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JPRS-EER-86-125

15 AUGUST 1986

# East Europe Report

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15 AUGUST 1986

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## VARGA ASSESSES DEVELOPMENT, URGES INCREASED DEVELOPMENT

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 22 1986 pp 1, 4

[Article by Julius Varga, CPCZ Central Committee department manager: "Now It Is Time for Efficiency"]

[Excerpts] Much Has Been Accomplished

Agricultural production has increased by 33 percent over the past 15 years. Food industry output has increased by 50 percent in the same time period. Our overall self-sufficiency, which was at a level of about 80 percent during the 1970's, has now increased to 95-97 percent. Moreover, we have become completely self-sufficient in the main food groups--meat, milk and eggs--even though per capita consumption of all these items has increased. A significant achievement of the final years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan was that we became self-sufficient in grain. This means that our food supply has become less dependent on world markets at the same time that it has reached a level that is completely comparable with those of developed countries. This is the credit of the CPCZ, the state, economic, and public agencies that operate under its direction, and the courageous and committed efforts of workers in the agricultural and food sectors in meeting their targets.

The Seventh 5-Year Plan was a time of particularly substantial achievements. The CPCZ Central Committee formulated and specified the resolutions of the 16th Congress and conducted strict inspections of their fulfillment.

The Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum in 1981 was an important event in this regard. This session established the strategy for dealing with the difficult situation that existed at the start of the Seventh 5-Year Plan because of the poor grain harvest of 1981 and the deteriorating possibilities and conditions for providing for the needs of the national economy, and the agricultural sector in particular. The adoption and implementation of a complex of specific as well as systemic measures to further improved production efficiency set the groundwork for a significant acceleration of the growth rate of plant production, which had been identified as the critical resource and basis for increasing national self-sufficiency. It was decided to subordinate strictly the growth rate of livestock production to the effectiveness with which we utilize domestic fodder resources. Limited

possibilities for importing certain items related to intensification, such as protective chemicals, fertilizers and protein fodders, as well as the necessity for substantially cutting back on fuel consumption, had to be dealt with by the more rapid exploitation and utilization of domestic agricultural capacity. The principles of the improved planned management system for agriculture were adopted to help implement these tasks, develop economic incentives, and generally to create a favorable economic environment for the above programs.

Concentrated efforts in dealing with the important issues of intensification, the development of essential facilities and equipment, the more rapid practical application of R&D findings, and the functioning of the improved management system have all combined to account for a large measure of the success that we have experienced to date in this area.

Agricultural production has increased by almost 10 percent. The fact that plant production has been increasing at a rate that is double that of the livestock sector has resulted in desirable structural changes and a better balance between livestock and plant production.

Additional investments valued at Kcs 134 billion and concentrated in reconstruction and modernization as well as the building of new facilities, soil reclamation work, and the delivery of more modern equipment to the agricultural sector have significantly improved both the facilities and equipment available to agriculture. The genetic fund is of better quality and its application to both plant and livestock production has improved. New, improved plant cultivars are producing excellent results. The qualifications of the personnel available to the agricultural sector are much improved. The independence and accountability of agricultural enterprises in the satisfaction of public requirements has increased. An increase in production profitability by a factor of almost two has significantly improved their economic position and financial strength, which is making it possible now to further increase production and compensation packages from internal resources. The results that have been achieved by the agricultural sector in increasing exports and reducing the import requirements of our economy have helped to improve our balance of payments position in foreign trade.

#### Still Many Shortcomings

The overall success that we have achieved in meeting agricultural production targets, in feeding our population, and in food production should be recognized, but under no circumstances should they be cause for self-satisfaction. A detailed evaluation of the Seventh 5-Year Plan indicates that in all instances we have exploited primarily the easily accessible capacities. By no means have we achieved the requisite improvement in the utilization of all the most critical factors in intensification, i.e. the application of R&D findings and reducing the materials-intensiveness of production. In the daily operations of many agricultural enterprises and managerial agencies there are more than a few conflicts between the strategy of the party, the needs of society, and the objectives of our plans, on the one hand, and the approach to the execution of these programs on the other. There are a number of areas where we are making little headway in implementing our programs. In plant production this is true of sugar beet cultivation, potato cultivation, certain

industrial crops and vegetables mainly as a result of a less than thorough implementation of the critical aspects of intensification.

Many united agricultural cooperatives (JRD) and state farms are still not making full use of their soil stocks and have not been able to obtain the maximum possible valuation of their material inputs. Differing degrees of resource utilization account for the significant differences that occur in the managerial performance of agricultural enterprises. This is closely related to the fact that we have not yet had any success in changing significantly the long-term increase in the capital, material, and energy intensiveness of agricultural production, and the resultant increases in the costs of food production. Shortcomings in our production equipment and facilities make us unable to achieve desired levels of value added and sales of agricultural production. Lack of follow-through in practical implementation, in other words, is weakening the overall positive impact of the improved planned management system. Outdated administrative techniques persist, there is little coordination between sectors, there are problems with the quality and completeness of delivered capital equipment, and therefore as well in utilizing this equipment optimally. Finally, possibilities for internal cooperative democracy and improving worker participation in the management of agricultural enterprises are not being taken advantage of.

#### How to Achieve More

All of the above shortcomings become very strongly evident when compared with the conditions that will face us in feeding our population over the near term. As stated by the 11th CPCZ Central Committee Plenum and in the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, our policy in the area of nutrition must assure that the level of food consumption correspond fully to health and nutritional requirements. Agricultural production must therefore develop in a way that covers projected per capita consumption targets for the Eighth 5-Year Plan of 88 kg of meat, 255-265 kg of milk and milk products, 92 kg of vegetables, and 66 kg of fruit, while at the same time improving the quality of all these types of food. We must also increase our self-sufficiency because we are still importing significant amounts of fodder protein, chemicals and equipment.

While attempting to improve production efficiency we must overcome obstacles that have a negative impact on these efforts to develop agricultural production. We are a country with a small amount of land. We only have somewhat less than 0.44 hectare of agricultural land and 0.31 hectare of arable land per capita. This has a great impact on efforts to implement the self-sufficiency policy, complicating it significantly in comparison with those countries with more available land. Moreover, much of our land is either threatened by erosion, susceptible to air pollution, or is located near water resources that do not lend themselves to intensive exploitation. Inadequate water resources place constraints on the future construction of irrigation systems, and make the task of protecting water sources from pollution that much more difficult.

We must deal more effectively with the levelling off and even in some cases the decline in soil fertility that has resulted from inadequate levels of added organic materials and a reduction in the humus content of the soil.

Reducing the material, energy, and capital intensiveness of agricultural production is also an important task. We can no longer develop agricultural production extensively, by providing unlimited inputs without regard for efficiency. High input quality and high levels of value added during production are both vitally important for further increases in the growth rate and efficiency of agricultural production.

A fundamental precondition for increasing efficiency is the successful coordination of a number of factors. The most important of these factors is the rapid implementation of R&D findings developed from comprehensively conceived and coordinated programs of basic and applied research. These findings must be applied nationwide in the areas of mechanization, electronization, chemicalization, and biologization, and must be coupled with improvements in management and with improved personnel qualifications.

#### Economic Mechanisms Must Assist

The quality of the entire management mechanism must be improved so as to increase substantially the pressure for economic efficiency and intensive development, and to develop an appropriate economic climate for this to occur. The system of planned management and its mechanisms must assist in improving not only the independence, but also the accountability of agricultural enterprises, in improving their financial strength and the merit system of compensation, in developing internal cooperative democracy, and in increasing worker participation in management. To provide for the proper functioning of the entire agroindustrial complex it is necessary further to improve intersectoral ties, especially those with supplier sectors, as well as the internal sectoral ties between the direct producers of food, i.e. between primary agricultural production and the processing industry. Also important is a high level of work quality by the biological and technical services, and the utilization of the potential and experiences of the best managed agricultural enterprises.

Another important future task is the minimization of the negative consequences of meteorological fluctuations on the level of agricultural output, on the quality of production, and on the food supply. In addition to giving continued priority to the development of plant production, the better utilization of the soil stock, and the implementation of technical and other measures, the purpose of this task is the creation of food reserves. For agricultural enterprises this means creating a reserve of bulk fodders equal to 10-15 percent of annual consumption, and generally, the creation by the agricultural sector as a whole of the necessary reserves in fodder grains.

The creation of reserves is intended to combine with other economic measures to weaken incentives for agricultural enterprises to exceed targets for livestock production by using excess production of grain and bulk fodders. Likewise, the awarding of special bonuses for increases in marketable livestock production over the average of the previous 3 years will be conditional on not exceeding planned fodder consumption targets. The overall problem of reserves will be dealt with gradually using a more comprehensive pricing policy, equipment and facility improvements, and capital investment.

The necessity for minimizing losses and increasing quality requirements for food means that efforts must be stepped up to deal with a number of problems

in the food industry, especially related to lack of balance in facilities and to technical sophistication. The resolution of these difficulties will increase the ability of this industry to process in a timely manner and at the requisite quality level the output of the agricultural sector. The responsibility of the agricultural sector is also increasing, as an important factor in the shaping of the environment, to minimize its negative impact on nature.

The demanding tasks established by the 17th CPCZ Congress could not be implemented without further improvements in and the fuller utilization of possibilities for cooperations within the CEMA, and primarily with the Soviet Union. Expanded cooperation and in improvement in the mutual division of labor in line with the resolutions of the executive level conference of the CEMA member countries is the preferred path to accelerated R&D progress, the resolution of more problems in the area of fuel, power, machinery, and chemicals, the obtaining of new types and cultivars of plants and economic livestock, as well as progress in other areas,

The achievement of the established objectives for agricultural development will depend to a large extent on the success that we achieve in improving socialist production relations and in creating better conditions for the daily lives of individual workers in socialist agriculture. We have made some progress in this regard. Significant differences have been eliminated between life and work in cities and in the countryside, social certainties have been improved, and the standard of living of cooperative farmers and other agricultural employees has been improved. Working conditions have improved greatly, and social security is at a high level. The achieved results in agriculture, the standard of living, and working conditions in the countryside are proof of the correctness of the policy of the CPCZ, of the correctness of Lenin's cooperative plan. The CPCZ is working to assure that living and working conditions will continue to improve systematically, that the agricultural sector will continue to fulfill its public function and mission at the same time that it assures a fuller and ever improving life for our people.

