to the tower, the world pleases me.
(From Faust, Part II, the song of the tower keeper).

Heinrich Rathke, Schwerin, Protestant Land Bishop Mecklenburg

Born 1928, Moelln, Malchin Kreis. 1944 naval aide, 1945 prisoner of war in England, released to Schleswig-Holstein. Farm worker, graduated secondary school in Luebeck, studied theology in Kiel, Erlangen, Tuebingen. Examination in Amberg. 1953 settled in the GDR, curate in Althof near Doberan Spa, minister Wankenhagen village congregation and Rostock. Since 1970 present office. 1978-1980 chairman, GDR National Committee, Lutheran World Federation.

/Question/ Your favorite virtue?

/Answer/ I do not like to be acknowledged as bishop only due to my external insignia.

/Question/ Your main quality?

/Answer/ Ability to communicate with others.

/Question/ Your interpretation of happiness?

/Answer/ That exists at best with regard to small matters, on occasions when one might say "were you lucky!" I am interested in other things.

/Question/ Your favorite occupation?

/Answer/ Having time to spare for the family.

/Question/ Your favorite poet?

/Answer/ Christa Wolf.

/Question/ Your hero?

/Answer/ I do not think in terms of heroes. Maybe Martin Luther King might have been one for me.

/Question/ Your favorite dish?

/Answer/ Cutlets, peas and roots, potatoes and sauce.

/Question/ Your favorite saying?

/Answer/ "Each day represents a new call" (Martin Buber).

Karl-Heinz Jentsch, Eisleben, director general, Wilhelm Pieck VEB
Combine, SED member.

Born 1921, Lauterbach, Ore Mountains. Graduated secondary school, 1951 war service, release after being seriously wounded. Studied management and, after 1945, management mathematics. Graduated 1947. Since 1950 in the combine, first commercial director, from 1960 works director. 1963-1967 People's Chamber representative. 1966 admitted to teach at Freiberg Mining Academy, since 1968 professor. Fatherland Order of Merit in gold, Star of Friendship Among Peoples in gold, Hero of Labor.

/Question/ Your favorite virtue?

/Answer/ Singlemindedness.

/Question/ Your main quality?

/Answer/ Stubbornness.

/Question/ Your interpretation of happiness?

/Answer/ Harmonious married life and a fulfilling and fulfilled job.

/Question/ Your favorite occupation?

/Answer/ Work--without letting myself be overwhelmed by it.

/Question/ Your poet?

/Answer/ Nikolai Ostrovsky ("As the Steel Was Hardened"), because he helped shape the beginning of my life as a consciously acting political person.

/Question/ Your hero?

/Answer/ Pavel Korchagin, the hero of the above mentioned book.

/Question/ Your favorite dish?

/Answer/ Thuringian dumplings with roast goose.

/Question/ Your favorite saying?

/Answer/ "Man must be aware: Everything he creates on earth is his real life, everything remains to man, the good and the bad. This is his immortality or his damnation." (I heard these words in a new Soviet drama).

11698
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DISSIDENT POET'S WORK, CONFRONTATION WITH REGIME REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jun 83 p 21

['Feuilleton' feature article by Uwe Wittstock: "Without a Wall in His Head--GDR Writer Sascha Anderson"]

[Text] There is an estrangement from society which goes beyond any criticism. The inner distance of the individual from the prevailing order has become so great that he thinks there is no sense in any kind of discussion (which would at least have to acknowledge the possibility of communication). He views his environment as an outsider with a mixture of pity and indifference which occasionally has its perspicacious moments.

Being 29 years old, Sascha Anderson clearly is still a "young author." He lives in a backyard building in the Pankow District of East Berlin. Actually one can hardly talk of an apartment. There is a sign reading "ceramics studio" on the entrance door. In one room stands a kiln. Piled up on a workbench are potter's materials, paints and clay, and spread out on the floor are the finished goods--bowls, vases and sets of crockery. The other rooms remind one of a basement gallery. Crowding the walls are pictures which hereabouts would probably be put in the category of the "new wild ones," but some contain nothing but brief texts painted with an unsure hand. The few pieces of furniture are old and worn--a table, a couch and a few chairs. Apparently comfort is not in great demand here. A black-clothed "punk" girl with a sickle comb and blue-white-painted eyes is packing some newly baked cups and consulting with a woman friend in jeans and T-shirt about how they could get to a rock concert in Halle--a young bohemia amid the everyday gray of "really existing socialism." In contrast with his lively surroundings, Sascha Anderson is quiet; almost reserved. One can see that he prefers the role of observer to an active one. He does not live and work here alone; the pictures for the most part come from friends, and his wife runs the pottery. She employs him as an assistant so that he can get the tax number needed in the GDR from the tax office. He is not officially recognized as an author because he is not a member of the writers association and as yet has not had a single line of his published by the government publishing houses.

In the Federal Republic, on the other hand, two books have now been published (by the Rotbuch Verlag)--a collection of poems entitled "Jeder Satellit hat

einen Killersatelliten" [Every Satellite Has Its Killer Satellite] and a poetically colored travel report entitled "Totenreklame" [Advertisement of the Dead]. Both volumes bear testimony to a surprising breadth of literary expression. There is free verse with original bold similes as well as ballad-like songs, there are Dadaist parodies as well as expressive prose poems, reflections as well as effectively alienated pieces from everyday language or from NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, abridged as "eNDe" ["Ende" is German for "end"]. All texts, however, reveal that estrangement which shuts itself off from the customary, and perhaps for that very reason sometimes illuminates its weaknesses.

"At night I watch TV--a film, I don't know by whom. I see people as they live, think about it, talk about it. Life--unspeakable." With these words Anderson, in his book "Totenreklame," draws up the balance sheet of a journey which had been meant to establish once more close contact with his homeland and what commonly is called "life." The distance remains unbridgeable, however; it remains "unspeakable."

Significant in itself is the 7,000-kilometer trip across the GDR--across a country in which he could hardly travel more than 500 kilometers in the same direction without hitting a strongly guarded impassable border. Away from all customary routes, Anderson chooses a spiral one toward Berlin recalling the desperate pacing in a circle of a shut-up animal rather than tourism. Driven by the kind of "expansive longing for open spaces, for remote country" which Guenter Kunert already observed among many young GDR authors years ago, he roams through the small walled-in state, meditating in the reports he wrote at that time about the trees, the rivers, the various landscapes--unable to describe the people, their everyday life or their "monuments of power" even a single time without sarcasm or without a detour via an revelatory quotation. It appears that language fails him in light of the situation of his fellow citizens.

Unlike most of these, Anderson is not prepared to put up with conditions of existence ordered by the state or to let himself be chafed by these omnipresent restrictions. "The wall is there now only for us to run our heads against it." Both in his action and in his writing he tries to break out of the ways of behavior and thought dictated by the political conditions--ways which lead to every new confrontations, to the "oestwestlichen die wahn" [something like "east-west delusion"], as he notes in a mocking paraphrase of Goethe [his "West-oestlicher Divan" or "Western-Eastern Collection of Poetry"].

It is precisely literature he does not want to see pressed into the kind of friend-enemy pattern in which, in his opinion, there no longer exist any acceptable solutions, any possibilities of living in a manner worthy of man. Instead of staring as if fascinated at what the politicians have preordained and reacting to it--critically or obediently--he, for his part, tries to consistently pursue his aesthetic ideas. It is a refusal which has nothing to do with dreamy withdrawal from the world but which relies on the subversive force of art--art taken seriously as something which has its own laws.

Thus, freed from any tactical considerations, he gains great elbowroom but, being incapable of any tactical considerateness, he also runs a risk which is no less great. He shrugs off the fact that he has already been imprisoned--"Luckau, two floors above the Liebknecht memorial cell"--the fact that he regularly is being persecuted, interrogated and threatened. Though he cannot ignore such pursuit, he is not prepared to make any kind of compromise since that would mean accepting the politicians and the realitites created by them. In accordance with this, he does not have much use for moving to the West, because there he would merely be on the other side of a front which runs across the country and minds--a front which he persists in refusing to put up with.

Once separated from conventions, Anderson has also found unusual and imaginative ways of getting his literary work to a readership in the GDR outside the state-controlled channels. Those pictures on the walls of his apartment, for example, which show nothing but brief texts are nothing but large-scale copies of his poems, which he presents at exhibits with or without official permission. And he has written lyrics for the rock band whose performance in Halle those two girls did not want to miss under any circumstances. Thus he could afford making demands already at the first publishing offer made to him by a GDR publishing house, telling the woman publisher that he was prepared to participate in the planned anthology only if it also included poems by the only 22 year old Bert Papenfuss, whose experimental poetry otherwise has hardly any chance of being printed.

To exercise such solidarity is no heroic feat for him but rather a sine qua non of his existence. Since he shuts himself off from the accustomed social order, he depends in all his activity on the approval and the assistance of the people in his immediate environment. He acknowledges his support for them in the same radical way in which he otherwise refuses his participation. To the vociferously proffered no to a policy which only permits a choice between self-destructive revolt and stifling adaptation, he opposes verses which reveal a feeling of intimate togetherness with a few--a common bond experienced so intensively that he "(lost) the fear/to touch your body with my hand/and to carry the novel to its bloody end in the barbed-wire entanglement,/which, keep in mind, is also/only a metaphor I reveal."

But this close conspiring connection also entails literary disadvantages. Thus, in some of his texts, Anderson employs a hardly accessible--one might almost say, hermetic--code language with which he threatens to exclude a sizable readership. This is a trend toward the esoteric which he cannot really afford--any more than the often willful formal frolics with which he seeks to dissociate himself as much as possible from the classical "heritage" and the dogmas of "socialist realism." This is shown by the other lucidly composed songlike verses--such as the following almost programmatic lines of a writer insisting on his subjectivity:

"I am no artist from the land to land.
"I build my own wall through my body;
"One half rots at once, the other by and by.
"I am no artist, I don't make any string;

"I hang with my white neck in the hot wire.

"I am no artist and therefore stay here

"though my heart may freeze thereby."

Anderson has no illusions about the effect of his work. He knows full well that his chances of reaching an audience are but small. This does not, however, prevent his continuing to formulate his discomfort about this world, a world whose greatest efforts have always been directed at destroying, at annihilating what has just been achieved.

"Every satellite has its killer satellite" is the title of his first volume of poetry, yet despite its soberly registering laconic words, pretending a lack of involvement, this very title makes one sense something of the head-shaking estrangement with which Sascha Anderson views our times.

8790

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IMPROVED 'DEMOCRATIC' PRACTICE AT COUNCIL LEVEL ADVOCATED

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian No 6, Jun 83 pp 541-550

[Article by Lajos Szabo, Veszprem Megye Council Executive Committee Department
Head: "Some Problems of Practicing Council Level Democracy"]

1

[Text] In his study on the development of representative democracy Dr Miklos Raft touches with unusually passionate but just criticism on the formality of the work of council bodies and he especially urges a substantive enrichment of representation. Let us note that the realization of council representative democracy is not worse than the realization of democracy in other areas. But since it represent broad frameworks for the exercise of political power the higher demands made of it express a social need.

In the present phase of our social development citizens can actually participate in deciding the affairs of state and society and in supervision of council activity. The fact is that the methods and tools for the exercise of power are qualitatively different than they were even two decades ago. Still, there is much to be done in the interest of enriching the content of real popular participation in public affairs. The institutional system is not modern enough, council contacts with the voters are more lax than they should be, the encouragement of real representation needs strengthening even at the level of legal regulation. Realization of this is primarily the task of political, social and state organs.

From the other side, however, it can be stated that the practice of public life culture is not satisfactory either. It is still almost surprising in council work if a few opposing votes are cast at a corporate session even though there is nothing to hinder this if there is sufficient foundation for it. This also is an element of the practice of democratism and such cases should be regarded as natural. We should encourage the attitude that every participant in a council session should express his position; if he has an opinion it should provide a basis for the decision; he should participate in the decision mechanism, from the emergence of an idea to the calling to account of execution. The reason why this does not always happen is to be sought in part in the noted deficiencies of the institutional system and in part in the faulty reflexes of the daily practice of public life, reflexes fixed in us and disappearing more slowly than they should.

In recent years, however, there has been substantial progress in the practice of council democratism. The atmosphere of the public life forums is more relaxed and this ensures the possibility of intensive work. I intend to show this in my summary of the Veszprem Megye experiences, limiting myself to reporting on a few more important methods of work, with the motto "Let us not underestimate partial achievements, local initiatives and methods adopted in this or that area of the democratic work style."²

Let me begin by saying that the work methods of the practice of council democracy can be of various types.³ It is a basic expectation in connection with each one that those guiding them will have fundamental political preparation and conviction, good professional understanding and a high level of human culture.

1. Laying the Foundation for Corporate Work

The work plan, the preparation of which is not a campaign task, is one of the determining factors for laying the foundations for corporate work. The work plan of the body is the consequence and achievement of the work of the preceding year. The most varied sources can be drawn on to compile the work plan proposal. Observations by the populace can call attention to many circumstances with which the organizing apparatus is not sufficiently acquainted. The council member reports, the meetings between voters and council members, give many-sided encouragement to the bodies. One can draw on the results of cooperation with non-council organs, from a working up of the work experiences of joint committees. Many statements are made at meetings of the body which are not reflected in the resolutions but which refer to conditions and events influencing the life of the megye or town. What is said in interpellations also transmits the expectations of the voters. Supervisory investigations bring to the surface many experiences in connection with which it may be necessary to designate further measures beyond a mere establishment of the facts. The conferences of officials, leaders and experts are also occasions the lessons of which cannot be neglected in corporate work. Frequently the party bodies propose themes or the central state organs prescribe or propose a corporate analysis of some theme of general interest.

We draw in a fundamental way from these sources when preparing the work plan. During the year also we constantly collect and note experiences gained in the course of carrying out the work. By the time we begin to compile the work plan we have a number of themes which seem to justify corporate discussion. The council chairman directs preparation of the work plan but the officials, in the course of their daily work, make proposals requiring corporate discussion. It is our experience that operative preparation of the work plan proposal must begin at least a quarter year before the proposal is presented to the body. It is then that we query in writing the council and non-council organs, the guiding organs and the ministries. In the case of the latter it happens that the answer to the query concerning the work plan proposal may be received only after the corporate session. The proposals from some ministries are too general; not every ministry follows the correct practice of proposing for

discussion problems of the branch individualized for the megye. There are also examples of trying to impose the branch view too much. At such times the corporate decision not to include this or that branch proposal in the agenda, considering it sufficient to have it debated by committee or apparatus, does not always meet the expectations of the ministry. The harmonization of work plan proposals eliminates parallel corporate discussions with non-council organs also.

Our megye is following a new practice in that for the third year now we have been studying the work plans of other megye councils and executive committees.⁴ We are studying what trends are being realized in the work plans. Conclusions can be drawn from these as to how central goals are being reflected in the work of the regional council organs. The analysis calls attention to essential conditions which may have escaped our sphere of study. In addition this method means expanding horizons and the possibility of outlook.