9276/9312

CSO: 2400/326

## CSSR, SOCIALIST PRODUCTION COOPERATION VIEWED

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 25, 1986 p 3

[Article by Eng Stanislav Novak, candidate of sciences: "From Potential to Actual Effects"]

[Text] Czechoslovakia and International Socialist Production Cooperation

The Main Directions of Economic and Social Development in Czechoslovakia for the Years 1986 Through 1990 and the Outlook Through the Year 2000, which were approved by the 17th Congress of the CPCZ stress that the more efficient commitment of the Czechoslovak economy to the international specialization and cooperation of production in CEMA is one of the fundamental prerequisites for fulfilling the outlined intentions. This is so also because the specialization and cooperation ties within the framework of socialist integration have, thus far, by far not produced such effects for the Czechoslovak economy as would be possible and desirable and because, from this standpoint, a number of negative aspects are discernible alongside positive ones. What are the obstacles which hamper our efforts to attain more specific economic gain as a result of specialization and cooperation relationships within CEMA?

The necessity for more intensive and more efficient utilization of production specialization and cooperation within the framework of CEMA is adequately known in this country. However, the question arises how this categorical imperative for our economy is realized in economic practice, to what extent and with what results we are using the commitment to the process of socialist specialization and cooperation as an intensification tool.

The answer may be found in a number of tracts which were processed by basic and applied economic research, by management organizations, and is also confirmed by the experiences from the cost-accounting sphere: international specialization and cooperation is, for the time being, not utilized under Czechoslovak conditions to the extent and with the effect desired in view of the goals of intensification. For a number of our producers, the integration into international specialization and cooperation relationships within CEMA has, for the time being, not become an economically interesting factor of development. Why is this so?

## Pragmatism and Extensive Impediments

The time since the adoption of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Integration (1971), which emphasizes specialization and cooperation as one of the fundamental forms of economic ties within CEMA, was characterized in Czechoslovakia by efforts to effect its most dynamic promotion, particularly in the engineering industry. This effort, during a period when we were still only searching for the most suitable specialization and cooperation forms and effective ways of managing them, was, in many cases, influenced by persisting, surviving, and entrenched mechanisms of the extensive way of management and, later, by fundamental changes in the external economic environment. Middle-size socialist economies only gradually and slowly adapted to these conditions.

In subsequent years, international specialization and cooperation began to be pragmatically utilized on an increasing scale in our country to maintain the external economic balance. In other words, to solve immediate difficulties of an external economic relationship for Czechoslovakia without adequately goal-oriented and comprehensive utilization of all its possible economic effects and without regard to the self-serving nature of this process. A certain lagging of the theory behind developments of economic practice also had its influence. This was particularly true of the theory of efficiency pertaining to the economic growth under conditions of an intensive economy, which was in the process of being formed. There are gaps, for example, in questions of outlining the hierarchy of relationships between individual effects of production specialization and cooperation or in the formation of an adequately effective apparatus to measure the economic efficiency of individual variants of international specialization and cooperation relationships.

All of this led to the fact that qualitative tasks were assured in the first place (the graduation of Czechoslovak economic involvement in specialization and cooperation), whereas questions of efficiency of this inclusion remained more or less in second place. Gradually, negative phenomena began to appear with respect to Czechoslovak involvement in specialization and cooperation within CEMA. These characteristics, for the time being, continue to survive, even though some negatives were partially or completely eliminated following the adoption of the Set of Measures and following the realization of economic experiments.

### A Number of Negative Phenomena

It is particularly possible to identify the following as being among the negative phenomena accompanying Czechoslovak involvement in specialization and cooperation within CEMA (from the standpoint of intensification needs):

1. The defensive nature of Czechoslovak specialization and cooperation relationships, which are, for the time being, not formed in a goal-oriented manner with regard to utilization of all potential economic effects, continue to predominate. These ties only more or less passively (ex post facto) reflect the existing structure of the Czechoslovak economy and particularly its engineering industry. For the time being, then, there is not an adequate volume of

establishment or influencing of qualitatively higher, more efficient structural movement. An influence was also exerted here by the fact that there was no effective connection between the creation of a structure for joining the Czechoslovak economy to specialization and cooperation and its basic "internal" structural intentions (development and carrier programs, programs to suppress inefficient production, or state goal-oriented programs) which were themselves characterized by a high degree of instability.

2. In the priority assurance of the highest degree of commitment of the Czechoslovak national economy, and particularly of the engineering industry, to the international division of labor, the specialization and cooperation relationships were formed primarily on the basis of previously existing traditional and long-term merchandise flows existing in our foreign trade. Many of these received merely a new "label" as a result of the conclusion of the appropriate agreements regarding international specialization and cooperation in CEMA. This could not lead to the desired economic effects.

3. The character of Czechoslovak inclusion in specialization and cooperation was, to a considerable extent, influenced, or rather deformed, by the pragmatic utilization of specialization and cooperation in CEMA to solve the balance of Czechoslovak external economic relations. An example of this can be the increase in the active balance of payments for goods involving CEMA countries on this basis which, in the case of our engineering industry alone for the years 1980-1983 more than doubled (in current prices). International cooperation relationships demand, however, a bilateral flow of products to attain favorable effects! The conceptual and goal-oriented approach toward utilizing all potential effects stemming from specialization and cooperation, while respecting their economic character was thus becoming, more or less, secondary.

4. In our relations with CEMA countries, realized on the basis of specialization and cooperation, finished products predominate, whereas the number of components and parts is disproportionately low. In this direction, then, cooperative relationships are unjustifiably underdeveloped. The number of cooperative deliveries in the total volume of Czechoslovak exports to CEMA countries is estimated at not quite 20 percent in terms of specialization and cooperation.

5. The branch and particularly the sector structure of the commitment of the Czechoslovak national economy to specialization and cooperation in CEMA is expressly uneven: The engineering industry has a logically dominant position in this regard among individual Czechoslovak industrial branches; its share of our total specialization and coproduction export to CEMA countries is staying at the level of 90 percent. However, the share of the chemical and consumer goods industries does not correspond to the tasks and the position of these branches in the economy and in the external relations of Czechoslovakia. The focal point of the commitment of the engineering industry to specialization and cooperation contacts lies in general engineering, whereas the electrotechnical industry, for the time being, is not attaining the kind of level which corresponds to its technological prerequisites and significance from the standpoint of intensification tasks. Similarly, the sectoral structure within the framework of individual industries is expressly uneven. For example, the

share of specialized and cooperation exports in the production of goods is vacillating in individual sectors from values of less than 1 percent to values of more than 60 percent. In other words, concentration is occurring in several sectors, whereas participation in specialization and cooperation in CEMA remains a marginal matter for certain other sectors, if they are integrated into this process at all.

6. From the standpoint of our specialization in cooperation in CEMA, our appropriate exports are more materials-intensive and energy-intensive (particularly in the engineering industry) than are our imports. This means that the valorization of the material inputs and energy inputs is inadequate, for the time being.

7. The inclusion of Czechoslovak cost-accounting units into the specialization and cooperation process in CEMA is not providing adequately strong and effective impulses, for the time being, for desirable innovations on the middle-economic level and particularly on the micro-economic level. On the contrary. In some cases, the attained degree of technical development is actually "conserved." The reason for this is, for example, the exclusive position of the appropriate producer, created by the specialization contract, or an inadequately effective contractual assurance pertaining to the further technical development of products. Directions in which innovation pertaining to specialization and cooperation should be aimed are outlined in the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000, as well as particularly in bilateral long-term programs of economic cooperation between CEMA countries.

#### Climate for Specialization and Cooperation

The above-listed characteristics of Czechoslovak economic commitment to specialization and cooperation in CEMA do not correspond to the requirements for an accelerated transition to intensive economic growth. The overcoming of the status (that is to say, the optimization of the form of commitment to specialization and cooperation in CEMA) thus essentially becomes an all-societal important and topical task. To assure such optimization, it is, however, essential to create the necessary prerequisites in the management system. What is particularly involved is the transmission of the focal point of management and planning activity from increasing magnitudes to the optimization of the form of commitment to coproduction. It is necessary to overcome obstacles to management which prevent the optimization and which share the blame for forming the currently unfavorable status. Such an optimization thus takes on the form of an integrated substantive optimization and a system of management.

However, it would not be effective to approach such an optimization in an isolated manner, solely with respect to that part of the system of planned management of the national economy which deals directly with international specialization and cooperation. It is necessary to perfect the effectivity of the entire system, which corresponds to the character of international specialization and cooperation. What needs to be done is to see to a "uniformity" of the influence and to a harmonious "philosophy" of perfecting the

effectivity of individual components of management involved in the national economy. Changes in our social consciousness in the direction of prospecialization and procooperation positions are also essential.

To assure that the intentions of committing our economy to specialization and cooperation in CEMA are accompanied by perfecting the system of management, it would be necessary to start out with a detailed formulation of the target status of a perfected system of planned management for the national economy which is intended to create a realistic prospecialization and procooperation climate. Subsequently, the succession of appropriate measures at various degrees of transition toward the target status should be established. However, the problem lies in the fact that the inexorable intensification tasks demand that we immediately initiate the fundamental optimization of the nature of the commitment of our economy to specialization and cooperation in CEMA.

The Enterprises Are Not Interested?

In other words, we stand before an acute task involving the elimination of barriers in the management system which prevent the utilization of international specialization and cooperation in CEMA as an effective intensification instrument. At the same time, it is necessary to make comprehensive use of all potential economic effects which stem from it. What are the more essential barriers which I believe need to be removed?