Proposals which are left out of the work plan are offered by us for discussion and study by committees, council member groups and administrative organs, respecting their independent aspirations and initiatives. The national practice is multicolored and rich in content in regard to feedback also. In Baranya and Somogy megyes, for example, the council defines in its own work plan those themes proposed for discussion by the committees. In Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Megye they formulate precisely worked out agenda for the committees. In Szabolcs-Szatmar, Szolnok and Zala megyes the council defines the supervisory tasks of the committees and council member groups.

For about 2 years interdependent agenda have been referred to the megye corporate sessions. The "thematically" compiled session plans have proven themselves because at a single session the discussion in sequence of interdependent themes--private housing construction and the TUZEP [Fuel and Building Material Trade Enterprise] report--has a mutually thought-provoking effect.

2. Organization of Decision Preparation

a. Making people aware of the goal of the resolutions is a most important element in decision preparation work. The body must be presented with the advantages to be expected from the draft decision, the method of achieving the goal and the predictable social effect of carrying out the decision.

This latter means a survey of the opinion concerning the planned decision of those to whom the decision applies.⁵ This method has not become the practice everywhere but preparation of the citizens (and of the executive apparatus) can take place in the hope of success only if they can express an opinion in the preparation of corporate decisions. This applies especially, for example, to approval of zoning plans. This phase of work cannot be limited to council approval of the zoning plans. It is more important that in the course of plan preparation there should be participation by those whose environment will be influenced by the plan, whose living circumstances will be interfered with. The opinion of people must be asked in regard to technical

solutions and the use of this or that area. This does not mean limiting the work of the planning personnel or institution nor does it call in question their expertise. Every plan is the plan of the people living in the settlement, because it serves their interests; they can be expected to actively aid its realization only if they participate in making it.

b. Where this is justified the decision preparation process should be made a "two cycle" one. There is a possibility for this primarily in preparation of the more significant council decrees. In these cases the council first takes a position concerning the necessity of passing a decree, defines the general goal of the regulation to be prepared, the motifs of preparation and the method of social debate. Then the professional apparatus works out the rough text of the draft decree. The committees and the affected administrative organs give their opinion. After a position is taken by the executive committee concerning its utility there is a social debate of the draft decree. This is how we prepared megye council decree 1/1981 concerning the resort development of the north coast of Lake Balaton. We invited not only the original inhabitants of the affected settlements to participate in the social debate, we also invited the recreational communities, individual vacationers showing interest in the development of the settlement and representatives of the organizations operating in the resorts, for example, the hotels. We distributed the decree nation-wide in about 5,000 copies. Broad propagation was necessary due to the national significance of the region affected by the decree, but it was also justified by the fact of the special legal regulation as compared to the general one.⁶

c. Noteworthy practices have developed in a number of megyes in the interest of laying the foundations for decisions and making public the situation analyses. In Fejer Megye they designate in the corporate work plan these themes--for example, the development of the council decree on telecommunications and a concept for environmental protection--to be released for social or stratum debate. In Komarom Megye they have done public opinion research to discover the interdependencies of various agenda points--for example, the status of public services--which the public is best suited to judge in a living way. After summarizing these opinions a supplementary report is prepared for the body.

d. We are using a method whereby a report is made to the body not only when a measure by a chief authority establishes a time for it but even earlier, for purposes of information, when some phase of the work has been completed and the partial results of it can be reviewed or at least summed up in part. A good bit before the preparation of the council session report the executive committee is informed, in the form of an information report, concerning the budget and development plan proposal, at a time when the chief interdependencies are already known. The executive committee is informed in good time, thus strengthening the special apparatus in the conduct of planning work and influencing the planning processes.

e. Ever more frequently we prepare background material for the members of the body suitable for comparison in connection with some comprehensive agenda point, for example, the budget and development plan proposal. This material indicates

the developmental trends, the place of the megye in national rank order and the various developmental levels and ratios. Well selected tables and data help acquaint them with the interdependencies and use of them makes it possible to reduce the extent of the textual part of the report. The reports can be concentrated better on factors significant from the viewpoint of making a decision.

f. We would like to realize better the inclusion in the reports of opposing opinions concerning preparation and harmonization, the facts established by the reports and the arguments and counter-arguments in the draft decision. The best methods for this have not been developed yet in council work. It seems obvious that either the person making the report or the official supervising the activity should put forth the lessons of preparation, the reasons for the opposing opinions. If a committee participated in preparation it would be correct for this to come from this committee. The application of such a method is needed because in this way those participating in making a decision would be much better informed and even in the absence of alternatives they would have a way to weigh the draft decision and provide a better foundation for making a worth while decision.⁷

It must be admitted that one rarely finds in debate a deviating opinion which would give the decision quite different content in comparison to the draft which has been worked out, and that the possibilities for this are limited.⁸ The draft budget and development plan worked out as a result of almost half a year's work is available to the council members for one or two weeks, to study the finished draft and offer opinions. This is why the urban development conferences are of very great significance; at these conferences the citizens can become acquainted with the plans directly in the process of plan preparation and can form them with their opinions. At the council session there is not much opportunity, in the sphere of developmental decisions, for building into the draft development plan the thinking of this or that community. Such needs can be satisfied much better when judging supplementary requests. A new practice for awarding these has been developed in the megye. According to this practice a small committee, a "jury" with permanent members, reviews the requests and makes a recommendation to the executive committee. The objectivity of the decisions can be ensured better by this method and it becomes possible for a work group to classify the supplementary requests on a suitable comparative basis. This committee is made up of the chairman of the megye council, the deputy chairman supervising economic activity and the chief of the planning and finance department. Before a decision is made the supplementary requests are reviewed by the branch administrative organs and, in the case of towns, by the jaras offices also. The decisions of the body are made public to the council by publication in the megye gazette.

It might also help to make corporate decision preparation more worthy if, in connection with his or that proposal, a member of the body could make a proposal, possibly with new content, for a movement or organization. Because of their level of information this might be done especially by representatives of the popular front and the youth and trade union organs.

g. We consider many-sided coordination of corporate reports to be important. Those participating in harmonization of the preparation are named in the draft. This has more than formal significance. In what circles the report was debated and which were those organs which contributed to the development of the draft decisions with their opinions are an expression of democratism, of the openness of decision preparation.

It reflects recognition of the preparatory work of the apparatus that the names of the subordinates participating in preparation of it must appear in the reports of officials. This hardly represents a loss of prestige for the official. Everyone knows that the official does not prepare by himself the report he submits to the body. This method makes possible the personal recognition of the subordinates before the body, on the basis of their work, respect for good work and criticism addressed to a name.

H. It suggests a critical attitude by the body if a report is not adopted. In a different approach, however, the view should be developed that it is not necessarily cause for condemnation if a report does not go through the corporate session "smoothly," if the council or executive committee adopt it only with modifications and additions. It is because of such anxieties that sometimes those preparing reports try to prepare a report which really does not involve conflicts of interest. This does not provoke corporate debate, but it is not to the credit of the person submitting the report either.⁹

It rarely happens today that the apparatus does not identify with the corporate decision or casts doubt on its necessity, on whether it can be implemented. The favorable change is a consequence of the fact that the executive apparatus is informed in time of the reasons for and goals of the corporate decisions, of the effects they are intended to achieve. The expanded leadership conferences (where the chairmen of city councils and the chairmen of jaras offices participate along with the leaders of the megye administrative organs) serve this purpose as do the all leader conferences (the participants are those mentioned plus the town council chairmen and executive committee secretaries), the all apparatus conferences, and the professional conferences (which are forums for experts best acquainted with some circumscribable detailed question). Also worthy of attention are the forms of work conferences introduced in several megyes (for example, Heves Megye) which are held for megye department chiefs (and occasionally include city and jaras officials) in general following a session of the megye executive committee.

3. Supervising Execution of Resolutions

a. The council members should be given a greater role in supervision of the execution of more important corporate resolutions. From time to time conceptual deficiencies appear in the compilation of reports concerning execution. The reports do not always show the process of execution in its interdependencies. By this I mean that there should be a study of the social effect and an analysis of the effectiveness of execution in addition to the organizational measures for execution. A study of the social effect would mean real control by popular representation, it would discover what moral effect, mobilizing action, this or that corporate decision had on public opinion.¹⁰

b. The corporate pronouncement that the council or executive committee need not report on the execution of every resolution is a simple organizational solution, but a significant one. Formal reports concerning execution can be dispensed with in the case of matters containing ad hoc decisions (for example, satisfaction of supplementary credit requests, authorization of real estate purchases, measures necessary in connection with appointments and procedural questions). Our megye organizational and operational regulations have stated that a separate report need be made concerning execution of a resolution only if the body requests a report concerning it and refers to this in the resolution. Thus there can be fewer resolutions containing a reporting obligation but where such a requirement is made the supervision of execution can be organized in a more fundamental way.

c. The megye practice for collecting reports given on the execution of resolutions for which the time limit has expired has been successful. According to the regulations, if a town executive committee (or official) is responsible for execution then, when the time limit has expired, he does not report directly to the megye executive committee but rather sends the report to the jaras office. The office forwards the report to the megye administrative organ affected according to the subject of the resolution. This department presents the report to the chairman of the megye council. This sytem seems more complicated and bureaucratic than the traditional one but its practical application proves its rationality. Reports collected in this way provide information to the jaras office concerning what measures have been taken in the town on the basis of a megye corporate decision and they inform the megye administrative organs about the efficiency of town execution. Ultimately they effectively ensure the possibility of supervision, the well founded nature and professionalism of execution of the resolution and the preciseness of the report coming before the megye body.

It is a requirement that the resolutions be concrete and capable of execution. In the interest of increasing accountability the megye bodies do not use "running" time limits. The living conditions affected and regulated by the resolution can be regarded as continuous, but execution can be divided into phases; indeed, ignoring this weakens the consistency of execution.

d. Information and supervisory experiences coming from social and mass organizations and from non-council organs should be used in matters of execution. The apparatus organizing execution should rely on the observations of the populace, on positions obtained through council members, on opinions expressed at village meetings, resident meetings and other public life forums and on what is formulated in public interest reports, proposals and complaints. The council committees should have a greater role in the process of carrying out resolutions. A good example of this is the review of the one year operation of the council decree on Lake Balaton, which was based on joint supervision by the legal and administrative and the procedural committees. The study did not extent to technical and legal questions requiring special expertise but rather covered the living conditions being regulated and the actual situation. In this sphere the committee members can supervise with good effect and can give their individual opinions, can pass on the observations of their electoral districts or of the public opinion of which they are aware. It is also a

proven method for the council to ask a temporary committee to work up some theme. In the past year this happened to survey the megye situation in telecommunications and to classify the information status of council members. Going beyond the working up of professional questions such committee studies also offer an opportunity for learning the public mood.

4. The Information of Council Members

a. If the council members are to participate worthily in corporate debate and the making of decisions it is necessary that they know the needs and opinions of the voters. So it is important to strengthen electoral district contacts and provide the information needed for this. The information available to council members is one of the key questions of council democracy. For this purpose they should use the megye and central press, the regional radio studio in Győr and the gazette of the megye council. We are also trying to put ad hoc publications in the service of providing information. We planned a Megye Corporate News, but could not realize it in the absence of a central permit. We would like to publish a Yearbook, which would help give comprehensive information to council members. The Council Members' Handbook in the capital is a good example of this. Independent city information publications are not rare ("Where We Live and Work" and "Between Two Elections" are works offering substantive information in the megye capital) and they provide developmental statistics characterizing some region or period. More and more town councils are preparing independent information bulletins; institution papers (of the Badacsony State Farm and the Balatonfokajár Producer Cooperative) deal with council questions and some of them have an independent council column too.

The materials of corporate sessions and the more significant regulations well serve the providing of information to council members. Each year, in general, we send council members six executive committee publications which comprehensively analyse some branch of the megye. This is similar to the practice in Baranya and Csongrád megyes. We would like to ensure that the council members have all the information needed to make decisions and represent the interests of the voters. In Varpalota, prior to council sessions, they hold an evening orientation for interested council members. It is a congenial practice for the administrative organs to "introduce themselves" to council members, reporting on the tasks referred to the sphere, authority and rights of a special department. Such and similar meetings are needed because some council members still say: "I am informed in generalities, but in concrete matters I still feel that I am uninformed so I cannot always speak up to the point."

b. There is a new form which is well proven according to which the megye council chairman calls together the chairmen of the council member groups before sessions of the megye council. These conversations strengthen internal information, bringing up the stressed points of the reports coming up for discussion. At such times the council chairman calls attention to points requiring regional support and he asks the council members to pass on the opinions of the voters in these questions.

In the local councils the council member groups still do not always play the role of passing on the opinion of the voters in harmonizing interests. Their

role in preparation, supervision and coordinating opinions is weaker than it could be, although it is primarily the local councils that would need this. The groups have not become the guides of social life in the associated communities, have not developed into active factors in local politics. The groups should be given independent missions, they should organize inspections in the institutions, should participate in reporting on council resolutions, should maintain regular contact with the non-council organs. The council member group, as the only organized public life forum on the spot, should express its opinion and make decision proposals especially before the deciding of questions having significance in the life of the settlement in associated communities which are not the seat of the association.

c. It is an experience of a different sort that the correct interpretation of the concept of interpellation has not developed everywhere. The possibility of interpellation is nothing more than the right to ask about public affairs at a council session, to ask about questions interesting the community and generally influencing the political mood in the given environment. But this is not so clear to every council member. This is proven by the public interest reports, proposals and requests for information which are voiced at the council session, although these could be taken care of more simply. At the same time, it is gratifying that the investigation of the interpellations is well founded everywhere. In Varpalota, for example, the branch administrative organ and the official exercising supervision over the activity participate in the investigation of the matter. When necessary they do not neglect an on-the-spot investigation, they talk with the council member and the chairman of the residential committee or a representative of the residential committee, to get a direct impression concerning the living nature of the interpellation.

d. We organize "further training" for council members following interim elections in addition to the general council member elections. We try to spend the time not only in communicating the facts but also offer living methodological, practical aid. We hope to collect and thus make easily accessible the council professional literature. These materials, supplemented with collections of regulations and council working materials, would offer the council members a good opportunity for self-education. We are studying the possibility of setting up a professional library at the megye council and in the city of Veszprem.

e. We cannot be silent about this experience of ours. Some of the council members expect ample information, but they do not do everything to get it, which indicates the lack of determination and diligence on the part of the council member. More than once at village meetings we have gotten the immediate impression that the electoral district work of the council member is faulty. The voters are not acquainted with decisions about which they should have been informed during the year if there had been continual contact with the populace. Thus the deficiencies of council member work sometimes lead to a lack of information on the part of voting citizens. This is unacceptable, because it leads to a weakening of contacts if there is a hangup in the flow of information, if it does not get to those to whom it is really addressed, the populace.

5. The Links of Council Members with the Populace

a. We try to help in the organization of council member reports, especially in the case of megye council members. We try to have the council member reports build on one another; the reports of the megye council members to the local councils should precede the reports of the local council members. This makes it possible for the council members to obtain information about megye aspirations and for the megye council members to get more fundamental information about local conditions and problems. According to a practice followed in a number of places one megye council member at each of the community council sessions reports on decisions of the megye council, the development ideas and the local tasks which might be connected to realization of these. The council thus gets a picture of the work being done in the megye body of popular representation. The mobilizing force is greater in the case of reports by virtue of which one can see the effect of local initiatives.

We try to differentiate the aid offered to the reports of the megye council members. The forms and magnitude of the aid offered are adjusted to the level of information, preparation and needs of the council members. The regional officers in the secretariat prepare practical materials which are offered in the interest of having the general theme of the reports be compatible with the professional judgment of the work of the local council. It is also necessary for the councils to put on the agenda periodically an analysis of the experiences of the council member reports. It is especially necessary to improve the active nature of council member reports in urban centers and residential areas.

b. The holding of council member reports now covers almost every area. Voters' meetings are rarely convened. The council members could use this forum to report on more significant council session proposals before a decision is made. The opinions of the populace could be reflected more directly in the resolutions. In Papa Jaras, for example, they are using voters' meetings with good effect to collect such opinions. We should not ignore the fact that there are a number of other organized forms for the populace to exchange opinions in regard to the more significant social work actions, debate of draft council decrees, improving communal supply to some settlement and developing other human services. These might be used effectively in the practice of council representation.

c. It would help the openness of corporate work if the participation of the populace in the council sessions was better organized than it has been. This might be realized especially in the case of the local councils. For example, when an enterprise is rendering its account one might invite the best workers of socialist brigades working at the enterprise or the council members might invite from their electoral districts voting citizens especially sensitive to community problems, for no one is indifferent to public affairs, it is only necessary to find substantive frameworks for the practice of democracy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Dr Miklos Raft: "Concerning the Development of Representative Democracy," ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS, No 10, 1982.
2. Dr Miklos Raft, op cit, p 869.
3. I consider the professional pamphlet published in 1975 under the auspices of the Regional Main Department of the MTTH [Councils Office of the Council of Ministers] (edited by Dr Pal Furcht) to be a substantive compilation of council work methods. It also provides a critical evaluation of the possible methods. Its proposals can be used profitably in the practice of organizing work even today.
4. When mentioning megyes by name hereafter the examples are largely taken from the corporate work plans.
5. Dr Gyula Papay provides a many-sided analysis of a number of questions concerning council corporate decisions in his study which appeared in ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS, No 10, 1977.
6. That construction work which had to be reported on only according to the general construction prescriptions could be done only on the basis of a construction permit in the Balaton recreational area.
7. Compare, Dr Laszlo Albrecht: "The Resolution Passing Activity of Council Bodies," ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS, No 2, 1979, p 155.
8. Dr Istvan Soltesz also mentions experiences according to which comments rarely express contrary opinions, and hardly are encouraged to do so. Dr Istvan Soltesz: "Representation of Local Interests in the Activity of Megye Council Bodies," ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS, No 12, 1981, p 1103.
9. Such self-protecting problems are also mentioned by Pal Gyulavari: "Several Questions of Corporate Democracy as Reflected in the Execution of the Councils Law," ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS, No 7, 1982, p 604.
10. Concerning this, see Sandor Sos: "Experiences in Execution of Megye Body Resolutions," ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS, No 3, 1980, p 227.

8984

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS PREFERRED

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian 3 Jun 83 p 11

[Letter to the Editor by Sandor Koncsar, teacher in Palhaza]

[Text] Nowadays we often hear comments from teachers that the changeover to religious education in churches is a retreat, a step backward in the ideological struggle. "Earlier when religious education took place in the schools, only those students who signed up for it were permitted to participate in it. The principal or the teacher assigned by him could keep an eye on what they were doing. Today there are no students enrolled in religious education in our school. But a lot more of them than before are participating in the religious classes in church, and the frequency of activity has also increased. With this our state allowed greater room for idealistic education."

This and similar comments witness a healthy impatience. But in no way is there a retreat or a step backward. Removal of religious education from the schools must be viewed as a positive step. With this the school has permanently ceased to be the workshop of dual education. And since the church is the house of idealistic belief, let religious education take place there! We have no reason to despair. Neither our economic nor our ideological circumstances came into danger by this. But the responsibility of the school has not decreased: the material nature of the world, the dialectics of the laws of nature and society and the reality of Marxism must be shown even more convincingly and in more ways. In socialist schools must socialist men be educated! But this is a very difficult job, a long process which requires a whole person with many, many conflicts. We have accepted the conflicts, so this is mandatory for us.

Our recent student, now in college, will also certainly accept it. He is studying to be a teacher but on school breaks he industriously visits the church-organized events. Under the effect of parental compulsion? Hardly. He has not yet won the conflict even with himself. What will happen when later he will have to make his present "prayer partners" accept the exclusive truth of materialism, of dialectics? He will not have an easy job. Which institution failed to fulfill its task in his case? It would be difficult to decide. But in church he meets not only his future pupils but also his former teachers. True, they have already retired. At one time they wanted to raise him as well as others to be atheists. No wonder it did not work. These are individual but not isolated cases. We have to accept the battle, the conflict in their places also, and for them also.

8584

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ALCOHOLISM REPORTEDLY WIDESPREAD AMONG YOUTHS

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 20 May 83 p 12

[Article by Sandor Rege: "The Highs and the Lows"]

[Text] Zoli P. fell out of the window. At night, in one of the rooms of his student home, they were sipping champagne when someone shouted in the hallway: "Watch out, Uncle Jeno is coming!" Some of them hid the bottles, others crawled under the bed. Zoli started to go to his room through the window, and fell from the second floor.

Whom Should We Protect?

Many of the trade school students are drinking. They are 15-16 years old, but drinks belong to their celebrations and get-togethers as ... in the case of adults.

There are students in the gymnasium and in special high schools who drink, and there are also drinkers even in the primary schools. We can be outraged, mad, we can commiserate about the loosening of morals, about the lack of control, but this is all empty talk, merely a self-righteous eruption of words.... Zoli's fellow students relate:

"I was about 6 years old when I first tried a drink.... Dad did not like the foam on beer, I drank that."

"I was in the fourth grade of general school when, on New Years Eve, I too was offered a drink. There might have been about half a deciliter of champagne in the glass...."

"And I was in seventh grade. The occasion was also New Years Eve...."

"My father used to drink, he was forever offering it to me, pushing me to drink. I was about 10 years old when I drank for the first time."

"When I was in sixth grade, on New Years Eve, they poured champagne for me also and we clinked glasses."

Are these scandalous words? We have heard them so many times already and have preached against this phenomenon that it no longer has even shock value. And yet we cannot acknowledge that this is the way it is.

"I would break the arm of such a parent"... "I would punish a parent like that so that he would remember for a lifetime"... "This is a crime against youth just like rape"--sparkle the words of protesters.

"I would punish these in school"... "expel them, they infect all youths"--such words were also uttered recently by adults. What naivete! Drinking is so widespread among students that youth itself would have to be "suspended" if we wanted to act on the last idea.

But how and whom should we protect? Whose welfare must we protect and from whom so that no other student should fall again through the window?

The Story of an Afternoon

"We had leave from 7:00 to 9:00 in the evening. The three of us started off to a friend who suggested that we go to our school for a class party," reports Feri J. "Someone suggested that we should buy some drinks somewhere. We started off to the Harsfa restaurant but it was closed by the time we got there. Then we went to the tavern and bought a bottle of wine. We kept sipping it on our way to school.... There was only some juice at the party."

The boy relates this merely as fact. By the way, Zoli P. also drank quite a bit from this bottle.

"We went over to Pest in the afternoon--this is the story of the afternoon by Jozsef V."

"We brought 4 bottles of champagne."

"Why did you buy them?"

"It was the last evening before school vacation. We meant it as a farewell."

"But why do you need drinks for that?"

"At home, they also usually drink when someone leaves or arrives."

The boys say that there is hardly anyone at the student home who never had a drink. Whether they were drunk? They all shake their heads in refusal.

There is no answer as to "why." Can this be explained?--return their eyes the question.

"I heard the thump. I awoke in the next room a little earlier," explains Istvan I. "I ran out, did not even dress. Zoli lay there, spread out. I don't even know what happened, I just gathered him up and brought him into the building. I thought he was dead...."

There will be punishment, disciplinary action where the afternoon and the night will have to be accounted for. Perhaps they will not expel anyone; they are catching trade school students with a lasso anyhow.

The Discipline Demanded

Uncle Jenö is among the most permissive pedagogues. If he is on duty in the student home, the kids feel relaxed, free. Uncle Jenö talks to them, sometimes even plays with them.

According to pedagogues, the methods of Uncle Jenö are wrong. He overlooks everything, has no authority over the children. But it is difficult to find the road to these children. And it is also evident: alcohol is a futile subject of education....

The boys don't very much like to be in the student home. Of course, it is better than a workers' home, which will be their fate after they finish school. From the nearby workers' home, many return to tell them how much they would like to be back. But this does not change their current thinking. That there are some young pedagogues who perceptibly look down upon them, who are rude and arrogant.

Of course, one must not take for granted what the boys say--I already hear the warning, because, at this age, it is precisely strictness and discipline which they least tolerate. But for once, precisely the atmosphere of the student homes should perhaps be subjected to an examination. The TV program "Family Circle" is instructive about parental behavior, but away from the parents, it is as if the rules would no longer hold. It appears, that it is not the demanded order and discipline which are unbearable but the lack of love, of the "for you and not against you."

Unsuccessful Discussion

Zoli P. is a slim, slight boy. I would guess him to be 12 if I did not know that he is a trade school student. He survived the fall.

"Do you enjoy drinking?"

"No. I went to the other room to talk."

"But why did you drink then?"

"The others did too.... I only drink when we are together. Alone, I would not go into a tavern...my grade average was 2.4. I did not want to become a locksmith. Rather a salesman, but they did not accept me. I also wanted to become a cabinetmaker like Dad, but he said that it has no future."

"Do you have will power?"

"Yes."

"How does that show?"

"For instance, if I want to go somewhere, I nag Dad until he lets me. For instance, to the movie, I like that...."

The choice for the boys is not much wider in the student home. Physical training, meeting, movie...playroom, hanging out, movie....

The afternoon is spent this way and inside, in the club of the student housing, the tables are in the same disciplined rows as I have already seen once, many years ago. As if only my memory would have straightened.

*

The boys beg that I should come to the disciplinary conference, I should attend the "reckoning." I gladly promise.

Then, hardly a week later, a letter arrives:

"In connection with your report about the student home of Industrial Trade School No 201 in Dunakeszi, you requested permission to attend the disciplinary procedure against the students involved.

"It is the opinion of our guidance organs and of myself that (quoting the regulations) the disciplinary process is an internal matter of our school and outsiders cannot attend it. Therefore, I am not in a position to permit it."

One is up in the clouds once, and then again down in the pits.

2483

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LEKAI TV BIOGRAPHY VIEWED POSITIVELY

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 29 Mar 83 p 31

[Article by Istvan Tamas: "Zalalovo-Rome-Esztergom"]

[Excerpt] Cardinal Lekai.

There is hardly a man in Hungary today interested in society's affairs who does not know this name. And the same is true for Europe. He is the prelate of the largest Hungarian religious denomination, the historic Roman Catholic Church. Who would not be interested in his person, his office, his life, his past, his concept of the world and his religious policy? And even beyond that, naturally, a high-ranking priest who has been honored as cardinal is always interesting. Excuse me for the superficial word, but this is so.

(When Pope John XXIII was still the vatican's representative in Paris, he was asked at one of de Gaulle's receptions, where the room was full of ladies in deep-cut dresses, whether it bothered him that the men present were committing mental sins due to this spectacle. The nuncio replied with a modest but not unfounded air of superiority: "Oh, please, where a cardinal of the Holy Roman Catholic Church is present, everyone is watching him and not the ladies.")

Dr Laszlo Lekai took over the leadership of the Hungarian church under very difficult conditions. He was born in Zalalovo, went to seminary in Rome and later was parish priest in several villages along the shore of Lake Balaton, including Balatonlelle and Badacsonytomaj. Then he was the bishop of Veszprem and apostolic governor in Esztergom. The reason [for the difficult conditions] was not the Hungarian religious policy situation in 1974 but the history of the Hungarian cardinals, which is laden with upheaval. After Mindszenty. After the Esztergom archbishop's seat had been practically vacant for decades. Esztergom's 80th archbishop became head of the church after social upheavals of tremendous magnitude.

Dr Laszlo Halak and Sandor Lintner did good jobs as editor and reporter, respectively, on the portrait film, which had the title of Laszlo Lekai's motto as a bishop: The Tree That Is Cut Back Will Turn Green. It provided a picture of the archbishop's colorful and pleasant personality, his thinking as a shepherd and a politician and his sense of social reality, which is an important factor in the harmonious relationship between the state and the church

(in some places and at times not free of friction, and this also was not denied). It became obvious from the archbishop's clear and simple words in replying to the well-considered and defined questions: as he works on elevating the Hungarian Catholic Church, he seeks those areas of joint activity--because this is what he also sees to be the moral and ethical interests of the community of the faithful--where the efforts of the believers and of the non-believers can develop to the benefit of the country.

It was an educational experience for the viewers to get to know closely from the film this cardinal of lively spirit and simple words, who heads the historic church with priestly devotion, political flexibility and a sense of humor--that is, with wisdom--coupled with manly strength participates today in Hungary's public life.

8584

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BRIEFS

NEW HUNTING, WEAPONS LAW--Legal decree No 10/1983 (VI. 9.) EVM [Ministry of Construction and Urban Development] concerning modification of legal decree No 12/1979 (VII. 12.) EVM, which deals with the training of journeymen by the enterprises (branches) for certain trades in the construction industry and the construction material industry, as well as legal decree No 13/1983 (VI.9.) MEM [Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry] concerning the issuance of hunting regulations on the state hunting areas become effective today. These statutes are published in this year's issue No 25 of NAGYAR KOZLONY. An earlier regulation by the minister of construction and urban development defined what kind of courses can be organized for journeymen in the area of the construction industry and construction material industry. The present regulation, which authorizes the organization of journeyman training courses in five additional trades in the construction material industry, modifies this regulation. The legal decree by the minister of agriculture and food industry announces the hunting rules concerning state hunting areas. This regulation defines in detail the circle of persons permitted to hunt on state hunting areas. The regulation also settles the order of hunting, the general rules for the use of hunting weapons, the methods of hunting and other related questions. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Jun 83 p 6] 8584

CSO: 2500/319

ACTIVITY OF 'NEO-PILSUDSKI' OPPOSITION GROUPS REVIEWED

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 3, Mar 83 pp 24-29

[Article by Docent Dr Jozef Kossecki: "The Neo-Pilsudskian Current"]

[Text] The Neo-Pilsudskian current of political opposition in Poland considers itself the continuation of the so-called independence camp directed by Jozef Pilsudski. The current harks back to the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] Militant Organization tradition, the Pilsudski Legions, the World War I Polish Army Organization, the World War II Underground State and the groups that waged the postwar struggle against the people's authorities.