In the first place, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the management of international specialization and cooperation is a two-stage system. On the one hand, it involves a national level of management, with which we continue to be occupied, and, on the other hand, it involves an international level--in other words, an integrating mechanism. Here, there are also open questions which directly affect the optimization of the commitment of the Czechoslovak economy to specialization and cooperation. Difficulties exist with regard to objectivity and the parameters of contractual prices in specialization and cooperation, in the method of their formation and in the duration of their validity. Foreign exchange rates remain unsolved, a system of unified standards and CEMA standards remains unsolved, the coordination of purchases of licenses from nonsocialist countries is an open question. The effectiveness of contractual sanctions for failure to adhere to delivery deadlines is weak. Problems exist with respect to the quality or agreed-upon deadlines for innovations. Mutual economic relations between CEMA countries continue to be based on bilateral balances.

A fundamental shortcoming from the standpoint of the national economic mechanism is the fact that management activity is predominantly oriented toward the solving of short-term problems, during which the pragmatic approach prevailed. At the same time, merchandise/monetary relationships are undervalued. In view of the unrealistic nature of value categories and the failure to fulfill criteria and parametric functions of prices or foreign exchange rates, it is necessary to replace their function with ever more complicated sets of financial economic instruments. This has a bearing on a frequent contradiction between planned indicators and criteria of efficiency, when, on the basis of deformed functions of goods/monetary categories (particularly cost-type wholesale

prices) the method of measuring the efficiency of actions involved in international specialization and cooperation becomes ineffective. In this regard, a certain paradox exists in documenting national economic efficiency of these activities on the cost-accounting level. In planning international specialization and cooperation relationships in Czechoslovakia, the goal-oriented program is not consistently applied and the lack of linkage persists. Some activities are not even safeguarded by all necessary inputs.

Sets of financial economic instruments are isolated, complicated, and mutually not linked. Sometimes they act in a counterproductive manner. There are efforts to replace realistic value categories (or to solve the dichotomy of planned indicators and criteria of efficiency), but their final effects are controversial and cannot completely replace objective economic processes. Thus, it happens, that, on the one side, the set of financial economic instruments for the area of specialization and cooperation is attempting to stimulate the cost-accounting sphere to enter appropriate international relations while, on the other hand, other sets are acting in the opposite direction, tend to negate these efforts to a certain extent or to create differing interests, for example, on the part of producers and foreign trade organizations. The introduction of material stimuli to the work collective--down to the place where the economic effect arises--has also not been successful on a differentiated basis (to each according to his merit).

Also, the experience that a nonparametric environment but even a different methodology of measuring efficiency with respect to individual integration measures do not facilitate the commensuration of their anticipated level of efficiency is also a serious factor. For the time being, the cost-accounting sphere is not even interested in such a commensuration. Commitment to the international specialization and cooperation relationships is not economically attractive to the cost-accounting sphere. Also, the currently valid methodology of measuring efficiency with respect to international specialization and cooperation captures the status of the appropriate effects and costs only incompletely and in an isolated manner. It functions only with regard to two types of effects--the production effect and the effect realized from international transactions, while it attempts to quantify (which is in itself a problem) only the primary effects. In other words, it suffers from the fact that it does not approach economic and extraeconomic effects in a comprehensive manner in their mutual hierarchical influences.

In the final analysis, decisions in the area of specialization and cooperation also lack scientifically based and scientifically linked inputs from interdisciplinary prognostic and conceptual work. To the extent that these works are accomplished, they are characterized by the fact that they tend to solve immediate emergency problems. They are, generally, "sewn with a hot needle" and are not adequately tied to concepts of production development and scientific-technical development. They also do not take adequate account of the reminder and stimuli provided by the foreign trade sector or the prognosticated direction of development pertaining to science and technology, etc.

5911

CSO: 2400/337

## PAY FOR MERIT PROGRESS DISCUSSED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 26, 1986 p 17

[Text] The program for increasing the economic effectiveness of the wage system, which is currently entering its second stage, is aimed, among others, at expanding the merit principle in remuneration. It is a difficult stage because only organizations which laid the basis for a more rapid increase in labor productivity, greater awareness of the economy and efficiency, which will ensure them faster internal wage accrual, will be able to implement the new wage rates and schedules.

The transition to new wage conditions and higher rates is slowly picking up speed in many organizations. Beginning in October 1985, 14 percent of CSR government-managed organizations were involved and the number increased to 25 percent by the beginning of this year. The significance of these first experiences with the implementation of the new wage systems is that it has been for the most part positive. In 85 percent of the organizations it contributed to an increase in labor productivity. For example, Vychodoceske papirny [East Bohemian Paper Plants] in Lanskroun improved [labor productivity] by 9 percent, Fezku in Strakonice by 6 percent, Statni lesy [State Forests] in Olomouc by 5.5 percent, etc. In most of the organizations, the rate of average wage increases accelerated as a result of improvement in the relation between labor productivity and average wages.

Nevertheless, we cannot overlook some negative experiences. We are having difficulties in implementing a more efficient approach toward savings resulting from better labor utilization. That is further slowing down the acceleration of increases in the average wage rates and the expected reduction of imbalances between the labor sources and labor requirements. There are continuing difficulties in introducing new tighter production quotas in practice. Signs of compromise and failures to enforce the new production quotas and violations of technological and work discipline, frequently to the detriment of the quality of work. Growth in efficiency and labor productivity is being ensured more by production quota adjustments than by improvements in the work and production organization. Organizational structures are not being systematically rationalized. Even in some smaller enterprises and plants there is a multilevel management and a number of enterprises retain mini-units [mini-shops].

One of the reasons for increasing the economic effectiveness of the wage systems is to increase the role of techno-economic standards in expanding the individual economic incentives which affect the consumption of raw materials, materials, and fuels. Only one half to three quarters of professionals are governed by established techno-economic production quotas. The specific problem is the lack of sufficient measuring and regulatory technology as well as a haphazard approach in establishing and implementing individual consumption rates.

The use of wage incentives has improved. The number of employees whose bonuses and special awards depend on maintaining quality, eliminating waste and making technological improvements and exports, has also increased. However, there has been no increase in the economic incentives of pre-production stage employees, especially where plan fulfillment in technological development is concerned. New wage formats that effectively motivate workers are only being utilized in a negligible number of cases. The possibilities of giving preferential treatment to pre-production employees, as provided for by the wage regulations, are not being used sufficiently.

One of the effective instruments of implementing the merit principles and differentiation of bonuses on the basis of quantity and quality of work is the personal evaluation of the employees. Its significance is given by the number of work occupations ranging between 5 and 11 percent of wage rate systems and among technical professions on average around 14 and 15 percent of the base wages. The problem is that while personal evaluations of the technical professionals has been implemented for all such employees, it is being used seldom and irregularly for workers and is being introduced very slowly. But even with technical professions not everything is fully in order. In a number of cases, the personal evaluations were established in such way that the employees would keep their own--their own former average pay.

Additional organizations are scheduled to introduce the second stage of increasing economic effectiveness of the wage systems in the near future. These include many organizations which cannot be considered as sufficiently consolidated or ideally prepared. If the goals of restructuring the wage systems are to be achieved, it is necessary that the commissions which approve the second stage implementation proceed most responsibly. It is particularly important that the organizations actually undertake informal negotiations with the employees concerning the new work and remuneration conditions; that they familiarize them with changes in production quotas, wage structure, overall remuneration, etc. It is indispensable to explain that this is not an automatic increase in wages and remuneration, etc. Only such honest approach can help avoid unnecessary problems and eventual impairment of a long-term effort to increase the role of the wage systems in the national economy.

/8309

CSO: 2400/359

## NEW REGULATIONS ON REMUNERATION OF WORKERS EXPLAINED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 17 25 Apr 86 pp 12-13

[Article by Nicolae Nita: "The Overall Contract and the Direct Contract - Important Components of Carrying Out the Payment of Salaries According to Work Done"]

[Text] The payment of salaries in the overall contract must provide an incentive for all worker personnel, including those in the management of the enterprise and its operational departments, to fulfill and overfulfill the planned physical production and production slated for export, to better use raw materials and materials, to increase the percentage of high quality products, to reduce specific consumption levels of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, to completely use machinery and equipment, and to improve the organization of production and labor.

The Spread of the Overall Contract to All Organizational Levels - the Work Group, the Enterprise, the Central

At the enterprise level, the overall contract involves the personnel in the enterprise management and the personnel in the operational departments, as well as the personnel in other activities which do not have their own plan and serve, through their activities, the current production activities of the whole unit. The overall contract that is concluded at the enterprise level involves:

1. The physical production by type and the planned goods production.
2. The criteria according to which salaries are increased or decreased. For units where use or output indices are not planned, the criteria used instead will be level of material expenditure planned per 1,000 lei of production or volume of activity.
3. The conditions for the full payment of the agreed upon amounts in the overall contract. For those personnel in the enterprise management and in the operational departments, the full payment of the agreed upon amounts in the overall contract is influenced by the achievement of the following indicators: the export plan; the net production plan; the sold and paid-for goods production plan; the planned installations and machinery use indices; the planned labor productivity; goods production per 1,000 lei of fixed assets; and planned expenditures per 1,000 lei of production or volume of activity - in cases where expenditures [are used] as the criterion. For personnel in activities which do not have their own plan and

who are paid according to production and the criteria established by the enterprise, the conditions for the full payment of the agreed upon amounts in the overall contract are established according to the specific nature of each separate activity.

Amounts due for personnel covered by the overall contract at the enterprise level are determined in relationship to the achievement of physical production and the criteria and conditions for the overall economic units on the basis of quotas per 1,000 lei of goods production or 1,000 lei of volume of work. These quotas are established yearly by the hierarchically superior organization and are differentiated by quarter, under the same conditions as for the work groups. Increases or decreases in the amounts agreed upon in relationship to the actual goods production attained, depending upon the degree of fulfilling the criteria, as well as decreasing the amount according to the level of attainment of the established conditions, are done in the same manner as that outlined for the personnel in the work groups. The amounts due the salaried personnel at the enterprise level covered by the overall contract are distributed according to the contribution of each to the achievement of task, salary grade and time worked.