Chronologically, the first group of this current in its contemporary form was the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights [ROPCiO]. The Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN] arose through a split with ROPCiO. Besides these two organizations, the Neo-Pilsudskian current might also include the Free Democrats Movement [RWD], the Young Poland Movement [RMP], the National Workers Movement [RRN] (working closely with the KPN), the Independence Service Clubs [KSN] and the Polish Patriotic Conspiracy [PSP].

The ideological configuration of contemporary Neo-Pilsudskianism is--analogically to the former Pilsudski camp--poorly crystallized. The entire ideology of Neo-Pilsudskianism boils down to three catchwords: struggles to "regain independence" (in the process, Neo-Pilsudskians, like the liberal free masons of the past, are silent about the danger of making Poland dependent on Western capital), attempts to introduce the bourgeois democratic system in Poland and the restoration of the dominant role of the Catholic Church. It is worth pointing out that these last two catchwords have little in common with the ideas of Pilsudski himself, who had the deepest disdain for bourgeois democracy--as is best shown by his May coup and his later conduct towards the Sejm of the RP [Polish Republic]. Pilsudski's attitude towards the Catholic religion is illustrated best by his conversion to Protestantism in connection with matrimonial matters.

The Neo-Pilsudskian propaganda method depends on taking advantage of all of the spaces in Polish history that are not filled in by our mass communications media and school system, and so are left for the Neo-Pilsudskians to pack with their own ideas and anti-Soviet and anti-communist attitudes.

Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights

The Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights [ROPCiO] was born on 25 March 1977, with the promulgation of its Declaration, and then, in the course of its First National Polish meeting, ROPCiO worked out its own clear, political self-definition; on 17 September 1977, it published its Declaration of Intentions. These two constitute the basic ideological-program documents of ROPCiO. The basic press organ of ROPCiO was OPINIA, edited by such people as: Andrzej Czuma, Kazimierz Janusz, Emil Morgiewicz, Adam Wojciechowski, Wojciech Ziembinski and, at least at first, Leszek Moczulski. With the two documents mentioned previously as a point of departure, this publication affirmed that:

"The Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights in Poland is a social civic action taken to ensure the observance, the respect, the strengthening, the broadening and the popularizing of human and civil rights and human freedoms emanating from the natural dignity of the human being, set down most fully in modern times in the International Human Rights Agreements (...)--based upon socially universal and extra-party ideological assumptions that are subordinated to the higher goal: the implementation of the inalienable rights of human beings and the nation to freedom and independence in accordance with the independent spirit of the Poles and the tradition of the Republic.

"The tasks of the Defense Movement [RO] include: reporting to public opinion the facts of the infringement upon laws and human freedoms and offering as much help and protection to victims as possible."¹

The periodical DROGA edited by L. Moczulski stated:

"From the very beginning, the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights very strongly emphasized the political motivation and the political goals of its work. Already in September 1977, the Defense Movement clearly pointed out that human rights include the right to possess a separate, independent state and rejected the terms of the 1945 Yalta accord."²

ROPCiO organized its own illegal Third of May Constitution Publishers and appointed a Financial Council to supervise the funds it collected. A Human Rights Fund was also set up to finance activities aimed at implementing the goals outlined in basic ROPCiO documents.

As is clear from the preceding quotes, ROPCiO mouthed the standard liberal free mason catchwords embellished with certain "independence" slogans a la Pilsudski. A method consisting of a tendency to create extra-party structures is likewise characteristic.

ROPCiO activists set up contacts with foreign anti-communist centers, which yielded some financial support. The Paris KULTURA, e.g., published a list showing that in 1980 it collected 21,264.8 French francs for ROPCiO (it should be pointed out that during the same period, KULTURA collected nearly three-fold this amount for KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers]).³

Clearly, the new competitor for Western treasuries and for air time on Western Polish radio broadcasts could not have been viewed favorably by KSS [Social Self-Defense Committee] KOR and other structures of this type. One of the former ROPCiO activists Leszek Skonka wrote the following on this subject in his article entitled "KSS-KOR Methods--Anyone That Makes Us Uncomfortable Is an SB [Security Service] Agent":

"Just a few days after the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights arose, when a French reporter asked Ms. Halina Mikolajska, who was staying in Paris at the time, what she thought of this group of people, she replied that it may be SB provocation. Thus, the new social-civil movement scarcely came into being when the KOR activist Halina Mikolajska tried to discredit it publicly, insinuating too clearly that it is an SB creation."⁴

Trying to overpower its ROPCiO competitors at any cost, KOR stooped to provocation. From the article quoted previously written by L. Skonka we find out that: "During the first months of RO activity, many of its activists tried to set up cooperation and work together with KOR. I was also sincerely in favor of cooperating with this group. I proposed such cooperation during the plenary meeting of the RO aktiv in Warsaw. Most of those taking part in the meeting gave the impression of being perplexed by my proposal, which shocked me greatly. During a break, one of the Lodz RO activists came over to me and explained the matter. He told me that efforts made thus far in the direction of setting up cooperation with KOR have been disastrous. For example, when RO activists informed KOR of a coming meeting (and these were times when any such activity ended with the meeting being broken up and participants being arrested), just before the meeting, Jacek Kuron called an RO activist, knowing that his telephone was bugged, and asked whether it was true that there was to be a meeting on the subject of... at X's place on Y street at Z o'clock, and then informed him that no one from KOR would be at the meeting.

"Obviously the SB immediately went to the particular address and thwarted the meeting, which is, of course, what Kuron had in mind."⁵

ROPCiO began its organizational work by setting up consultation-information centers. During the first year, they were opened in Bydgoszcz, Gdansk-Wrzeszcz, Kalisz, Katowice, Krakow, Lublin, Lodz, Poznan, Przemysl, Szczecin, Warsaw and Zamosc.

Besides this, the RO tried to get into the electoral campaign before the elections to People's Councils [RN] at the beginning of 1978. The RO Declaration of Intentions was published; changes in electoral law were demanded. In many locales, ROPCiO activists distributed leaflets. They also joined the campaign of the establishment of so-called Free Trade Unions in Poland. One of the leading founders of these unions was the ROPCiO activist Kazimierz Switon.

However, the RO did not have any cohesive political doctrine. This is readily observable if one looks at successive issues of OPINIA. They contain information on current politics and some information from Polish history (particular contemporary Polish history)--obviously with the proper anti-communist and

anti-Soviet flavor. However, they lack theoretical-political essays of any real depth. One gets the impression that ordinary anti-Sovietism and certain liberal free mason catchwords were enough doctrine and ideology for ROPCio activists.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that shortly after the RO came into being, a group centered around Czuma began to quarrel with a group centered around Moczulski. Finally, Moczulski's group broke off, creating its own organization in 1979--the KPN.

The Confederation for Independent Poland

The formal announcement of the creation of the KPN came on 1 September 1979 during an illegal gathering held at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw. From the outset, Leszek Moczulski was the primary activist and ideologist of this organization. The other most important KPN activists are: Tadeusz Stanski, Maciej Pstrag-Bielenski, Romuald Szeremietiew, Nina Milenska, Krzysztof Gasiorowski, Zdzislaw Jamrozek, Adam Macedonski and Ryszard Nowak.

In accordance with the so-called Provisional KPN Statute, the KPN Political Council stands at the head of this organization. However, the so-called Central Directorate of Current KPN Activity is to direct practical activity. The organizational network provided for by the statute is to be composed of areas [obszar] (initially there were four--central, southern, western and northern); areas were divided into districts [okreg]; districts were broken down into regions [rejon] (obwod), and the lowest division was to be the operational group. The Directorates of Current KPN Activity were to work with the areas to organize and coordinate KPN activities in the field.

The KPN organizational structure is patterned after the structure of military-type underground organizations (above all the WiN [Freedom and Independence]). Under the Directorates of Current KPN Activity were to be executory cells to handle communications, reconnaissance, counterespionage, propaganda and the like. Two KPN organizational structures were created: one open and another secret--the so-called alternate structure, to be used if the state authorities embarked upon an all-out campaign against the KPN. Related to this, the members of the organization were divided into open and secret members, with the latter group having to take an oath. The secret members were then divided into groups of three and five, i.e., small groups that could plot easily.

The KPN press organs were the periodicals DROGA and GAZETA POLSKA; the illegal WYDAWNICTWO POLSKIE [Polish Publishers] was also organized.

The KPN developed foreign activity, whose goal was above all to obtain financial assistance and propaganda support from centers waging a struggle against communism. The office of the so-called General Plenipotentiary of the KPN Political Council was created abroad and Information Bureaus were set up in Sweden, Norway, the FRG, Spain, France, the United States and Canada.

Contacts were established with the so-called Legalistic Center in London considered to be an "emigre Polish government." It used its own funds

(of suspicious origin), funds collected by the so-called Free Word Fund (created formally by certain Polonia circles) and the contributions of private individuals and emigre communities to help finance KPN activity.

In addition to this, the KPN established contact with Radio Free Europe, with the North American Study Program for Polish Affairs and its chairman Professor A. Ehrenkreutz, with the Paris KULTURA and its head J. Giedroycia, with the "Wolna Polska" [Free Poland] terrorist anti-communist organization established by Konstanty Zygfryd Hanff and even with the so-called Democratic Campaign on behalf of Strauss, established in conjunction with the FRG elections.

The "Confederation for Independent Poland Act" (proclaimed on 1 September 1979) and signed by 50 people states:

"We are hereby drawing up the Confederation Act in order to combine our efforts and actions to regain the independent Polish state, whose system, authorities and character shall be defined freely by all citizens."⁶

In the "Ideological Declaration of the Confederation for Independent Poland" (proclaimed together with the KPN Act) we read:

"Forty years have passed since the Polish State fell under the stroke of Hitler's Germany and communist Russia. The 35th anniversary of the infamous memory of the Yalta Accord approaches, where the Western powers--in defiance of their lofty slogans of international justice and democracy--sanctioned the decision for the last partition of the Republic and for Poland's subjugation under Soviet hegemony. The PRL [Polish People's Republic], governed in a totalitarian manner by the PZPR, is a modern form of the institutionalized dominion of Russia over Poland.

"Today the Polish nation is waking up once again and straightening its neck, bent over by servitude. Upon us--when Poland will regain its freedom and the Polish nation will regain its power to determine its own fate depends upon us, above all."⁷

Further on, the Declaration names 10 basic ideological principles. In addition to the typical "independence" catchwords related to the sovereignty of the Republic, it also contains slogans drawn from liberal freemason ideology on human and civil rights, mutual tolerance, respect for the rights of others and above all of course, the democratic system in its bourgeois interpretation.

The "Resolution of the Political Council of the Confederation for Independent Poland" proclaimed on 11 November 1979 states:

"We shall do everything possible to make our way into freedom and to build the Third Republic. (...)

"We aim to create the Third Republic, which will be the direct continuator and the legal successor to the First and Second Republics. The preservation of legal succession demands that the continuity of the state be maintained and that the principles of legalism be upheld--which is an important task of

the Polish emigration. However, the guiding freedom center is found within the country (...).

"We likewise call upon all independent groups operating within the country to give a clear and precise public definition of their attitude to the program for independence, based on two fundamental assumptions: freeing Poland from Soviet domination and eliminating the PZPR usurper's dictatorship that has been thrust upon us."⁸

It follows from the texts cited here that the entire essence of the ideology of this organization boils down to obsessive anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The statements contained in the basic KPN documents are so extreme (they ignore the post-World War II reality entirely) that even the vast majority of Sovietologists could not ascribe to them. In its anti-Sovietism, the KPN tried to outbid all domestic and emigre competitors, with the result that even the KOR leaders found the KPN ideas too extreme and rejected them as unrealistic. The ultimate effect was that the KPN obtained considerably less funding from the West than KOR. Nor did Radio Free Europe devote much attention to the KPN. Based on these ideological assumptions, Moczulski consistently developed a program of practical activities for his organization that was published before the formal announcement of the creation of the Confederation was made.

In issue No 7 (June 1979) of the periodical DROGA edited by Moczulski, in an article entitled "Revolution Without Revolution," the KPN leader developed his idea of a "road to independence" through the creation of the "Polish political system":

"Poland has found itself at the critical point. The PRL authorities have lost their ability to effectively lead the entire nation and to rally social activism around arbitrarily established goals. Society still does not have enough power to overthrow the undesirable authorities, particularly since the awareness that it can do this is not reaching it.

"After 35 years, the PRL system is finding itself in ruins. It goes on out of inertia, incapable of kindling within itself creative and constructive forces. (...)

"This situation portrays the crisis of the entire Soviet camp."

In a publication entitled "The Program of Concord and the Program of Independence," Moczulski criticizes KOR for its compliance. Meanwhile, in the article "The Road to Independence," he states:

"Poland's liberation from Soviet domination certainly cannot be a sudden, one-time act, but the result of a long-term process developing at a variable rate and intensity. (...)

"The initial, slowly developing phases of the process are behind us. Currently we are entering a new qualitative period characterized by a hastening of the rate of change."⁹

Moczulski goes on to outline a plan of so-called constructive revolution that is to lead to the building of the "Polish Political System":

"The development model of the directly political layer of constructive revolution is ready. Summarizing theoretically planned and proposed political actions, we may divide them conventionally into five principal phases.

- "1. The phase of the formation of political groups. (...)
- "2. The phase of the formation of the political infrastructure. (...)
- "3. The phase of the formation of the Polish Political System. The process of transforming political groups into parties and affiliated parties [stronnictwo] creates a new political structure. (...)
- "4. Phase four. During this phase, alongside the institutions of the PRL, the Polish Political System will have a parallel existence and operation. This will resemble the familiar situation in our history in which the Polish Underground State was formed alongside the [rule of] foreign authorities.(...)
- "5. The final phase will be the assumption of power. Here various scenarios are possible."¹⁰

As the previous extensive quotes show, Moczulski's program actually consisted of building a state counter-authority that ultimately would seize authority in the country and would overthrow the existing system.

Next, in his article entitled "The Resistance Movement," Moczulski considers what is to be done if it comes to the point where society explodes in Poland, proposing activities based on three principles:

"The first principle: in the event that society explodes, the explosion should be turned immediately into a general sit-down strike. (...)

"The second principle is the aim to make the strike universal. (...)

"The third principle is self-organization. The slogan: 'Instead of burning committees, let us create them'; is entirely apt. (...) Resistance Councils should be created everywhere (...). They ought to immediately take over leading the strike, organize people, set up order-keeping watches, ensure food and the like."

Moczulski continues:

"Minimal concessions of the authorities for breaking the strike are:

- "1. The release of all those that have been detained and the return of military and political units to their barracks.
- "2. The restoration of normal conditions in particular locales occurs on the basis of on-the-spot negotiations with social representatives; the return

to normalcy nationwide results from negotiations with the national representation of the Resistance Movement and the Resistance Councils.

"3. The recognizing of all Resistance Councils as real representatives of society and the guarantee that they will be able to operate permanently.

"4. The recognizing of all political, social and other structures that have been formed and the guaranteeing of their operational potential, and in particular access to the media and the free and uncensored publishing and dissemination of publications."11

To some extent, this program was implemented during the familiar events of 1980 and 1981. It is also noteworthy that the political underground that developed in Poland following the imposition of martial law likewise seized upon some of Moczulski's ideas.

However, with regard to the period of the first year of KPN activity--from September 1979 to September 1980--it cannot boast of any major achievements. The KPN was engaged in getting started on organizational and publishing work and beyond this it conducted hastily improvised propaganda campaigns.

In February 1980, the KPN attempted to make use of the electoral campaign preceding the Sejm elections for its own ends. It announced its own "electoral platform" and its own list of candidates for the Sejm. When the entire campaign flopped, it called for a boycott of the elections.

The "KPN Electoral Platform" assesses the status quo and makes proposals for the future. It states:

"The KPN does not recognize the PRL as the sovereign Polish state and denies it a moral, legal and social mandate (...)

"(...) The primary task of the newly elected Sejm ought to be the urgent preparation and resolution of a Provisional Constitution that standardizes the most important questions of the state's operation during the transitional period. On the basis of the provisions of the Provisional Constitution, the state apparatus should be reorganized and free and unfettered elections should be held for the Legislative Sejm that will prepare and pass the permanent Constitution of the Polish People's Republic."

In the sphere of systemic solutions, the "KPN Electoral Platform" contains the typical liberal freemason phraseology embellished with the demand that the Provisional Constitution express universal respect for the Catholic Church.

In the foreign policy field, the "Platform" proposes that the basic principles of Polish foreign policy be revised, as well as the principles on which the European order has been based since World War II. It demands the "unification of Germany" and the creation of "European Homelands."

In the economic sphere, the "Platform" demands the restriction of the nationalization of industry to large key plants and the possibility of reprivatization

in other fields. In state enterprises, workers' self-governments are to be appointed to assume the role of socialized proprietor, except for public service plants, such as railways. Moreover, the central directive planning method is to be abolished and replaced by the market as regulator of the economy's operation.

Thus, the KPN program was a sort of hodge-podge of liberal freemason and Trotskyite demands whose practical implementation would have to lead to restoring capitalism in Poland.

During the period of the big strikes in 1980, the Confederation did not attain major successes. Initially, it was unable to have any significant impact upon the Solidarity community, where KOR gained ascendancy over it. Moczulski was disillusioned and even began to organize an anti-KOR front within the framework of the opposition. He also attempted to advertise himself and the KPN. On 15 September 1980, he gave an interview to a representative of the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL, and was arrested soon after.

Following Moczulski's arrest and the arrest of such members of the KPN leadership as R. Szeremietiew, T. Stanski and T. Jandziszak, K. Gasiorowski assumed the chairman's duties of the Central Directorate of Current Activity. The KPN attempted to use the arrest of its leaders for propaganda purposes, organizing various campaigns to obtain their release. The so-called Committees for the Defense of Those Imprisoned for Their Convictions, that arose and developed in 1981, became a channel of KPN influence on Solidarity as well as on the Independent Association of Students [NZS].

The KPN activists also conducted a bitter polemic with KOR, accusing this organization of being foreign in character, of complying with the authorities and of being inimical to Catholicism. KPN propaganda bandied patriotic slogans, made use of patriotic symbols (national flags, the state motto, the banner of Fighting Poland and the like), alluded to the legend of Pilsudski and voiced anti-Soviet slogans. The KPN tried to win over the youth above all. Organizational activity centered around the local Solidarity elements. The KPN had its greatest impact in the Solidarity elements of Katowice, Siedlce, Plock, Czestochowa and also in some Warsaw factories. There were also strong KPN centers in Krakow and Lublin. In 1981, there was a significant increase in the number of members and active KPN sympathizers. The territorial reach of the KPN grew. Three new areas were developed--Lower Silesia, Wielkopolska and Pomorze-Mazury.

The impact of the KPN on Solidarity clearly distinguished itself during the election campaign and the Solidarity congress; the number of KPN members and active sympathizers among the congress delegates was estimated at about 75 people. As a rule, KPN activists exhibited confrontational and anti-Soviet attitudes. In 1981, the popularity of the KPN in Solidarity grew to such proportions that so-called confederated groups arose, i.e., groups that were linked ideologically with the KPN without any organizational affiliation.

The National Workers Movement

The organization known as the National Workers Movement [RRN] was created on 6 August 1981 by KPN sympathizers in the Warsaw MZK [Inter-factory Committee]. A major organizer of the RRN was a KPN member active in Solidarity, W. Dziurak. The RRN was to be an important channel of KPN influence on the Warsaw workers' community as well as a group leading to the elimination of KOR activists from the authorities of NSZZ Solidarity's Region Mazowsze and then from the union apparatus as a whole. It issued an Ideological Declaration that shows much concurrence with the KPN Declaration.

The RRN was unable to develop broad-scale organizational-propaganda activity. It was actually an autonomous group operating within the KPN framework.

Independence Service Clubs

The "Declaration of the Goals of the Independence Service Clubs" was proclaimed in the lobbies of the First Solidarity Congress on 17 September 1981. It was signed by 39 founding members, 26 of whom were full-time Solidarity activists of the central level and local organizations. In the Declaration, published in the bulletin of Region Mazowsze WIADOMOSCI DNIA we read: "The Independence Service Clubs are a form of civic operation on behalf of human freedom and national independence."

The guiding principle for the chief organizers of the KSN was the creation of a base for a new political party that would replace Solidarity to some degree, taking over its operations in the sphere of attacking the party and the government. A future goal of the KSN was to be changing the PRL system and reorienting relations with socialist countries, i.e., breaking them off or at least weakening them.

The KSN organizational principles and Statute were prepared. A central secretariat was elected made up of: B. Komorowski, A. Macierewicz, E. Margienin, W. Wieckowski and W. Ziembinski. The task of the KSN was to implement a sort of political alliance between part of the KOR aktiv and the ROPCiO and KPN aktiv.

The KSN primarily conducted lectures and held discussions. Attempting to conduct practical activity, the KSN observed the anniversary of the regaining of independence on 11 November 1981, in which KSN delegates participated.

The Young Poland Movement

The Young Poland Movement materialized during the summer of 1979 out of the youth community centered around the publication BRATNIAK, that was under the strong influence of ROPCiO. In its "Declaration," published on 18 August 1979, the RMP activists defined themselves as people born and raised in the PRL but negatively inclined toward it. The "Declaration" stressed the defense of human and civil rights and the sovereign rights of the nation.

The RMP joined the 1980 workers' campaigns on the Coast and had its people among the full-time employees of the Solidarity central office. It also exerted its influence upon the student and teacher's communities, particularly on the Coast.

The Polish Patriotic Conspiracy

The Polish Patriotic Conspiracy was created in Lodz in 1981 by ROPCiO activist Z. Sieminski. Next it organized its agents throughout the Szczecin area. Attempts were also made to create PSP groups in other places--in plants, institutions of higher learning and even schools. A separate organization was created for school-age youth known as the Polish Patriotic Youth Conspiracy, linked closely to the PSP. In its program documents, the PSP made use of typically Neo-Pilsudskian phraseology. After martial law was imposed, a considerable part of the Neo-Pilsudskian opposition began conspiratorial activity.

FOOTNOTES

1. OPINIA, No 9 (17), September 1978, p 40.
2. DROGA, No 7, June 1979, p 36.
3. See KULTURA, No 1/2, 1981.
4. L. Skonka, "KSS-'KOR' Methods--Anyone That Makes Us Uncomfortable Is an SB Agent," DEMOKRACJA ZWIAZKOWA, February 1981.
5. Ibid.
6. "The Confederation for Independent Poland Act," Warsaw, 1 September 1979.
7. The "Ideological Declaration of the Confederation for Independent Poland," Warsaw, 1 September 1979.
8. "Resolution of the Political Council of the Confederation for Independent Poland," 11 November 1979.
9. L. Moczulski, "The Road to Independence," DROGA, No 7, June 1979.
10. Ibid.
11. L. Moczulski, "The Resistance Movement," DROGA, No 7, June 1979.

8536

CSO: 2600/887

FEATURES OF CHURCH-STATE COOPERATION VIEWED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 12, 8 Jun 83 p 10

[Article by Adam Piekarski: "In the Line of Dialogue"]

[Text] The foundation of the strategic line of our party is an arrangement of relations between the state and the church that would allow the might of the whole nation to be fully engaged in support of the building of a socialist Poland. The synthesis of this strategy is the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress, indicating the need for dialogue and cooperation with the Catholic Church and with other churches and religious unions.

The perspective for relations between the state and the church were described by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski in a speech given at the First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]:

"We are not treating cooperation with the church as a temporary, tactical necessity. We want it to be useful for the state and the nation. This is a realistic goal. We are counting on the fact that the church as an institution is able to harmonize the character of its priestly mission with respect for the internal and international affairs of our state."

Comrade Jaruzelski emphasized that in the building of People's Poland from the start wide masses of lay Catholics have actively participated.

It is necessary, however, to state that the perspective of a peaceful coexistence of believers and non-believers does not suit everyone. Rankling voices resound. There also occur activities contradictory to the law. Advocates for the politicizing of the church, declaring for the side of tendencies ruled out by history, are reverting to the bad traditions of political clericalism.

Mutual relations of the state and church continually create many conjectures and speculations, especially abroad. Their goal is clear: to discredit the socialist state, magnify discrepancies in the name of non-Polish, cold war goals.

However, the greater part of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy are interested in a lasting and constructive arrangement of relations with state authorities and understand the requirements of the national reasons of state.

It is essential that many public appearances of Primate J. Glemp lie are in line with activities consistent with the Polish reason of state.

Meetings of General Wojciech Jaruzelski and Cardinal Jozef Glemp have a by no means trivial meaning for the development of church-state relations and, more widely, for advantageous formation of social relations in our country. After the meeting of 8 November 1982 the communique stated: "The premier and the primate made a survey of the present situation in the country and expressed common concern for the maintenance and consolidation of peace, social order and conscientious work." The communique appeared on the eve of 10 November, the day on which extremists from the underground wanted to provoke mass incidents and reactive manifestations which were to impair the positions of state authorities.

It turned out once again that despite differing opinions and views on individual questions (resulting, for example, from ideological differences, which none of the sides wants to blur) there exist real possibilities for constructive cooperation in the resolving of very important problems of the nation and state. Many facts indicate that a part of the church hierarchy, with Primate Glemp at the head, wants an understanding and is tending toward an understanding. It is not necessary to add that it would lie in the interest of the church and in general in the interest of the whole society for realistic and constructive tendencies to gain a decided advantage over confrontational tendencies.

The cooperation of the socialist state and the church is not only possible, but necessary for the good of the nation. There exists today the need for widening this cooperation as an important area for the consolidation of social peace, the building of moral order and the development of Poland.

The need for a strong, well-governed and just state is felt as well by the church, the representatives of which know perfectly well that anarchy and inertia are not only lethal for the state organism, but plunge the whole nation into moral confusion, the decline of all authorities and the decay of sound principles for the organization of a collective life.

This common concern creates natural and lasting foundations for the development of dialogue and the cooperation of the church with the state in our country, and also for the development of relations between the government of the Polish People's Republic and the Apostolic See.

The questions are often heard concerning whether cooperation of the church with the state in the most vital matters of the nation does not signify the encroachment of the church in areas of public life and, therefore, whether this is not contradictory with the rule of separation? No, it is not contradictory because constructive cooperation does not have to infringe upon the secular character of the state, does not have to cause state interference in the internal affairs of the church, or, conversely, the interference of the church in the affairs of state politics.

The Roman Catholic Church in Poland is the religious authority for a sizable mass of believers and is able to exert an influence on their civic attitudes. The arrangement of state-church relations is to a decisive extent conditioned precisely by the degree to which the church influences the attitudes of its believers.

Religious-ethical rules, the proclamation of which is the function of the church, may be variously interpreted. Through these rules it is possible, for example, to counsel respect for the state, to call for honest work, for the love of one's neighbors, for respect for the common good, for leading an honest and moral life, free of faults and bad habits.

If activity is filled with such contents and if chances exist that it will develop further in this direction--without infringing upon the rule of the separation of the church from the state and the secularity of public life--there is not the slightest reason to impede the involvement of the church in cooperation with the state. In a word, the rule of the separation of the church from the state should not be made a fetish, but functionally subordinated to the primary interests of the people's state.

Poles, who are concerned at heart with the matter of leading Poland out from social-political and economic problems, are interested in the cooperation of the state and the church in all those areas of social life on the basis of which are created material, cultural and moral values, enriching the nation and the individual, confirming Poland as a country enjoying respect in the world.

Polish communists, realizing the large-scale character and thousand-year tradition of Catholicism in Poland, recognized the necessity of the cooperation of believing and non-believing working people as one of the basic conditions of the victory of socialism. The rebuilding of the country from the destruction of the war and the solving of key problems of the reconstruction of social relations are areas in which cooperation has been realized. It constitutes a shared value of believing and non-believing Poles. That is why all constitutional rules of Polish religious policy, such as the rule of liberty of conscience and belief, the rule of the separation of the church from the state and others, are functionally subordinated to the primary interests of the realization of nation-wide goals.

Everyday experiences prove that religious differences are immaterial to the practice of socialist building, if one does not allow the introduction of an artificial line of division into believers and non-believers. Such a division existed and exists only in consideration of the attitude toward religion. People who attend churches on Sunday participate in the work of the country every day. Partnership and cooperation have a place in all areas of life, in different secular social and political organizations, which in their programs include neither pro-religious nor anti-religious postulates.

These are symptoms of changes occurring in the consciousness of Polish Catholics. The engagement of millions of Catholics and followers of other religions on

the side of socialism is a fact. And that is why those Catholics who are advocates of socialism are closer to communists than those atheists who are opponents of socialism.

The aspiration of the state is that in relations with the church elements of partnership and coexistence hold dominance over elements of conflict and confrontation. Basing ourselves on dialogue and cooperation, we cannot blur the ideological and worldview discrepancies between Christian and Marxist ideology, a materialistic and a religious worldview. Through dialogue and cooperation we emphasize our identity and credibility. It is, however, obvious that normal relations between the state and the church, or a religious union, do not mean uniformity of opinions and views in all matters. An indispensable ingredient of these relations is dissimilarity, and even conflict of views in the philosophical sphere.

Confrontations on the ideological and worldview plane do not interfere with partnership, with cooperation in those areas which have to do with the achievement of common political, social, economic goals or with the shaping of commonly recognized moral values as well.

The process of the normalization of Polish-Vatican relations goes on. The second visit of the pope to our country will soon follow. In order for the visit to take place, both sides, the state and the church, have taken upon themselves certain obligations. The church recognized it as necessary to contribute in forms proper to itself to the strengthening of the rules of morality, respect for the commonweal, the maintenance of peace and order together with the intensification of efforts in support of improvement of the economic situation.

"Not for everyone," said Wojciech Jaruzelski, "is the visit of the pope desirable. At work are various powers and headquarters, whose purpose is the supporting of the international isolation of our country, the separating of Poland with an impenetrable cordon."

Despite its religious character, the visit will have a large political dimension. It will also be for the majority of society a confirmation that the socialist regeneration is treated seriously and responsibly, and that the recognition of the place of the church in socialist Poland is consistent.