#### Stimulating the Workers to Stress Intensive Factors of Quality and Efficiency in Achieving Export Tasks

For the purpose of placing the Romanian economy on the coordinates of intensive development and increasing economic efficiency in all sectors of activity, salaries in the overall contract system reflect not only the work done and materialized in the achievement and quantitative overfulfillment of plan tasks, but also the efforts (the results) made for the better use of raw materials and materials and the improvement of the qualitative level of the products, and, on this basis, the growth of their competitiveness for the increase and diversification of export production.

The law calls for the stimulation of workers in order to obtain more production or higher value from the same amount of materials. [five to six words missing] indicators "planned use indicators for the better use of raw materials and materials" and "planned percentage of high quality production" as criteria according to which there are increases or decreases in the salaries obtained for physical production (including export production), within a limit of plus or minus 10 percent. To date, these indicators were the conditions for paying salaries and determined a decrease in them of up to 10 percent. For the purpose of having a continuing reduction of production costs, the provisions are being maintained in the law of the payment of salaries whereby workers benefit from bonuses for savings of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy of up to 30 percent of the value of these items. In order to stimulate and achieve other qualitative aspects, salaries corresponding to production will be paid fully if indices are adhered to for the use of machinery and installations and for staying within specific standardized consumption rates. This is also true for personnel in the enterprise management and operational departments if they also keep in mind the achievement of net production, labor productivity, planned costs per 1,000 lei of production and planned goods production per 1,000 lei of fixed assets.

For the purpose of increasing the incentives for the workers in the production subunits for achieving and overfulfilling export production, the law states that the amount of salary due for the physical production achieved is increased without a limit by one percent for each percent of exceeding this level of production. In cases where the level of production is not attained, a penalty of one-half percent is applied for each percent of non-fulfillment. The one percent increase is also given in cases where the total physical production established in the plan was not attained, but production export was exceeded, on the condition of adhering to the unit's contractual obligations with domestic customers. The amount of salary due for physical production and for export production attained is increased or decrease by one percent for each percent of exceeding or non-fulfilling the established criteria taken together.

In order to have a more accentuated stimulation of personnel at the enterprise level, who must ensure all the conditions necessary for the achievement of production [four or five words missing] attributes in the achievement of this production - personnel in the management of the economic units, the chiefs of the departments for planning, production, technical-material supply and foreign trade within these units, and the other categories of personnel in these departments - the law covers the possibility of granting certain bonuses for exceeding export tasks and the application of certain penalties in the case of non-fulfillment of these tasks. The bonuses or penalties are established monthly in accordance with the level of achievement, accumulated from the beginning of the year for the export production plan and the export plan, through the application of the total percentage of bonus or penalty to the amount listed in the overall contract for these personnel, accumulated, similarly, from the beginning of the year.

The bonus amount is 1.5 percent for each percent of overfulfillment of export production and exports listed in the plan. In cases where the planned exports were not attained but the export plan for convertible hard currency was exceeded, a bonus of one-half percent for each percent of overfulfillment is paid. The penalty is two percent for each percent of non-fulfillment of the exports listed in the plan. In cases where the full export production plan is attained, the penalty is one percent of the salary for each percent on the non-fulfillment of the planned exports. The degree of fulfillment of the exports listed in the plan and of export production is determined keeping in mind the provisions of the law whereby these two indicators are considered fulfilled only when the planned tasks for each separate contract are completely attained. As a result, overfulfillment in one contract does not compensate for the failure to attain another.

The bonuses and penalties are calculated as total amounts and are distributed to persons in accordance with salary grades and time worked in the respective month. The bonus approved monthly for a person cannot exceed 20 percent of the salary grade amount. Similarly, penalties for the non-attainment of export production and exports, together with decreases for the non-fulfillment of the criteria and conditions outlined in the overall contract, are up to 30 percent of the agreed upon amount in accordance with the physical production attained.

Workers who benefit from bonuses or who are penalized in accordance with the achievement of the export production plan and the export plan, cannot have their salaries decreased further for the failure to achieve the conditions listed in their overall contract referring to the export plan. For the purpose of stimulating these personnel to recoup certain eventual shortfalls in the achievement of the export plan, the law allows that in situations of a partial or complete recouping of shortfalls from the preceding period, at the end of each quarter and the end of the year the penalties are returned accordingly.

The stimulation of workers to stress the intensive factors of quality and efficiency in achieving exports has a general nature in the sense that all personnel in the industrial centrals, ministries and other central and local organs, including the ministers and their assistants, can have their salaries increased or decreased without limits in accordance with the level of fulfillment of certain plan indicators which represent the sum of the results obtained by all the enterprises, factories, plants, sections, shops and work groups in their subordination. Among these indicators, listed in the law, we can note: the plan for the industrial physical goods production; the planned indicators for the use of raw materials or the output of production; the percentage of production by class of quality established in the plan; the export plan; planned labor productivity; the plan for investment project start-ups; maximum planned expenditures per 1,000 lei of goods production; the value of planned goods production per 1,000 lei of fixed assets; staying within the norms and standards for the consumption of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy; and other specific indicators for other activities.

To stimulate the intensive factors the law also states that in those sectors of activity where production is achieved within the framework of certain installations bonuses to salaries are not paid for exceeding planned production tasks if this was obtained within the framework of the nominal capacities of these installations.

#### The Application of the Principles of the Overall Contract to the Specific Nature of Each Branch and Sector of Activity

A major problem - noted in the law - is the improvement of the organization and standards of production and labor which must involve and ensure all the conditions for the correct and stimulative application of the overall contract. To this end, the organization and the payment of salaries for work within the overall contract are done in each unit according to the provisions of law and specific criteria approved by decree of the Council of State. This is done with the provision that regardless of the subordination, the specific criteria of the branch or its activities will be applied to all the units and subunits.

The specific criteria for the organization and the payment of salaries for work within the overall contract and direct contract within a branch of activity contain, primarily, the following: the organizational unit with which the overall contract is concluded; the object of the overall contract - production expressed in physical units; the listing of the criteria according to which salaries are

increased or decreased; the listing of the conditions for the full payment of the agreed amount in accordance with the physical production achieved and the degree of fulfilling the criteria; and other specific provisions.

In order to eliminate the practice of certain units which exceed total physical production but do not attain the production slated for export, the law calls for the physical production to be considered fulfilled only in situations where export production was fully attained, thus eliminating the possibility of compensating these units for exceeding the planned tasks for products for domestic use.

Similarly, in order to ensure a powerful incentive for the workers to achieve and exceed the physical production listed in the plan, the law stipulates that the incomes of the workers are determined in accordance directly with the achievement of physical production by planned types or work done, without any limit, while the amounts listed in the overall contract cannot be changed in cases where the timeframes and number of personnel are smaller than the ones listed in the contract.

Through the new regulations there will be a more firm application of the socialist principle of payment of salary in accordance with the quantity and quality of the work done, the stimulation of individual and collective initiative and the growth of responsibility of all workers in implementing the objectives established by the 13th RCP Congress and the directives and guidelines of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for the efficient administration of material and monetary resources, the full use of production capacities and manpower, the continued growth of labor productivity and the more accentuated increase of national income - a sure basis for the multilateral progress of the country and the improvement of the quality of the lives of all the people.

8724

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## PLANS TO RAISE STANDARD OF LIVING IN 1986 OUTLINED

Bucharest COMERTUL MODERN in Romanian No 1 Jan-Feb 86 pp 1-6

[Article by Dr Constantin Iurea: "Key Points for Increasing the Population's Standard of Living in the First Year of the New Five Year Plan"]

[Text] As a fundamental objective of the RCP's policy, ensuring the continued growth of the standard of living and continuing to raise the quality of the people's lives remain as basic points in the Sole National Economic-Social Development Plan of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1986, as approved by the Grand National Assembly session of December 1985.

Drawn up under the direct guidance of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and strongly bearing the mark of the revolutionary thinking of the country's president, the Sole National Plan for 1986 is a new expression of the achievement of organic unity between economic and social progress on one hand and satisfying the requirements of the material and spiritual lives of all the people on the other hand. Representing a decisive contribution to fulfilling the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, the Sole National Plan for 1986 clearly reflects the concern for the harmonious, multilateral development of our national economy at sustained rates, a sure basis for increasing the material and spiritual standard of living of the population. We again find in the content of this plan the organic link between development and well-being, grandly formulated by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as follows: "...let us ensure the continuing development of the national wealth and state socialist and cooperatist property - with this constituting the decisive basis without which one cannot conceive of socialism and communism, and cannot ensure the general improvement of the country and the growth of the people's material and spiritual standard of living" (from a speech to the Plenary Session of the National Workers' Council, published in SCINTEIA, 17 December 1985).

Furthermore, permanently ensuring a balance between development and well-being represents a basic law of the Romanian economy in the Ceausescu epoch. Raising the standard of living and increasing the quality of life are in a close dependency with creating highly efficient modern economy based on the full and rational use of human and material resources and broad use of the great potential of worker creativity and scientific and technological progress.

## The Sole National Economic-Social Development Plan for 1986 - An Eloquent Picture of Intensive Development

Marking the Romanian economy's entrance into a new five year plan, at the end of which socialist Romania will pass into the ranks of those countries having a medium level of development from an economic and social point of view, the Sole National Plan for 1986 places in the center of attention the intensive development of all activities in all fields, as well as the need to work fully decisively to attain a higher quality in the work and affairs of our nation. As a result, the priority concerns in economic-social development this year refer to resolving essential problems of economic growth at sustained rates, balanced development of all sectors of the economy and decisively fulfilling national programs concerning the growth of labor productivity and the quality of products and the achievement of high, sure and stable agricultural production, special programs in the field of certain raw materials and materials, and so forth.

For the purpose of ensuring the conditions for fully carrying out the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, the 1986 plan calls for the attainment of rates of development higher than the average growth rates established for the 1986-1990 period.

In summary form, the main characteristics from a quantitative and qualitative point of view can be defined as follows:

- The sustained growth of industrial production so that the value of goods production will be eight to nine percent greater than in 1985, while the value of net production will be 12-15 percent greater. The intensive nature of development is synthetically expressed precisely by having the rate of net industrial production run ahead of the rate of goods production.
- A decisive concern is the continued broadening of the base of raw materials and energy so that in 1986 we will achieve: 77.5 billion kilowatt/hours, 69 million tons of net coal, 12.1 million tons of extracted crude oil, 16.4 million tons of steel, 31 billion cubic meters of natural gas and others.
- The consumer goods industry will record significant development as reflected both by the increase in the volume of production and by the modernization and diversification of products, and by the increase in small industry production at a sustained rate through the use of local resources and recoverable and reuseable materials in the production cycle. As an example, we can point out that in 1986 we are forecasting the production of textile goods valued at 50.9 billion lei, knitwear worth 19 billion lei, 134 million pairs of footwear, 2.2 million tons of butchered meats, 380,000 tons of fish, 27.2 million hectoliters of milk and milk products, wood furniture worth 21.6 billion lei and household electric devices and machinery worth nearly 2.3 billion lei.
- Ensuring the necessary balance between the development of industry and agriculture through the intensive growth and modernization of all agriculture. Thus, total agricultural production will increase, compared to 1985, by 6 to 7 percent while new production goes up 10 to 12 percent, rates near that forecast for the development of industry.

Through the continued development of agriculture's material base (it will be equipped with another 17,000 agricultural tractors, 5,600 combines for harvesting grains and so forth), the irrigation of 550,000 hectares, the drainage of an area of 450,000 hectares and the decisive actions that will be taken in the agricultural units for the intensive use of resources and the application of modern agrotechnical methods, we will obtain the following levels of production: 31 million tons of grain for seed, 10.3 million tons of sugar beets, 6.6 million tons of fall potatoes, 7.7 million tons of field vegetables, 2.9 million tons of fruit, 2.3 million tons of grapes, over 2.9 million tons of meat, 61.2 million hectoliters of cow's and buffalo cow's milk, 8.3 billion eggs and so forth.

- The sustained rates of development of the Romanian economy in 1986 also have at their base the achievement of a broad investment program, as expressed by a total volume of 265 to 270 billion lei, or 6 to 8 percent more than in 1985. On a priority basis, investments were allocated for the development of the raw material and energy base, the development of agriculture, the modernization of installations and technologies, the achievement of projects that will ensure greater exports and a reduction in imports, and the general growth of the efficiency of our national economy.

- Raising the role of scientific research and technology to a higher level in solving different problems linked to the improvement of the quality of products, to the better use of production, and to the attainment of a high degree of economic efficiency in all fields of activity. In order to achieve this priority objective, there is exceptional importance in the decisions and programs approved by the first congress on science and education in our country, held in November 1985. On this occasion, the establishment of the National Council of Science and Education, with comrade academician engineer Dr Elena Ceausescu elected to head this council as president, constitutes the certain guarantee that in the Romanian economy and in all its sectors there will be the firm promotion of the newest advances of science and technology, now that our country has entered a new stage of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution.

- The active participation of the Romanian economy with increased efficiency in the international division of labor, creating conditions for obtaining income corresponding to the economy's needs for development and continuing to reduce foreign debt. In this regard, the 1986 plan calls for increasing the volume of foreign trade by 12 to 15 percent compared to the previous year, under conditions of increased efficiency, of making maximum rigorous use of hard currency funds for imports, of diversifying types of sales and of broadening the sales market.

- The decisive orientation of the plan's provisions towards carrying out the objectives of increasing economic efficiency and of achieving a high level of profitability. In this regard, the plan calls for the national industry to achieve a 6.9 percent reduction in costs per 1,000 lei of goods production compared to 1985, while labor productivity is to increase by 10 to 12 percent.

- The corollary to the strongly intensive development of the Romanian economy in 1986 is the high rate of growth of the national income, of 10 to 12 percent compared to 1985, which will appreciably run ahead of the rate of growth of the social product (7 to 8 percent).

#### The Defining Points for Carrying Out the Objectives of the RCP's Policy in 1986 for Increasing the Standard of Living and Continuing to Raise the Quality of Life

The development of the country's economic potential to high levels, as reflected by its basic characteristics presented above, constitutes the sure premise for the continued making of new progress along the lines of the standard of living and of raising the quality of the people's lives. By increasing national income, the necessary resources are provided to this end, which will permit an increase in the people's purchasing power, the growth of the amount of goods made available to the consumer through the sales network, the development of services, the construction of a significant number of new housing units, the continuation of actions in the area of territorial systematization, the continued improvement of health care and social assistance, the improvement of education, the development of culture and the development of physical education and sports. And, in this case the levels of the development parameters that were established in the Sole National Plan are especially graphic.

With regards to the monetary incomes of the population, the plan calls for the workers' salary fund to total over 304 billion lei, which will provide an increase in the average nominal salary of 1.3 percent compared to 1985. At the same time, the income of the peasantry stemming from their work in the agricultural production cooperatives and on private farms will increase by 2.4 percent on the average, per working person.

In the socialist trade sector, the population will be able to buy in 1986 goods having a total value of 280 billion lei, or 1.3 percent more than in 1985, under conditions of goods having a diversified structure of variety capable of satisfying the requirements of the different types of consumers.

Giving the development of services for the people a special role in the achievement of the objectives of intensive economic growth, as well as in raising the quality of the people's lives, the Sole National Plan for 1986 calls for services for the people to increase by 15 percent compared to 1985, ensuring the improvement and continued development of activities in this field, the broadening of the variety and network of services, the improvement of the quality of these services in accordance with the needs of the people and the efficient use of existing capacities and local manpower.

Under the topic of the continued development of housing, it is a defining fact that in 1986, 140,000 housing units will be turned over to the people, with 20,000 in rural areas, which will directly contribute to improving the level of comfort and civilization.

In accordance with the general development of the national economy, we are ensuring the achievement of an important volume of expenditures for social-cultural actions financed by the state budget. In this regard, the data for 1986 calls for, among other things: 17.1 billion lei for education, 17.7 billion lei for health care, 15 billion lei for allocations and other forms of assistance for children and 38.7 billion lei for social security. In this context, we should stress the special importance of the recent measures approved by the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania regarding the increase in state allocations, allowances for children and assistance to mothers having a number of children, as well as birth allowances, measures designed to create improved conditions for raising and educating children and the multilateral preparation of the younger generation for work and life.

At the same time, so that the people's increased incomes will find a comparable increase in the level of goods, the party and state leadership tasked those goods-producing ministries and the Ministry of Domestic Trade to draw up a special program concerning the development and diversification of production in the area of food for children and for satisfying children's non-food consumer needs.

All these remarkable provisions constitute a harmonious framework which makes certain the continued fulfillment of the profoundly humanist policies of our party, as expressed in the continued growth of the standard of living and quality of life of all the people.

#### The Development and Modernization of Domestic Trade in 1986, A Basic Component in Raising the Quality of Life

In order to exercise the important role played by domestic trade in achieving the RCP's policies for increasing the standard of living and continuing to raise the quality of life - ensuring an appropriate balance between the growth of the country's economic potential, the increases in the population's monetary income and the making available to the workers of a variety of goods that is continually growing, being updated and diversifying -, the Sole National Plan for 1986 establishes basic guidelines and especially important tasks, involving on a priority basis the provision of a good level of supplies to the people, the modernization of all commercial activities and the improvement of the quality of customer services.

The fulfillment of these objectives has as its enduring basis the good results that were obtained by socialist trade in 1985 and the entire 1981-1985 five year plan. By achieving a total volume of retail goods sales of 1,332 billion lei for the entire five year plan - with significant overfulfillments of the plan - socialist trade made an important contribution by mobilizing existing resources at a constantly higher level to satisfying the population's consumer requirements and to attracting available monies and ensuring a balance between the amount of goods for sale and the population's solvent demand. Concomitantly with the achievement of a healthy monetary flow, conditions were thus created for an increased contribution of domestic trade to the creation of resources for the state budget and, along this line, to the financing of economic and social activities.

In this regard, it is also clear that on the basis of the financial efforts of our socialist state during the 1981-1985 five year plan, the Ministry of Domestic Trade benefitted from a total volume of investments of over 7.5 billion lei, with new commercial space being brought into use totalling 1.2 million square meters. These significant achievements reflect the permanent concern and support given by the party and state leadership, and personally by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, and by comrade Elena Ceausescu, to raise the standard of living of the people, to develop, diversify and update the production of consumer goods, to increase deliveries to the market place and to continue to improve and modernize commercial activities.

For the purpose of ensuring the good supply of agro-food products and industrial consumer goods to the population, the Sole National Plan established the following main tasks for the production ministries and the workers in socialist trade, as well as for the people's councils:

- The complete fulfillment of the provisions of the Program concerning the implementation of the measures on self-management and territorial self-supply, and the Program for the scientific food supply to the people. Within this framework, special attention must be given to promoting the sale of those products available in the national economy having broad possibilities for satisfying consumer demand;
- The achievement of deposits to the state fund at the level established for each county and the better use of resources from the people's farms;
- The full and timely delivery to the people of those goods listed in the plan, under conditions of quality and in diverse varieties;
- The development of public food supplies, concomitantly with a substantial increase and diversification of production and sales of prepared food items;
- The intensification of sales of non-food items in rural areas, increasing at the same time the quantities of agricultural products turned over to the state fund through contracts and acquired from the populace;
- The judicious distribution throughout the country of goods, giving priority to the large cities, workers centers and health and rest centers;
- The reduction of transportation costs, the maximum use of the technical-material base, the reduction of overhead costs and storage costs, and the staying within planned stock levels.

Each of these tasks involves an especially sustained activity at the level of all echelons of organization in the socialist trade sector. In this context, it should be stressed that great responsibility goes to the workers in the Ministry of Domestic Trade for implementing, under the best possible conditions, the decisions recently approved by the party and state leadership regarding taking over from the former Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry those

activities of selling to the people vegetables, fruits, potatoes, meat and meat products, and milk and milk products, as well as other agro-food products. It is thus necessary to work firmly to ensure a better supply to the people and to carry out a civilized trade in the network of units that they have taken over.