12432

CSO: 2600/1040

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS, ADDRESSES SDUF MEETING

AU302001 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0910 GMT 30 Jun 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 30/6/1983--A plenary meeting of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] National Council took place in Bucharest on June 30, under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, leader of the RCP and Romanian state, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

The agenda included the following: the programme of firm application of the principles of worker self-management and self-administration, the improvement of the economic and financial mechanism, of the system of labour remuneration and the remuneration rise in this five-year plan period; the national programme for ensuring safe and stable production by increasing the productive potential of the soil; the construction of the SDUF councils, of the mass and public organizations in its composition to rallying the efforts, energy and initiative of all working people, in view of the exemplary fulfillment of the plan and programmes of socioeconomic development of the country. Likewise, an account was presented of the activity of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front for the carrying through of the foreign policy of the RCP and Romanian state devoted to disarmament, detente, cooperation and peace in the world.

The participants in the debates presented the SDUF steady activity for the beginning of large mass actions within which all social forces of the countries ensured the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan for the homeland's socioeconomic development in the first five months of this year.

Fully approving the home and foreign policy of the RCP and of the Romanian state the plenary meeting assessed highly the very important political initiatives of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu for preventing the international situation from worsening, for the resumption of the policy of detente, the halting of the arms race and the passage to measures of disarmament, nuclear above all, for the building of security and cooperation in Europe, for enhancing the confidence, understanding and collaboration among all states of the world. The plenary meeting unanimously endorsed the documents submitted for debate. At the same time, the plenum endorsed a resolution which will be released.

In concluding the proceedings of the plenary meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor. The plenary meeting of the Central Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization took place the same day.

CSO: 2020/51

CEAUSESCU TOAST IN ADDIS ABABA

AU141153 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Jul 83 pp 1, 3

["Toast by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" at the 12 July dinner given by Ethiopian ruler Mengistu Haile Mariam in Addis Ababa]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade President Mengistu, esteemed Comrade Bishaw, dear comrades and friends: I want to express thanks for being invited to visit friendly Ethiopia, for your welcoming words, and for the warm and hospitable reception extended to us. I want to take this opportunity to convey to you and to the friendly people warm greetings and best wishes for progress, well-being, and peace. (applause)

Our visit reflects the positive evolution of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples, and our common desire to further expand them. We are happy to note that, in the spirit of our talks and agreements on your visit to Romania in 1978 and of the declaration we signed on that occasion, the Romanian-Ethiopian relations have made yearly progress, particularly in economic, scientific-technical, and cultural areas. We have also intensified contacts and exchanges of experience between our parties and political and mass organizations.

I am positive that during our visit and the talks we began today we will come to additional agreements and will devise new ways and means of raising the level of Romanian-Ethiopian cooperation even higher. We believe that we have the potential for developing our economic cooperation and mutually advantageous exchanges, especially in key sectors such as industry, geology, petroleum, mining, agriculture, energy, building, and so forth. This is in keeping with the interests of both peoples, and constitutes, at the same time, a contribution to the cause of international cooperation and peace.

The Romanian people warmly hailed the Ethiopian revolution which brought an end to feudalism and imperialist domination and paved the way for the independent socioeconomic development of the country and for building a socialist society. We are gratified that our visit will permit us to become familiar with the efforts made by the Ethiopian people, led by the Commission for the Organization of the Working People's Party, to build a new, free, and prosperous Ethiopia. As friends, we wish the Ethiopian people ever greater successes in their independent development and in building socialism.

The Socialist Republic of Romania is investing all its energies in implementing a vast program for developing and modernizing the national economy, developing science and culture, and raising the living standard of all its people. We are striving to achieve a new quality of work and life and to implement the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

We are profoundly concerned about the current international situation, which is still very complex and serious. Old conflicts persist and escalate and new ones emerge in the world, and the imperialist policy of force and dictate and of maintaining and redividing zones of influence is still pursued. The world economic crisis is deepening, as are the gaps between poor and rich countries. The unprecedented scope of the arms race--which continually increases the danger of a nuclear catastrophe--is a cause for particular anxiety. Those factors are causing great tension and greatly threaten the freedom and independence of the peoples and the security and peace of the entire world.

In view of these conditions, we believe that it is now more vital than ever that the nations unite their efforts and cooperate closely to halt the dangerous course of events toward catastrophe and war, and to resume and resolutely assert the policy of detente and cooperation, independence, and peace.

The major issue of our times is to safeguard peace and prevent war. The nations of the world are energetically demanding an end to the arms race, and disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. We speak out for freezing and cutting back military spending and for achieving a balance of forces at the lowest possible level; we believe that this is in keeping with the interests of each people and serves to protect the life, freedom, and independence of each nation!

In this context, we give special attention to halting the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe, and removing and destroying the existing ones; we militate for a united Europe of cooperation and peace, free of nuclear arms.

We believe that there are conditions for the Madrid meeting to conclude soon and, thanks to the general efforts of the participating states--to which Romania is making an active contribution--to arrive at constructive agreements and to convene a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe.

Currently there are many disputes, conflicts, and tense situations in the world that can at any moment degenerate into military confrontations with the gravest consequences for mankind. Romania has always been resolutely in favor of settling all such problems solely through peaceful means and negotiations. In this spirit, we strive for a comprehensive political solution in the Middle East and for establishing a just and lasting peace in that area, based on

Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war, on recognition of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and independent statehood, and on peaceful coexistence among all the states in the area. We also believe that Israel should immediately withdraw from Lebanon, and that Lebanon's integrity and sovereignty should be observed.

We are also concerned with the grave economic situation in the world and with the fact that underdevelopment continues to deepen; the gaps between rich and poor countries are widening. Proceeding from these facts we determinedly advocate tangible measures aimed at eliminating underdevelopment and achieving a new international economic order based on complete equality and equity that will favor the more rapid progress of all countries and primarily of less developed countries, and that will ensure world economic stability and the broad promotion of mutually advantageous cooperation between countries.

Within the framework of its general policy of cooperation and peace and of developing relations with all world countries, irrespective of their social system, Romania pays particular attention to relations with the countries on the African continent. We firmly support the struggle of those countries to completely eliminate the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy; to strengthen national independence; and to ensure their independent socioeconomic progress.

We are in solidarity with and actively support the Namibian people who, under the leadership of their legitimate leader--SWAPO [South West African People's Organization]--are struggling against the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and for their right to independence and free development. We firmly condemn the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination and we very energetically demand that any kind of aggressive actions by South Africa against neighboring countries be stopped.

Taking into consideration that there are still a great number of unresolved problems on the African continent, we believe that everything must be done to strengthen African unity, so that the problems between African countries be resolved by negotiations alone. We value the important role devolving upon the OAU in resolving those problems and in creating conditions so that the countries on the African continent are able to devote their overall material and human potential to implementing the programs on socioeconomic development and to achieving well-being and happiness.

Taking into account the complex problems of the present-day world, it is necessary to act with greater determination to strengthen the unity and cooperation among all progressive and anti-imperialist forces and among all peoples who want to live freely and in peace.

It is necessary to firmly place relations between countries on the principles of full equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, and the principle of renouncing the use or threat of force.

The solution of all problems in the interests of peace and cooperation requires the participation by all countries, irrespective of social system or size, in the international activity, and I am particularly referring to the important role devolving on small and medium-sized countries, on the developing and nonaligned countries which represent the great majority of countries in the world and which are profoundly interested in a new and democratic policy of peace.

It is also necessary to ensure a more important role for the United Nations and other international organizations in resolving the complicated problems in the world arena and in promoting cooperation, detente, and peace in the world.

Esteemed Comrade President Mengistu, once again I would like to mention the traditional relations between our peoples and to express the conviction that this visit and the talks we have begun will open up new prospects for developing multifaceted cooperation and for strengthening friendship and cooperation between our countries and parties, something that is in keeping with the interests of both people, with the cause of peace, socialism and international cooperation.

I want to wish the friendly Ethiopian people increasingly greater successes in their socioeconomic development along the road of socialism, well-being, and happiness! (applause)

I want to raise this glass to strengthening friendship and cooperation between Romania and Ethiopia!

To the good health of Comrade President Mengistu and of Comrade Bishaw!

To the health of all of you! (applause)

CSO: 2700/258

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

TRADE TALKS WITH SWEDEN--Stockholm (AGERPRES) 7/6/1983--A meeting was organized in Stockholm under the aegis of the Committee on the Promotion of Trade Between Sweden and Romania when the wish was expressed by both sides to develop their economic relations according to their potential and in keeping with the decisions made at summit level. Concrete possibilities were examined of expanding commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, on third markets included. The meeting was attended by the representatives of 30 Swedish firms and banks, of the foreign minister, the Swedish Trade Council and the federation of Swedish wholesalers and importers. [Text] [AU111525 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 7 Jun 83 AU]

ENVOY CALLS ON VATICAN--The Vatican (AGERPRES) 6/6/1983--Views were exchanged on international questions of mutual interest and on the development of the relations between Romania and the Vatican City State, during the call paid at the Vatican City by Ambassador Ion Brad, special envoy of the Romanian Government, on Agostino Casaroli, cardinal secretary of state. A. Casaroli assessed highly the policy of international peace, security and cooperation unfolded by Romania, her efforts for the political settlement of the tensions and conflicts in the world. [Text] [AU061205 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1155 GMT 6 Jun 83 AU]

CSO: 2020/51

END

YUGOSLAVIA

PROBLEM OF 'INTERNAL INDEBTEDNESS' EXAMINED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1686, 24 Apr 83 pp 7-8

[Article by Scepan Rabrenovic: "A Debt of 1.5 Trillion"]

[Text] Internal debts, calculated in dollars, are equal to a sum of \$19 billion, which is the same amount as is owed to foreign countries. Can the present illiquidity be explained by the idea that money is not necessary to socialism?

Several days ago, the newspapers reported that Radmilo Blazic, director of the Agroprogres work organization in Belgrade, which serves as a part of the Skoplje Agroprom, was arrested. Blazic was arrested "because of justifiable suspicion that he had issued four bills of exchange with insufficient funds with a value of 26 million dinars, and had done this for the unlawful profit of his work organization."

Inspectors for the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Belgrade reported, in connection with the arrest of Radmilo Blazic, that more and more notes are in circulation among work organizations which cannot be covered by financial assets.

Just a few days after this arrest and this new report, it was noted in the Yugoslav Parliament that there are notes in circulation with a value of approximately 150 billion dinars which have been issued with insufficient funds.

These two news stories appeared in the papers in small print and went unnoticed although they announced a new financial drama which may provoke illiquidity. Because if there really are counterfeit notes in circulation with a value of approximately 150 billion dinars, then it is quite certain that this forged money can provoke an enormous amount of chaos. (For sake of comparison, the annual budget of the Federation comes to something more than 300 billion dinars).

The period of illiquidity was, in fact, first announced by Milka Planinc in a speech before the delegates of the Yugoslav Parliament given in connection with the adoption of a resolution and other documents dealing with development

plans this year. This was the last few days of December. It was reported then that internal indebtedness amounted to approximately 150 billion dinars.

At that time there were enough of these debts to make them equal in severity to foreign debts. And this is not without reason, because if it is converted into dollars a figure of over \$19 billion, or, it is equal to the level of foreign debts in value.

Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, while reporting data concerning internal indebtedness, announced that a restrictive monetary policy would be carried out which would be necessary to contribute to greater financial discipline. One gets the impression that this announcement was not taken seriously enough, in part because of cherished habits which have been in force for years and years, as well as the acquired rights of consumption, but for the most part because of the belief that internal debts are a "domestic matter" which can be settled between the debtor and the creditor, and that it will possible for everything to be brought to a conclusion.

It will probably be possible to "settle" some of these debts, however, most of them must be reconciled by payment in cash, all the more so since it is assumed that the largest debtors are not producing anything, which means that they are not earning anything. And if their debts were to be pardoned, this would be nothing more than one large monetary issue which would seriously erode the value of the dinar.

How is this debt of 1.5 trillion dinars distributed, and who are the largest debtors? One cannot answer this questions without official data, and they are not published. We only know that reciprocal debts between local organizations of associated labor come to approximately 300 billion dinars, that the pension fund has a deficit of approximately 100 billion, that the state owes the economy a significant amount for higher components (exchange differences, export incentives), but one can only assume that there are debtors who are completely unknown and who will be difficult to name.

Before the present illiquidity runs away from us, it is necessary to act with full force. But not only because of those 1.5 trillion dinars. The Federal Executive Council is persistent in its efforts to impose financial discipline, and it has even limited bank investments. And while the banks could be generous before, now they have been forced to give with only a pharmacist's spoon. And if the new financial discipline collects those 1.5 trillion dinars, then a sum of money will have been obtained which will invite a monetary shortage, or, illiquidity.

According to the National Bank of Yugoslavia, over 2,200 users of public funds had their checking accounts frozen--with a total of approximately 27 billion dinars by the end of September of last year--and by the end of December of the same year, more than 1,000 users of public funds had their checking accounts frozen for more than 30 days with a total of approximately 20 billion dinars. This was before financial discipline was imposed, and only with the introduction of this discipline is it possible to explain the fact that 150 billion dinars of uncovered notes had appeared in circulation in a short period of time.

The blame for the current shortage of money can be placed not only on tight monetary policy, but must be shared by the state. In other words, the state does not regularly settle its obligations with the economy, not only regarding export incentives, but also by payments against the dinar's value for usurped foreign exchange. It is known that the state maintains for its own needs, and for the import of naphtha and coal for coking, approximately 37 percent of total foreign exchange. Exporters now claim that the state is late with payment against the dinar's value by 2, and even 3 months, and when payment is given, it is not even in cash, but in notes which are invalid for some banks in cases when they must raise cash to pay for personal incomes.

Thus, we have arrived at a situation in which government notes cannot always be adequately guaranteed for bank purposes.

Inflation and price-freezes also contribute to a greater shortage of dinars. Thus, during the first 3 months of this year, inflation increased 12 percent compared to December of last year primarily because of increases in the cost of energy and excise taxes. This led to increased costs of production, and these increases, as is usually the case, could not be passed on in the prices charged by the producers.

All of these things are the consequences of a rigorous policy which insists on financial discipline. The Federal Executive Council will not be able to retreat from this policy. It has taken on the responsibility of conducting this policy not only at the request of foreign partners, but because this is the only policy available which can recognize work instead of idleness, in other words, a policy which will not acknowledge all submitted accounts.

The consequences of numerous indulgences, and numerous earlier payments are well known, accounts have piled up and have come up for payment at the most inconvenient time, together with the accounts of foreign creditors. For this reason, all those who equate the severity of domestic debts with that of foreign debts are right.

But the insistence on a rigorous financial discipline will not be able to control the present illiquidity and will not be able to create conditions for the reconciliation of all accounts falling due. The recent increase in interest rates certainly made the cost of money more expensive, and this will create higher economic standards in production. But all of this will not be enough. It will be necessary to change many things in the economy, even in the political system which is based on a contractual economy, which, in reality, is nothing but a form of voluntary economy. Otherwise, how can the fact be explained that for the last 10 years all economic qualitative factors have fallen. The coefficient of turnover on economic resources, for example, was 4.3 in 1972, and last year was 1.6.