At the same time as this increase in the volume of goods and the improvement in their variety, especially by way of increasing the percentage of products that are fresh, salads, tomatoes and seasonal products, quality products and products that require special display conditions, a main course of action lies in expanding the number of places for the sale of vegetables and fruits - specialized units, departments in large and medium-sized food stores, agro-food markets and street vendors. At the same time, also keeping in mind the experiences in developed countries, the modernization of the sale of vegetables and fruits must pursue the development of self-service and the organization of specialized departments for the sale of prepared vegetables (cut, cleaned and packaged), as well as the improvement of the storage and preservation of vegetables and fruits, accompanied by the ever broader use of plastic packaging for shipping and the expansion of the use of pallets throughout the product cycle - from producer to store.

Another priority objective is the exemplary fulfillment of the provisions in the Program concerning the development of the production of prepared food items during the 1986-1990 period, as approved by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee at its 6 December 1985 session. Drawn up on the basis of the guidelines and directives of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, this program establishes for the food industry and the food sales sector important tasks along the line of developing and diversifying the production of prepared food items and processed and prepackaged garden products which will meet the people's demands under ever better conditions. Reflecting the concern of our party for improving the quality of life, the normal - physical and spiritual - development of the people and the health and vigor of the population, this Program is based upon criteria for a rational diet which, at the same time, involves gains in free time together with reducing and avoiding housework.

In light of the decisions recently approved by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee regarding the creation of the Central Commission for the Organization and Modernization of Production Processes, under the direct leadership of comrade academician engineer Dr Elena Ceausescu, an important course of action for the workers in the socialist sector is the achievement of the modernization of all commercial activities. Within this framework, special attention is given to modernizing trade within the capital, with the main directions of the program that has been drawn up to this end involving: the improvement of the sale of bread and bread products, and milk and milk products; the expansion of the sales network for prepared and semi-prepared food items, fish and canned fish, food products for children and diet foods, non-alcoholic beverages, "Fortuna" type vegetable-fruit stores, quick service public food stores, stores specializing in the sale of industrial goods for children and young people, items for recreation, goods to make

housework easier and so forth; the improvement of interior organization of stores and the manner of displaying goods in stores, with special stress on handicraft cooperative units and other commercial systems; the modernization of commercial technologies and the conditions for presenting and selling goods in stores and public food stores; the substantial improvement of display conditions - inside and outside - in all units; the intensification and modernization the street trade; the substantial improvement of the salesperson-buyer relationship through actions to verify the basic knowledge of the workers, the strengthening of responsibilities of personnel in fulfilling their tasks and the intensification of reviews.

Furthermore, a basic problem which must be of permanent concern to the management in socialist trade at all levels of organization is ensuring the correlated development of trade and the overall development of our national economy, now in the middle of the process of accentuating the intensive-qualitative facet. It is necessary to identify certain objectives and specific paths of intensive-type development in the different sectors of domestic trade like, for example, vegetable-fruit trade, public food supply, the development of production and sales of prepared food items, and so forth.

It is known that during the years of socialist construction, especially during the period since the Ninth Party Congress, the material base of socialist trade has been expanded considerably, substantially improving the level of commercial activities in a modern structure in all the counties of the country. Nonetheless, there are certain shortfalls in the area of the quality of service, the manner of displaying products, certain elements of the interior organization of units and in the area of the relationship of sales personnel with the public consumer. Certainly, such problems must stay in the attention of the responsible authorities and all workers for their ever better resolution.

At the same time, we must concern ourselves more with the problems for optimizing the process of supplying the commercial units throughout the entire week in the idea of making certain qualitative changes, even at the level of the purchasing habits of the people. Thus, one could have in mind, for example, moving away from the current system - with a peak in supply at the end of the week - to a lengthening of the process in a linear manner. In this way, real ease will be created for the people, with favorable implications upon their free time and their use of time to improve their professional and cultural training, for recreation and so forth.

In carrying out the directives and guidelines of the party and state leadership and of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, domestic trade in 1986 - the first year of the eighth five year plan - will have to make new progress along the lines of promoting scientific research and advanced technology, ensuring an increased contribution on the part of research to the better correlation of the volume and structure of goods with the demands of the population, the substantiation of territorial distribution on scientific bases for the sales plan and the supply of goods and the balanced, modern and efficient development of the commercial network, and to the growth of economic efficiency and labor productivity in commercial activities.

At the same time, it is necessary to put to the best possible use the existing resources for the workers in the socialist trade sector in order to increase awareness and the spirit of responsibility, as well as exigency in their work, so as to firmly ensure the better use - at higher efficiency - of the modern technical-material base available to domestic trade, as well as to carry out such an activity with the goods being sold that will facilitate to the maximum the meeting among the consumers, their needs and the products made available by industry and agriculture.

Through its provisions, of special importance for the multilateral economic-social progress of the country, in 1986 the Sole National Plan ensures new lasting and certain premises on the basis of the intensive development of the Romanian economy for the continued improvement of the material and spiritual standard of living of our people. It is, however, clear that their fulfillment involves the broad mobilization of all workers and the entire nation around the party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the vast work of implementing the shining objectives established by the 13th Party Congress of raising socialist Romania to new levels of progress, well-being and civilization.

8724

CSO: 2700/200

## NEED TO IMPROVE FOOD SUPPLY, QUALITY IN CANTEENS

Bucharest COMERTUL MODERN in Romanian No 1 Jan-Feb 86 pp 7-10

[Unsigned article: "The Development and Diversification of the Production and Sales of Prepared Food Items - An Important Factor in the Modernization and Improvement of the Structure of Food Consumption of the Population"]

[Text] According to the historic decisions of the 13th Party Congress, an important objective of the future five year plan for food products is the achievement of the Program for the Scientific Feeding of the Population, which pursues the balanced satisfaction of the consumer requirements of all members of our society under conditions of eliminating any type of waste.

Thus, it has in mind that at the basis of satisfying the consumer requirements of the population there must be scientifically determined physiological requirements that are correlated with the possibilities of our national economy and with the level of development of the economic potential in the area of producing agro-food products. The wide-scale promotion of scientific feeding is designed to ensure the continued improvement of the qualitative structure of the populace's requirements and its modernization.

In order to have the firm implementation of the provisions of the Program for the Scientific Feeding of the Population, at the Third Congress of the People's Councils in September 1985, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, outlined the task of substantially increasing the sales of prepared food products which will make easier the people's working and living conditions. "We must intensify and develop a true culinary industry, of food products that will be sold to the population. We have in mind that by 1990 nearly 40 to 50 percent of the food products sold to the people will be sold as food products that have been industrialized."

Thus, the result is that in the process of modernizing and improving the quality of the food supply an ever greater role will be played by the development and diversification of the production and sales of industrialized agro-food products and, first of all, prepared food items.

The move in this direction also keeps in mind the special changes that have occurred in the structure of the population in our country by age and occupation and by the substantial increase in the number of workers and working women in economic and social activities.

Thus, it is known that currently half of the country's population lives in municipalities, cities and workers centers.

With regards to the structure of the employed population in the economy the statistics show that over 70 percent work in non-agricultural branches, and the number of workers in 7.6 million persons, of which nearly 3 million are women.

The change in the structure of the population has taken place concomitantly with an increase in monetary income, increasing the opportunities to buy different products from the socialist trade sector, so that in 1985 the total volume of sales was over 275 billion lei.

The changes in the lifestyle of the population in our country - due to the most part to the achievement of the objectives of the party's policies to increase the standard of living - can also be found in the intensification of the demand for products which make work easier in the household and which create more free time.

Linked to the population's ever greater involvement in activities which require an intense work schedule over approximately 8 hours daily on the average, there is an increase in the need for prepared food items. These products play an ever more important role in providing food according to the requirements for ensuring good health.

The achievement via industrial methods, in laboratories and in culinary production units contributes, at the same time, to the better use of raw materials and the conservation of energy, as well as to the most complete use possible of food wastes in raising animals and in obtaining certain additional resources of meat and milk.

Furthermore, in the developed countries the market for prepared food items has seen a continual expansion and diversification on the basis of certain changes in lifestyle and an increase in the people's concern for a balanced diet - one favorable to a person's health - as well as the broad development of industrial food production achieved through large- and small-scale industry, as well as through public and collective food supplies.

In this regard, there are several more significant aspects:

There has been a continuing expansion of serving food outside of the home so that from one country to the next between 20 and 50 percent of population each day consumes at least one meal outside of the home. This phenomenon is especially widespread in the case of workers and students.

For example:

- in East Germany, two-thirds of employed workers use the services of canteens and restaurants, each day consuming approximately eight million portions of food outside the home;

- in France, half of the population eats lunch in canteens, self-service units and quick service units, while 30 percent of the food budget of the French is spent on food eaten outside the home;
- in the Soviet Union, 75 percent of those employed eat in canteens;
- in Hungary, for 1990 it is estimated that 40 percent of the population will daily consume at least one type of food outside of the home;
- in Sweden, one-third of the population in 1980 daily ate at least one meal in a public facility, which makes 4.2 million portions available each day;
- in the United States, 37 percent of Americans in 1980 ate lunch in a public place, while for 1990 the percentage is forecast to reach 50 percent. The development of current products that are easy to prepare has substantially reduced the time needed to prepare a meal. Where a housewife used to spend 4 to 5 hours in the kitchen each day, currently she uses only 27 minutes for this purpose.
- in West Germany, between one-third and two-thirds of the total number of personnel in industrial units eat at the cafeteria.

There has been an intensification of the rate of development of food item production that has been achieved industrially. For example, in Czechoslovakia it was estimated that the production of semi-prepared and prepared food items will double in 1985 compared to 1980.

Through the development of a varied production of semi-prepared and prepared food items (vegetables, potatoes, concentrated soups, fish and cooked meats), in 1980 the per-inhabitant consumption of refrigerated products was approximately 8 kilograms in France, West Germany and Belgium, 20 kilograms in Sweden and 43 kilograms in the United States.

In the developed countries, the sales of prepared food items are achieved through a diversified network of retail stores and food stores, shops and small shops, automated stores and street vendors.

In working to carry out the guidelines and directives of the top party and state leadership, and of the comrade secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu personally, regarding the increase in the social role of public and collective food supply stores and their contribution to the promotion of a scientific diet, from year to year there has been an expansion in our country of activities to sell prepared food items. In 1985, the collective consumer and public food stores within the Ministry of Domestic Trade system sold prepared food items and other food goods to the population in amounts equalling two-thirds of the total amount of sales planned for that year. In the total amount of sales through the public food stores in 1985, the percentage of our own production was 35.4 percent, of which over half represented foods.

Within the framework of the production activities in the collective consumer and public food stores within the Ministry of Domestic Trade system, by the end

of 1985 they had produced 22,300 tons of "gospodina" products, compared to 6,300 tons in 1981, as well as 105,000 tons of pastry-bread products, compared to 89,600 tons in 1981.

In 1985, the kitchens and production laboratories in the canteens and restaurants located in urban areas, as well as in the units of the food industry daily produced and sold to the public 1,520 tons of prepared and semi-prepared food items. Of this total amount, 87 percent were snacks, soups, stews and desert foods and products that were directly eaten in these units, while 13 percent were products sold in a refrigerated or frozen state through specialized stores or departments in other units.

Despite all these results, based on the measures that were taken at the Ministry of Domestic Trade, the county commercial directorates and the public food enterprises - regarding the development and diversification of the production of culinary items, the achievement of the best possible balance between the consumption of meat, vegetables and potatoes, and the improvement of the sales network and the organization of sales themselves - there still exists, however, a certain shortfall in this area.

Keeping in mind the growth in the population's demands, under the direct influence of a group of economic and social factors, as well as the current level of culinary items production and its variety, things are still below the level they can be and must be.

In order to have a substantial improvement in the activities to produce and sell prepared food items and to carry out the tasks in the Directives of the 13th Party Congress and the guidelines and directives issued by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, the Program Regarding the Development of the Production of Prepared Food Items During the Period 1986-1990 was drawn up, examined and approved in the Political Executive Committee meeting of the RCP Central Committee on 6 December 1985.

This program refers to the activities for the production and sales of prepared food items in Bucharest Municipality and in 90 urban areas and workers centers, which in all contain approximately 92 percent of the country's urban population.

For 1990, it is estimated that approximately 57 percent of the country's urban and workers center population will daily benefit from a complete dinner in canteens, restaurants or at home, of which 37 percent will eat at home. We can note that in 1985 these percentages were 19.1 percent and 2.4 percent, respectively. For 1986, the figures will be 24 percent and 6.9 percent, respectively. In Bucharest, in 1990 the figure will be 1.5 million dinners daily, of which 1 million will be at retail sales units for consumption at home.

Concomitantly with the great expansion of the production of prepared food items, we will pursue the provision of a wide range of variety for all types of products. Thus, it will be necessary for these units to each day offer 35 to 40 items, with a repeat menu every 7 to 10 days.

In guiding this variety of offerings it will be necessary to permanently keep in mind the scientifically substantiated requirements of a balanced diet - in the caloric sense of the nutritional content, vitamins and minerals - by groups of the population, in relation to age, sex, and daily work. At the same time, we must also take into consideration the consumer traditions and preferences in the different regions of the country. To this end, the Ministry of Domestic Trade has drawn up a list of approximately 330 prepared and semi-prepared food items which will constitute an important guide in making up meals.

Special attention will be given to gradual increases in the structure of the production that is offered for sale and to the finished product, which will no require any additional processing.

Subordinated to the requirement for the better use of raw materials, the elimination of any type of waste and the conservation of energy and fuels, the organization of food production keeps in mind:

- the achievement of the highest possible coefficient of use of available production capacities in canteens and restaurants (from 78 percent in 1985 to 98 percent in 1988-1990);

- the start-up of certain new production units having an industrial nature which will ensure an increase in the percentage of production capacity within the food industry from approximately 5 percent in 1985 to 76 percent of the production of foods slated for consumption at home in 1990. To this end, modular-type factories have been created to produce 14,000, 28,000 and 56,000 means per day, whose production will be sold through the collective consumer and food store units in the localities where they are established;

- the start-up in Bucharest of 12 new food plants, of which one will be for prepared fish items, for gravies and concentrates, and they will be specially located in multifunctional marketplaces.

The new prepared food enterprises will be equipped with high capacity equipment: machinery to cut meat, mixers, kitchen robots, stoves, boilers, mechanized lines to sort and package, and so forth.

The prepared foods production activities will be carried out under conditions of high labor productivity, ensuring the gradual increase of deliveries of processed and packaged garden products. It is estimated that the delivery of garden products necessary to the production of prepared food items in canteens, food plants and restaurant kitchens will be accomplished to an ever greater degree in the form of cleaned and measured vegetables that are forwarded in adequate packaging.

For the purpose of providing the conditions for the population's broad access to purchase prepared food items - with on-the-spot payment or on the basis of consumer subscription - the sales of these items will be ensured through a

balanced network of stores and public food units in each city, housing development and on major streets. There will be special stress on organizing certain sales points near factories, in high density areas, commercial markets, open air markets, stations, parks and so forth, taking measures to recast, at the same time, certain existing stores.

In order to have an effective supply and one under conditions of high efficiency, the retail sales stores for prepared food items will be close to production centers.

In the specialized stores and departments for the sale of prepared food items, they will ensure the appropriate organization of taking deliveries, preserving items, display goods and making sales. To this end, they are talking about adequate technical equipment (heating and cooling equipment, working utensils, furniture), as well as the improvement of packaging of these items.

In order to make it easier to sell prepared food items in food stores, these items will be offered in pre-packaged form (portions for one to four people). Similarly, they will also use collective packaging, with the splitting into portions being done in the store according to the requirements of the customer. At the same time, special attention will be given to the sale of prepared items that are pre-heated through self-service public food stores, cafeterias near enterprises and institutes, units near production centers, hotels, canteens and so forth.

For the purpose of stimulating the population's interest in the development of prepared food items, there will be an intensification of informational activities for the consumers and actions will be organized to promote sales through publicity at the stores, food expositions, sales on the basis of consumer subscription, and so forth. At the same time, we plan to systematically carry out actions to test new types of prepared food items on consumers.

The firm implementation of the provisions of this Program is a duty of the management personnel and each worker in the food products sector, public food stores and consumer collectives, with it being necessary to prove a full understanding of this task of great responsibility and to show great initiative and a perfect organization of work at each place of work.

In the Program concerning self-management and the self-supply with agro-food products and industrial consumer goods for the period 1 October 1985 to 30 September 1986, special tasks have been established for the sale of prepared food items for consumption at home. For the period referred to in this Program, sales are forecast for 138,000 tons of meat and fish products (equal to nearly 195 million meals per year), of which 100,000 tons will be done in public food stores and canteens. To this end, through the special programs that have been drawn up in the counties it will be necessary to take measures to diversify the varieties of cooked foods, semi-prepared items, seafood items, baked goods and so forth, and to provide these items to the population in a civilized form.

Without a doubt, the workers in the public food and food trade sectors will manifest a maximum commitment with a high feeling of responsibility and exigency in carrying out the objectives and tasks outlined in the Program concerning the development of the production of prepared food items during the period 1986-1990, designed to directly contribute to achieving the policy of our party for increasing the standard of living and continuing to improve the quality of life of all the people.

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## ECONOMIC CHAMBER DISCUSSES FOREIGN TRADE PROBLEMS

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jun 86 pp 1, 8

[Article by L. Cocaj, M. Jinker: "Into the World on an Equal Footing"]

[Text] Belgrade, 16 June--The assessment that everything depends on exports, that everyone is in favor of keeping the economy oriented in this direction, but for the time being in words only, and that there are no income incentives for heavier investment abroad, has been made once again, this time in the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia. The members of the executive committee have come to the conclusion that the economy is faced with serious problems because of the lag of exports and imports during the first 6 months of the year. The SIV [Federal Executive Council] has also prepared a package of measures to be made public next week, and, as has been stated by Nenad Krekic, federal foreign trade secretary and member of the Federal Executive Council, they should turn the situation in the only possible direction, that of emphasis on exports accompanied by lowering of inflation.

The array of measures by means of which inflation can be checked is well known. These measures were applied from 1975 to 1979, when inflation was successfully kept under control. At the same time, however, an enormous foreign trade imbalance arose, and additional measures were taken to influence it. The SIV must now coordinate both sets of measures so as to stimulate exports without intensifying inflation. This is a difficult task. As Krekic pointed out, this really means that income and consumption must be redistributed in Yugoslavia and that no new money is to be issued to stimulate exports, inasmuch as this would have negative effects, above all that of increasing inflation.

#### Substantial Changes for the Fall

What are involved are measures which are to bring about essential changes in the operating conditions of the export economy. They are to put this economy in the situation of being materially interested in increasing exports during this period and the one to follow. The economy, including the export economy, must be able to count on incentives in the area of monetary and tax policy. The republics and provinces have already been consulted on these measures, and they will be adopted on an emergency basis by the beginning of next week. Another set of measures, designed to make

significant changes in and add to the structure of the economic system, will be sent, along with certain laws, to the assemblies of the republics and provinces for consideration in July. Substantial changes in the entire economic system are to be made during the second half of the year. The effect of these measures should be felt next year.

[Boxed item: Monopoly To be Counteracted with Imports

In response to the monopoly behavior of certain manufacturers on the domestic market, reflected in unjustified price rises, the SIV will, according to Krekic, intervene by importing goods which will be marketed at much lower prices than domestic products. Although the government expects an attack by the general associations because of such imports, it will use them to try to check price increases. In connection with the export economy, Krekic stated at one point that steps will be taken to provide it with modernization and reconstruction funds in 1986, so that it can compete on an equal footing in world markets.]

Krekic subsequently stated that the SIV expects help from the Federal Chamber in determining which regulations and laws are hampering modernization of operations.