In circumstances where we do not have economic compulsion in practice, but the capacity for free will, then it is possible that what takes place is that which has taken place; and what is taking place in this socialist self-managed society is that a natural change is creeping in which is not appropriate to it.

Once more, in a natural economy, money is not necessary; the conviction prevails that one can do without it, and this means that one can also do without a basic measure of value. This kind of mentality is almost what had predominated, and this is the only way to explain many of the acquired rights which now stubbornly oppose the introduction of economic standards.

9548

CSO: 2800/321

YUGOSLAVIA

QUESTIONS RAISED IN YOUTH MEETINGS ON RIGHTS, FREEDOM

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 3 June 83 p 22

[Article by Joza Petricevic]

[Text] During April and the beginning of May of this year, several political themes and publications were considered in forums in the House of Youth and Student Cultural Center in Belgrade. All this has simply boiled down to a practical discussion about sociopolitical conditions in our country, mainly a critique of the role of the position of the League of Communists in society.

It is honorable and necessary to discuss civil rights and freedom, that is to say, to propagate them from the open tribune. It can be taken as a starting basis that this concerns "the heritage of human civilization," in order to stress the difference toward the "dictatorship of the proletariat." This, according to non-Marxists, has an episodic and excessive character, because (according to them) the socialist revolution is a voluntaristic act.

If, however, "sine ira et studio," we reflect soberly--which is not the case with the lead speakers in the discussion of non-Marxist orientation and still less with the majority of speakers in these forums--we must note that civil rights and freedom vary depending upon the time and place, that they are spread gradually and with effort, always threatened by tendencies on retardation by military dictatorships. (The right to vote of the female half of the population, sexual equality in work, civil marriage, the right to divorce, lowering the voting age and others--these were realized in many states only after the October Revolution. Racial segregation in the United States was only recently abolished, although whites have enjoyed full civil rights and freedom for a long time. The colonial system was "broken" just in our era, a decade after the Comintern accepted the anticolonial struggle as an ally of the socialist revolution. Greece in the recent past, Turkey, Chile and Argentina--if we do not count other Latin American states--verify the existence of the constant tendency of retardation.)

The insistence of the non-Marxists that the multiparty system is an absolute outside of time and space makes constructive discussion with Marxists impossible, and especially with Yugoslav communists, who for a long time have not considered the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Bolshevik sense of that concept as

absolute or as the final word of history. To insist today that Yugoslav communists have not broken with the Bolshevik inheritance (even with Stalinism!) is pure deceit.

When it is a question of dealing with the Yugoslav sociopolitical system, several practical questions arise: the Yugoslav communists became the leading ideological-political force in society not exclusively because of their strongly expressed will to seize power and voluntaristic vision of a better socioeconomic order, and not because of a solid ("Bolshevik") organization, but because they found solutions to the acute social and national problems of their time. We do not consider that this position of the LCY in society is temporally unlimited. It can be discussed whether the process of the state's withering away as the main tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat is adequate for the conditions and times.

Demands for "an organized opposition" to the LCY (Kosta Cavoski, House of Youth, March 31) also raise the question: what can that mean in concrete circumstances; in other words, what kind of repercussions will that have? For example, let us not deceive ourselves: over Yugoslavia still always hangs the Damocles sword of bloc division according to the principle of half and half (Yalta). This could be considered as a tragedy if this agreement were carried out territorially either along a meridian or parallel. Only deranged individuals--and they do exist--can expect that their nations would profit from such a division. Among the Ustasa emigration a division into eastern and western halves is desired, but that is simple speculation because the danger of division into northern and southern halves is just as probable. Where is the guarantee that such a party, which would support the realization of the blocs' agreement, would not exist in a multiparty system? Besides, are we not already witnesses of Albanian irredentism, which threatens Yugoslavia's integrity, although it is not inspired by the blocs. Would there not be the predictable revival of other irredentism and separatism in the satisfactory situation created by the establishment of a multiparty system?

Let us not play with fire. Is it not certain that one part of the opposition would organize along national and religious lines, as they already once did and start a civil war, from which we have yet to recover. It is self-evident that some confessional organizations would seek support in their foreign centers (which Yugoslav communists, in their case, overcame) and that would again lead to a sharpening of international relations. Similarly, parties, which attempting to restore the private ownership of the means of production abolished by the revolution, would seek support from related foreign circles. What would remain of Yugoslav independence and nonalignment?

The organizers of these two forums favored non-Marxist lead speakers and added the intolerant atmosphere among the audience. Marxist thinkers either just sat on stage or were among the audience because they were not invited to speak. (I know of one respected Belgrade forum--the Kolarcev People's University--which does not pander to such practices.) Three times, the Zagreb University professor, Predrag Matvejevic, was invited to be lead speaker ("Yugoslavism Today," House of Youth, 6 April, the Student Cultural Center,

7 April, "Revolution and Culture," House of Youth, 12 May. He suggested the Marxist concept of nation is dead, that it is necessary to seek new fundamentals for Yugoslavism. He surely knows that Yugoslavism was like without communists, but not a word about that--either from him or the other speakers. the second lead speaker sought to examine the "historical goals of the Serbian nation" (he was really propagating another thinker), because "the Comintern classified the Serbian people as imperialist and that odium has not been shed to this day." A third, seeking really an "organized opposition" to the LYC made much of the intolerance of Yugoslav communists toward their opponents in the past, which began with the bolshevization of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] (when M. Gorkic was removed from his position as general secretary of the CPY. He then alleged that communists prefer persecution by means of the Law for the Defense of the State to legal parliamentary struggle.

It was indeed strange then to hear during the discussion from the audience: that the Yugoslav communists had not broken with Stalinism; that 1941 could also be considered as a defeat for Yugoslav communists; that one Latin American military regime, because it acknowledges that its organs liquidated 20,000 of its citizens, is more democratic than the Yugoslav, which does not answer charges in the foreign press that it has prisoners in mental hospitals.

A democracy, in which critics so loudly cite sociopolitical conditions in Yugoslavia, would demand the possibility of a confrontation in public forums with opposing views, as well as a rejection of notorious lies.

Far be it for me to idealize Yugoslav political conditions. I have nothing against a public confrontation of communists with noncommunists, but under the condition that these others are not given special treatment.

I think it would be necessary and useful if a broad discussion about the forums were to be begun in the pages of KOMUNIST.

12217
CSO: 2800/331

ACCUMULATING DIFFICULTIES IN PENSION FUNDING OUTLINED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1694, 19 Jun 83
pp 8-12

[Article by Jug Grizelj: "Where Is the Pensioner's Money?"]

[Text] A woman now retired who for many years was a secretary at NIN and who is known for her dramatic view of the world turned up a few days ago in the office where she has so many friends bearing sensational news: "I have learned, comrades, why the pensions are late: the Federation took the money to pay the salaries of government workers of the Federal Executive Council and the federal administration. It is true, I swear it, all Belgrade is talking about it!"

Our colleague Tanja was not the only one in recent days to hold that opinion concerning the motive behind the delay of pensions. A high official in Belgrade told us that every delay in the payment of pensions angry letters from pensioners and indeed even telephone calls are sent to various places, some of them responsible and some not, saying that the source of the trouble is common knowledge: the money for pensions went to buy detergent, it was spent to build a railroad junction, it is being used to pay Medenica's debts, their pittance has gone to the steel mill in Smederevo....

Where has the pension money actually gone, and why have there been disruptions in the payment of pensions more or less throughout Yugoslavia (where it hasn't occurred, it will)? How much truth is there in the assertions that the pensions are being paid by and large thanks to bank credits, since the pension funds are exhausted?

Serious Disruptions

An investigation which NIN conducted among the most responsible government officials, old-age and disability insurance communities and banks shows that the concern of the pensioners has a real foundation. It is a fact that in most of the republics and provinces pensions are today being paid with difficulties and only thanks to short-term bank credits, and even then with a shorter or longer delay. It is also a fact that all the reserves--which at one time were considerable--in old-age and disability insurance funds have been reduced to symbolic amounts and that for all practical purposes pensions are today being

paid--"on a day-to-day basis." It is equally a fact that the inflow, and this is the most important thing, into old-age and disability insurance funds has for some time now been smaller than the outflow, so that the entire institution of the pension is seriously shaken.

But it is a fact as well that the pensioners' money has not been eaten up by the government workers of the Federal Executive Council and administration, nor was it spent to build Smederevo, the athletic facilities for the Olympics, nor to bail out Privredna Banka Zagreb. The crisis which the institution of the pension has fallen into in Yugoslavia is only in small part a consequence of errors and defects of the system and failure to meet obligations by certain creditors, and to a considerably greater extent it is a natural consequence of the development of this institution itself, both in Yugoslavia and in the world. The pension systems of many countries of the world are being shaken quite thoroughly, and that is not "propaganda." Recently John Svahn, director of the U.S. Social Security Agency, answered as follows the question of a reporter from the reputable magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Is the U.S. pension system threatened with going "broke"? "Perhaps 'broke' is not the right word. But the administration is making no bones about the fact that the fund from which a majority of pensions in the United States are paid, the fund for old-age and survivor pensions, which up until now has been an inviolably solid fund, will be left without money, i.e., without the ability to pay pensions, and this will happen very soon. The Congress, that is, has at our request allowed a borrowing between funds from certain smaller sickness and disability insurance funds, but if nothing is done in the next few months, the U.S. pension fund will inevitably run out of resources in late 1984."

The situation is very similar in West Germany, Italy, Spain and certain other countries.

What is it which is shaking the pension systems which were regarded, especially after World War II, as pillars of the social welfare, prosperity and humanity of civilized societies? During the postwar economic expansion many countries in the world, including our own (here is a field of errors in which we are not alone!) constantly improved the old-age insurance, extending coverage over an ever larger portion of the population, adding more and more new rights and lowering the qualifying conditions for a pension. On the foundations of that universal economic boom, full employment and the uninterrupted rise of the standard of living--an almost all-inclusive pension insurance system developed in many countries, including our own.

When the stagnation and recession occurred because of the well-known events in the seventies--it became more and more difficult to adhere to the rights that had been proclaimed in the field of social security, in which the pension system represents the most important item. Production was falling, unemployment was rising, inflation was increasing--and a consequence of all that was the ever larger drought in old-age insurance funds. At the same time, because of demographic trends under the conditions of peacetime life (the historians say that never in its history had Europe gone 40 years without a war), because people are living longer and longer and pensioners are drawing upon the pension funds longer and longer, the purse from which pensions are made finally has a hole in it.

We Have Disseminated Illusions

There is yet another phenomenon we need to add to all this: young trained people looking for jobs all over the world, and in our country as well, when there are no jobs, are exerting an ever greater pressure, which is incidentally natural, for making it possible for older people to retire "as soon as possible and yet again as soon as possible," in order to open up room for them (although, as asserted by Roger (Veren), French inspector general: very often it is not possible to ascertain the direct connection between the job vacated because of the retirement of an older worker and the work which a newly hired worker is capable of doing). Yet one thing is certain: young people are pushing the old people toward retirement in every way, but when they take their place, they bear the still heavier burden of supporting them. After all, as one German labor sociologist has said: "What has happened: the work force has not grown, but still the outgo for pensions has increased."

Without any doubt these problems with small deviations have accompanied the postwar development of Yugoslavia's old-age and disability insurance. After the period of euphoric expansion of rights during the long years of economic boom there came the business lull and a serious shortage of financial resources. Inflation has been growing and devaluing the contributions, production has been falling, there are more and more retired people and smaller and smaller resources to pay them what they are entitled to. Until recently, however, everyone was reluctant to see this, though it stuck out like a sore thumb. One old-age insurance official recently said at a meeting in the Federal Executive Council building that it is "quite clear now that we are in a situation where rights have come into sharp conflict with capabilities, since often in the past we have disseminated illusions in this area from which we are now reaping the dissatisfaction."

In short: Yugoslav society as a whole must get a good grasp of the direction in which the entire social welfare system will develop in the future, the old-age insurance system above all, returning to the old wisdom that a man can only stretch out to the length of his blanket. Whenever any new rights are granted, society must make an exact provision for sources of funds from which the money will be paid to cover those rights. As for the rights which have already been acquired--as far as old-age and disability insurance are concerned--there are obviously no two ways about it: the money has to be found. In the meantime, in order to provide breathing space, everything that is inevitable should be undertaken, and if it is the only way of avoiding more serious breakdowns in future, then decisions must actually be taken to increase the rates of contributions for old-age and disability insurance. In other words: when we already have 1.7 million pensioners, and if we are not willing to undertake any sort of revision of their rights, since that is impossible, then this is no time to engage in learned discussions. Those decisions should be taken immediately! The headache will not go away just because we postpone admitting that we have a headache.

An Epidemic of Disabled Workers

All in all Yugoslav pensioners, through no fault of their own to be sure, are in the same situation as our society as a whole finds itself: just like

society, until recently they believed that the wells were inexhaustible and that we were richer than we are. The pension funds would have been exhausted even without the stagnation of the economy and the illiquidity. Behaving as we have behaved, and in this field as in others we have behaved at times like drunken billionaires, we have only speeded up the moment of truth. Is it not a moment of truth when one reads the figure of over 600,000 recipients of disability pensions, no small number of whom have retired on the basis of laughable medical diagnoses, and still more on the basis of pressure from their enterprises. In recent years the slogan in fashion with us has been: When you have a problem with some worker, send him to the disability commission, and then call up the doctor and tell him to find some illness?!

Unfortunately, it is an open secret that is being talked about even in many official forums that in recent years veterans' pensions have also been awarded with a free hand in certain quarters. After all--as someone recently said--if during the war we really had had as many fighters as are today receiving veterans' pensions, it would not have taken us 4 years to throw out the occupiers, but 14 days. One of the consequences of that inflation of the number of veterans is that today people who truly sacrificed their health and literally a part of their life in the National Liberation Struggle are today having difficulties in obtaining the pensions they deserve. At the same time, as indicated even by reports from the Federal Executive Council, the lists of "recognized veterans" are still growing, even though so many years have passed since the war.

There Will Not Be Any Revision

There are two reasons why we are writing this article. The first is to provide pensioners and the public at large with information which has greater weight than the grapevine, and the second is to try to calm down the pensioners who are upset. On the basis of all the numerous interviews which NIN has conducted in recent days on this topic, it is quite certain that neither in the Federation, nor in the republics, has anyone underestimated this issue. Both in the Federal Executive Council [SIV] and in the republic executive councils it is regarded as one of the most important government obligations to undertake everything so that Yugoslav pensioners continue to receive their pensions on time. As will be evident from the interviews we conducted with certain distinguished officials (see the interviews with members of SIV and representatives of the old-age and disability insurance communities), no one is even thinking about any sort of revision of veterans', disability and old-age pension rights, and it has even been reliably reported that Milka Planinc, chairman of SIV, said at a recent meeting that that is the last thing which he would consent to do. Drago Grupkovic, deputy federal secretary for finance, expressed the opinion in a recent interview that there is a resolute position in the government that the money for pensions, and not only veterans' pensions, has to be found--even if it means setting aside the last liquid resources for that purpose.

At a recent and, one might say, dramatic meeting of republic and provincial secretaries of SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] for old-age and disability insurance with SIV representatives there were no dilemmas either.

Funds for pensions have to be found until permanent solutions are arrived at. Whatever the cost. After all, the guarantee of the reliability of pensions is one of the most important economic, social welfare and political tasks. The reports indicate that the most distinguished officials of the republics and provinces, and in some places even entire presidencies of the republics and presidiums of the League of Communists are committing themselves to finding the money for pensions. The money for pensions has to be found, we were told half in jest by one person we interviewed--even if it has to be "counterfeited." Another said: "To talk now of how it might have been otherwise is pointless, the baby is born, it has to be rocked, we established the legal rights, they have to be adhered to."

One message undoubtedly springs forth from the disturbing title page of this NIN which was done by Toma Peternek (and which can be said to be harsh and dramatic): think well before you decide to delay pensions for even 1 hour. That is, so that it might be better understood what kind of fire the hand must be thrust into to pull out the chestnuts of Yugoslavia's pensioners, it is worth taking a bit better look at the personal identity card at this stratum of Yugoslav citizens numbering in the millions.

How High Are Pensions?

What is the financial condition of our pensioners? In Yugoslavia today there are more than 1.7 million pensioners, and a large number of them (no one knows how many) are the sole breadwinners of their families. In all, 49 percent of all Yugoslav pensioners, or one out of every two, has a pension less than 600,000 old dinars. If we also count pensioners who have a pension less than 800,000 dinars, then that amounts to 70 percent, or two out of every three! All of 86 percent of all Yugoslav pensioners, or 9 out of every 10 pensioners, have a pension smaller than 1 million old dinars--which is considerably below the average Yugoslav personal income.

There is no need to emphasize what it means for this most numerous stratum of pensioners when they do not receive their pension on time. For many of them this means the difference between being able or not being able to buy bread and milk (assuming they are available), and for all pensioners receiving their pensions on time is a moral act of the first order in recognition of everything they did for the development of this country over the several decades of their work. At a recent meeting in the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia, during a discussion of the level of pensions and the problems of late payment, Mustafa Sabic, one of the participants in that meeting, said more or less the following:

"The income of associated labor is not a bucket with a hole in it for everyone to come along and take what he can grab, and the rest goes to the pensioners. It is immoral to pay personal incomes without worrying about pensioners, since pensioners have already made their contribution, and often they gave all their strength and all their illusions, and today they have nothing more to give."

Probably this ought to be the theme of this article: the social security of pensioners must not be jeopardized under any conditions whatsoever. Nevertheless, the exhausted old-age insurance funds, the frantic racing around to find credits, pressures by telephone and the panic about getting everything done on time, if they are not an expression of anyone's desire or anyone's intention to upset pensioners, they are an expression and a consequence of the lack of sufficiently serious analytical and research work by numerous staff services, and indeed the executive authorities of the republic and provincial governments and the federal government, which did not foresee in time the natural directions the development of the pension system would take and did not react in time on the basis of scientific predictions which were almost exact.

The fact that there will be no money in the funds on 1 April 1983 was known by those familiar with this problem at least a year before that if not more than a year before. Why is it that we always wait for the ceiling to fall or for the milk to boil before reacting?

No institution and no staff service can be blamed for exhaustion of the funds, since this is a general trend in the world. They can be blamed for having been slow to react and for having been unresponsive.

We are a very interesting people, even for the psychologists. How is it possible that we hold so many thousands of meetings, every hour, every day, in every enterprise, in every opstina, in every republic and the Federation, concerning the security situation, we establish groups and committees which analyze every untoward detail and trend in our life, and on the basis of that we assess the political security situation in the country? And at the same time we allow the problem of pensions to go to the point of white heat, to the verge of drama, and only then do we begin to ask ourselves what we are going to do and what has happened.

Number of Pensioners in the SFRY

Total number of pensioners	1,759,254
Breakdown:	
Old-age	649,612
Disability	622,647
Survivor	486,995

Level of Pensions in Yugoslavia as of 31 December 1982, in percentages

Under 2,000 dinars	1.22	5,001- 6,000	13.56
2,001-2,500	2.06	6,001- 7,000	11.91
2,501-3,000	4.31	7,001- 8,000	9.00
3,001-3,500	5.63	8,001- 9,000	8.22
3,501-4,000	7.27	9,001-10,000	8.83
4,501-5,000	7.70	Over 10,000	14.00

[Box, p 9]

Interview With Dr Djordje Jakovljevic, Chairman of the Federal Committee for Labor, Health and Social Welfare

[Question] How familiar is the Federal Executive Council with the difficulties in the payment of pensions and with the reasons behind those difficulties?

[Answer] Both the committee which I head and the government as a whole have on several occasions taken up the situation in the field of old-age and disability insurance and also the reasons why recently in certain republics and provinces there have been difficulties paying pensions on time. We are aware that these difficulties have arisen in part because the Federation did not meet its obligations to veterans. SIV therefore committed itself to solving this problem with the greatest urgency. Our committee will also initiate research and analyses of the entire old-age insurance picture in view of the fact that this is a problem the entire world is combating, including the advanced countries, where social welfare rights are very broad. The question of old-age and disability insurance is among those topics which SIV will be analyzing on a long-term basis as one of the most important questions of development. Since these are social welfare rights guaranteed by our laws, their complete security must be safeguarded, and we will persist resolutely in this, mindful of the demographic, social welfare and biological aspects. What disturbs me is the large growth in the number of those receiving disability pensions. I think there is no objective justification whatsoever for our having so many disability pension recipients.

[Question] We know that SIV has proposed vigorous measures in its initiative to cut back on the budget for certain fields of the social services. Does this apply to the field of veterans' and disability pension insurance?

[Answer] SIV has never touched veterans' rights or old-age and disability rights, nor will it. That is the last thing it would do.

[Question] As a representative of SIV can you make a calming announcement in connection with the regularity and stability of our overall pension system?

[Answer] Yes, I think that all the positions and the entire policy at the level of the Federation in connection with providing pensioners what they are entitled to pursue the direction of protecting the status of pensioners. I repeat, there are no initiatives and no advocacy for any right in the field of old-age and disability insurance to be revised or cut back. Pensioners in Yugoslavia can rest assured.

[Question] As far as we know, there is no Yugoslav solidarity or guarantee to pensioners whatsoever. Every community behaves as an entity shut off from the others, so that in both theory and practice one could easily imagine that in some month pensions would be paid in one republic, but not in another.

[Answer] It is true that there is no obligation whatsoever for old-age and disability insurance communities to aid one another, but neither is there

anything standing in the way of their doing so. Were that done, it is certain that some difficulties and certain applications to the banks would be avoided. Close attention is being paid so that pensions are not paid by one republic, while another does not pay them, since the differences that could arise along those lines would arouse serious dissatisfaction and political problems.

[Box, p 10]

Interview With Drago Grupkovic, Deputy Federal Secretary for Finance

[Question] The Federation's debts on unpaid veterans' pensions have also been referred to as one of the reasons why pensions have been late. How much does the Federation owe to Yugoslavia's old-age and disability insurance communities?

[Answer] Last year we paid from the federal budget 19.3 billion new dinars for veterans' pensions, of which 7.2 billion represented a debt from previous years, and 12.1 billion advances against veterans' pensions in 1982. Since actual expenditures for pensions in that year amounted to about 22 billion, as of 1 January 1983 the Federation was again in debt for about 10 billion new dinars. It is true that this debt of ours has a considerable impact on the overall solvency of certain old-age and disability insurance communities and has led to difficulties in the payment of pensions. In certain republics and provinces our debts represent between 11 and 47 percent of total insurance.

[Question] How is it possible for the Federation to be in arrears?

[Answer] The funds in the federal budget for veterans' pensions rose at rates considerably lower than the growth of personal incomes in associated labor, and it is on the basis of that growth that veterans' pensions were adjusted. The funds planned in the 1983 budget increased at a rate of 16 percent, but the adjustment of pensions amounted to 27.4 percent, which was the size of the growth of personal incomes. There also was another event which affected this deficit. At the congress of SUBNOR [Alliance of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] in Budva in 1978 the veterans launched an initiative for veterans of the National Liberation Struggle who for various reasons had not previously had their length of service as fighters certified to do so with the help of witnesses on yet another occasion. It was said at that time even in the Yugoslav Assembly, which passed the law on this, that about 16,000 veterans were involved. However, by the last deadline envisaged by law applications had been submitted by 120,000 veterans, and so far the service of 65,000 veterans has been certified, and they have obtained pensions on that basis, and that still is not the end of it. When the law on this was adopted in the Assembly, the government put a question as to where this money was to come from, but that was not resolved at the time. Nor has it been since.

[Question] It is true, then, that the Federation has not fulfilled its obligations based on rights accorded in law. Who in the Federation, then, is responsible for that?

[Answer] What is the Federation? The Federation consists of the republics and provinces. The Federation possesses certain sources of its own to form a budget, and it has no other possibility whatsoever to "make a living." The budget is built up from income from customs duties, the turnover tax and the contributions of the republics. Legal obligations and rights, including obligations to veterans, have come about on the basis of decisions of the delegate assembly of Yugoslavia in which all the delegates of the republics and provinces voted in favor of those rights. It is natural and inevitable that if in the budget of the Federation there is not enough money to cover the rights envisaged--the republics and provinces will cover them. Unfortunately, the republics and provinces do not have resources either.

[Question] How will the problem be solved, will SIV perhaps prepare a revision of certain veterans' rights?

[Answer] No. SIV assumed an obligation to regulate its debts under old-age and disability insurance in the second half of this year, and that it will do, although at present we do not yet know how. I think, however, that both the SIV Committee for Veterans Affairs and the competent authorities in the republics and provinces ought to be more active, primarily with respect to recognition of veterans' rights, since the cases are not isolated where even today, 40 years after the war, people are being given the status of fighters who fought in 1941 and awarded the commemorative medal. I think there is no reason for this to be a taboo topic.

[Box, p 11]

Interview With Dobrosav Lazarevic, Secretary of the Federation of Yugoslav Pensioners

[Question] How have your members commented on the fact that in recent months pensions have been paid with delays of various lengths in many regions of Yugoslavia?

[Answer] We think that there must be no threat to the regularity with which pensions are paid. Although the people in the Yugoslav Assembly and in the government agree with this, it is a fact that recently there have been public statements to the effect that there is no money for pensions. A pension is not a gift: the legislator himself clearly says that relations between the workers in associated labor and the pensioned workers are based on the joint realization, distribution and management of income.

[Question] Yet there is no money.

[Answer] The basic shortcoming of the old-age and disability insurance system up to this point is that pensions have been adjusted to the rise of personal incomes in the previous year, which means that there has been a 12-month lag time. The result is that pensions have in recent years declined in real terms twice as much as real personal incomes. And now: so long as personal incomes increased on a percentage basis more in the current year than in the previous year, the funds were sufficient, but now when personal incomes are increasing

somewhat more slowly (with the rate of the contribution at the same level or an inadequate level) it is not possible to provide the funds necessary for regular payment of pensions. If we add to this the fact that even the Federation is not fulfilling its obligations to insured persons for which it is responsible (I am thinking here of veterans), then we had to arrive at this situation--when there simply is not the money for pensions.

[Question] Some people say that in recent years there has sizable broadening of pension rights which have not been accompanied by a growth of the financial funds.

[Answer] I don't think that there has been any significant broadening of rights. The problem is simply that in recent years a smaller and smaller percentage of the social product has been set aside for pensions. In 1978, that is, 5 years ago, we as a society set aside 7.76 percent of the social product for pensions, and in 1981 (there are no more recent data) only 6.8 percent, which is 12 percent less. It is normal, however, throughout the world, for pension contributions to be regularly increased as the wealth of society grows and as past labor increases. The more retired workers there are in a country, the more past labor there is, which means larger national wealth created by that labor.

[Question] Where is the solution then?

[Answer] I do not see any other way but a new redistribution to the benefit of pensions. I would like to recall that in 1980 Article 34 of the federal law changed the way in which pensions were adjusted and indexed them to personal income instead of the cost of living, which hit pensioners at the worst moment and at the same time made it possible for associated labor to dispose of an additional 20 billion dinars more than in the past. I think that now we should carry out a new redistribution to the advantage of retired workers.

[Question] And you, then, favor a rise of the rate of the contribution. How does this fit in with the burden on the economy, which is already large without that?

[Answer] It is very significant that this question is put mainly when the needs of the retired workers are discussed. Every opstina and every republic can easily put a burden on income through self-management agreements, optional contributions or laws, and the ethical question of protecting associated labor against excessive imposts is raised only when changing contributions for pensions is mentioned. Is it not true that in some places the impost resulting solely from optional local contributions, taxes or agreements has risen to almost 9 percent of personal incomes, as stated at the recent congress of trade unions? Now when the working people with the smallest income, retired workers, are asking for a rise in the rate, this is dramatized, as though it were a question of getting rich. One thing ought to be clear to those who are thinking, talking or deciding about pensions: pensioners are not rentiers, and every attempt to save any more at their expense could have serious social, economic and indeed even political consequences, since I think that destroying the standard of living of retired workers has a limit beneath which we dare not go.

[Box, p 12]

Interview With Ilija Cuk, Secretary of the Belgrade Community for Old-Age and Social Insurance

[Question] In recent months Belgrade pensioners have been upset both by announcement that there is no money in social insurance funds and also because they have been receiving their pensions 5 or 6 days later than usual.

[Answer] Belgrade has 176,000 pensioners, and 14,000 people receiving aid to care for someone else, so that in all we are talking about 190,000 people. In recent months we truly have had constant difficulties in paying pensions, although previously Belgrade was the best in this regard. The difficulties occurred, as is well known, because our pensions are paid in advance, but the personal incomes from which the funds are obtained to pay the pensions, through contributions, are retroactive, and in addition are paid in the middle of the month. So long as the republic SIZ's for old-age and disability insurance had reserves, there was no problem; now those reserves no longer exist.

[Question] But where did the reserves go to?

[Answer] They began to shrink because associated labor was earning less, personal incomes were smaller, less than was expected and planned, and the rates of the contributions have not been rising.

[Question] How, then, is Belgrade paying pensions?

[Answer] Not only Belgrade and Serbia, but indeed almost all the republics and provinces, have been taking credits from the banks and in that way have been seeing that the pensions get paid. Last month Serbia borrowed 181 billion old dinars from various banks. What that represents in relative terms is best seen if I say that 600 billion old dinars are needed to pay total pensions in Serbia, 250 billion of this for Belgrade alone. Those credits, of course, are burdened with a high rate of interest, so that actually we are going around in a circle, and we are sinking more and more.

[Question] Where does the solution lie?

[Answer] Only in raising the rates. People do not realize what a pension is. A pension has been earned in the past, it is not charity, it must be the most reliable form of payment in any country. I say that associated labor will never stand in the way of raising the rates of contributions for pensioners, since the workers are aware that they themselves will be in the same situation tomorrow, that their pension will be their sole source of income. We dare not place retired people in a position where they lock the door of their house and hide from the creditors. I think that this is a scandal since we are talking about people who have worked conscientiously and worked to the end of their working lives.

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