The previous export and import results and the available data on future export and import trends make it plain that more significant measures are needed in order to solve the problems that have been identified. This is clearly indicated by the data presented by Radojko Filipovic, secretary of the PKJ [Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia] coordinating committee for foreign economic relations. The resolution on the policy for implementation of the Social Plan of Yugoslavia to 1990 stipulates that the value of exports is to reach 11.4 billion dollars, that is, that sales of goods and services will increase 9 percent. The value of imports, on the other hand, should reach 12.7 billion dollars by the end of the year. This represents an increase of 8 percent. Up to the end of May, exports were 1.4 percent lower than over the same period in 1985, while imports were 0.8 percent higher. All this has led to the creation of a large foreign trade deficit. The brighter side of this picture is that a positive change has been made in the structure of exports, and regional orientation of exports has been accomplished.

In speaking of export-import programs in 1986, drawn up on the basis of recommendations made by the general associations and with production capabilities and commodity reserves taken into account, Filipovic went on to say that development processes and the stability of the economy in the coming months will depend on growth of exports. According to these programs, exports and imports are to increase at a uniform rate to the end of the year, by 6 percent. When it is remembered that the January and February export boom has lost steam and that the number of new transactions concluded is declining, it will be understood why everyone is waiting for the measures which are now being prepared and which are to change this situation.

## Sales at Lower than Domestic Market Prices

Filipovic went on to cite the basic factors hampering the export activities of the economy. Above all, the income incentives have been weakened, and price competition has also worsened. This latter situation has been affected both by price fluctuations in world trade and by the lag in development in Yugoslavia. The worsening of other than price factors (quality, delivery timeliness, financing, and organization of marketing) has also had a substantial impact on the decline in exports. It is a cause of concern, Filipovic pointed out, that exports are also declining in organizations which are otherwise good exporters. All this indicates the need for a turnaround in key points of the economic system and economic policy.

Dusan Cehovin spoke on income incentives, or rather the absence of such incentives. More than 50 percent of exports are sold at prices lower than the domestic prices charged. In his opinion, the basic problem is the dinar exchange rate policy, which makes no contribution toward income capability of the economy. A highly critical problem is stimulation of the export economy, about which there is much talk but about which little is done. It is difficult to earn those 11 billion dollars that have been planned. This means that the foreign liquidity situation of Yugoslavia is becoming critical. Liquidity in turn has an impact on production, income, and the standard of living.

Milovan Zekovic stated that exports of metal products continue to decline. The importance of this item becomes apparent when it is considered that metal products represent 40 percent of total Yugoslav exports.

## Does Yugoslavia Have Enough Quality Products?

If the prices of Yugoslav products continue to drop, and it is obvious that they are much lower than those of competing manufacturers, according to Mihailo Lasica we should find out why this is the case. He asked whether we have enough good quality products for export. If we do not have competitive goods, we will then continually change our regulations and institutional measures. We will continually subtract from some and add to others. A number of data show that we do not have competitive products, since both productivity and quality are constantly declining, and these are two fundamental factors which should make increased imports possible. When productivity and product quality are such as they currently are, results are not to be expected from changes in the exchange rate and subsidies.

An economy which, like ours, is overburdened and has such heavy expenses, cannot be expected to succeed on the world market. Neither the resources nor the accumulated capital are available with which to motivate the economy if it can raise its prices 20, 30 or 50 percent overnight. Who, asked Nikols Filipovic, chairman of the executive council of the PKJ, would exert himself greatly to raise productivity in such a situation? For this very reason, the measures to be taken by the SIV will have no effect if they do not include ones which will check inflation. Nor will the set of measures announced by the SIV be effective without increase in production, lowering of costs, and execution of other measures in the economy itself, especially in production intended for export.

From the beginning of the year to the present, the foreign exchange market has been operating on the basis of article 110 of the new foreign exchange law. This means that priority items will be paid first and that there will be little left for the import economy. Ruza Cerne of the Yugoslav Bank Association stated that the association wants to take part in the process, since foreign credit obligations are falling due. Everyone has turned toward the foreign exchange market, but there is no foreign exchange on his market. On the other hand, the economy is not showing enough interest in commodity credit, such as SAL.

The commodity sector accounted for 58 percent of total foreign trade in 1985, and the non-commodity sector 42 percent. In 1986, in contrast, the non-commodity sector must occupy a better and more suitable position in the export-import programs, according to the chairman of the Economic Chamber of Croatia. Moreover, it is downright illusory to set up export and import programs in June or July and expect to get results. The chairman continued by saying that we now expect the SIV to solve all problems with this set of measures, and this is impossible. Conditions can be improved, but no radical change can be made in the situation.

The PKJ executive committee also has supported eight collective programs for development of production and exports of vital importance for harmonious development of the country. What are involved are programs for development of facilities for rubber raw materials, semimanufactures, and processed rubber products, food production and export within the Danube-Tisa-Danube system, construction of the Kolubara B thermoelectric power and heating plant, production and export of furniture, production of industrial gases, the tourism export program, and production and export of trucks and metalworking and woodworking machine tools. Referring to the conditions under which these programs were prepared, Sreco Zvipelj, secretary of the coordinating committee for development and current economic trends, pointed out that these conditions have made it impossible to implement the long-term economic stabilization program. They start with incomplete accompanying institutional regulations, continue with insufficient definition of strategy (agrarian policy, the policy of foreign technological and economic relations) and the measures for financial consolidation of the economy, and end with failure to enforce application of the criteria relating to investment and solution of the problem of current capital replacement.

While the economy is always complaining of the unrealistic nature of the plans of the sociopolitical collectives, now it is itself the target of such criticism. There are several defects in these programs. Because they have been drawn up by the general associations and worker collectives, they contain elements of a narrow guild approach, and moreover do not have enough collective programs which lead to elevation of the technical and technological level, while only few of them contain elements reflecting a so-called aggressive export orientation. It is also objected that replacement of imports continues to be confused with the concept of export orientation. The most serious criticism is that planning in the old way continues, as well as that plans are drawn up for associated labor organizations as a group, and this is to be regarded as the reason for the unselective nature

of the programs. In addition, society is required to provide heavy material support. The market is divided in the programs, with no advance provision made for distribution of business among the associated labor organizations.

However, we see that what has been accomplished is significant when it is remembered that until recently demoralization prevailed in the area of planning and that the whole planning process amounted to patching up the current capital replacement process. Technical and scientific institutions have taken part in their preparation, something which was not previously the case, and finally the programs have become the rallying point of the economy and are seen as a means of resolving the current situation.

[Boxed item: Collective Programs Seen as the Right Way

"Collective programs for development of production and exports are of paramount importance to the country as a whole," stated Nikola Filipovic. This is a radically new approach, which can put the country on the right track. It is obvious that the associated labor system cannot act alone on world markets, and debts cannot be repaid unless exports are increased. Hence full support should be given to the programs which associated labor decides to adopt and which can promote successful competition on foreign markets and act to reduce imports. However, it is also necessary to determine which programs are to be given priority.]

The executive committee also approved the summary of the proceedings of the conference on rational use and conservation of energy, and expressed its support for the program of measures for revitalizing housing construction and construction of housing units for the market, the program of Yugoslav tourist information and publicity activities abroad, and the reports on the performance, development, and operation of the Yugoslav electric power supply system, railroads, and postal, telephone, and telegraph communications system.

6115/9435  
CSO: 2800/297

## COMMISSION SAYS SLOVENIAN PLAN 'ECOLOGICALLY UNACCEPTABLE'

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jul 86 p 4

[Excerpt] According to Dr Dusan Plut of the geographic section of the Philosophy Faculty in Ljubljana, 90 percent of the lakes and streams in Slovenia are polluted, 50 percent of the forests are dying, while cities and industrial areas are literally smothered in air pollution for most of the year. A more detailed look at the ecological reality of Slovenia shows that, judging from water pollution, it would seem that 9 million people, instead of 2 million, live on the shores of these lakes and streams. Annually, 250,000 tons of sulphur dioxide is emitted into the air in this republic. One-fifth of Slovenia's population lives in settlements with the highest air pollution (in basins and valleys). Because of haphazard and excessive urbanization and industrialization and unregulated disposal of waste matter, conflicts have arisen between agriculture, water management, urban expansion, industry, and the material infrastructure, Plut explained.

The long-term (1986-2000) plan for Slovenia foresees a population increase of 277,000, a 3- to 4-percent increase in the social product and industrial production, a 3-percent increase in energy, a somewhat slower growth in food production, a large water improvement program, the building of 130,000 new dwellings, the increased cutting of forests, a 3-percent increase in water consumption, the development of tourism, building of roads, etc.

The commission for the spatial-ecological assessment of the plan of the year 2000 within the Social Council for Environmental Protection of Slovenia believes that if our relation to the environment and pollution does not change, pollution by the year 2000 will increase by one-third. Therefore, the republic plan to 2000 is considered ecologically unacceptable. The same commission believes that Slovenia has adequate amounts of energy, but that it is not efficiently used, and the commission is therefore against the building of new centralized energy facilities, especially against nuclear electric power plants which are economically, politically, and strategically unacceptable.

Peter Novak said at the preparatory meeting prior to a conference on this problem held at Brdo kod Kranj that the solution lies in directing investments planned for building energy facilities toward changing technology in industry; it lies in changing the structure of consumption, and in saving energy. The energy crisis, he said, requires saving, stabilization, and reduction of energy needs, along with the use of decentralized, alternative, renewable local energy sources, such as small hydro power plants, biomass, and bio-gas, wind, and passive and active solar energy.

## BRIEFS

**MARITIME PORT SHIPPING**--Of the nearly 21.4 million tons of cargo handled at our maritime ports last year, nearly 5.2 million tons was transit cargo. Although this was considerably below the possibilities of the installed capacities at these ports, it nevertheless stopped the tendency of decline [in transit shipping] in the years prior to this. In 1985 transit shipping increased about 3 percent and foreign exchange earnings based on this increased 5 percent; but there were no real effects from this, considering that shipping from the convertible area declined 1 percent. One of the reasons that this is the fact that, along with an unchanged trade structure, the price of port services for transit shipping did not increase. We still suffer from outdated technology of operation, inadequate linking with other forms of transportation, unsuitable acquisitions, etc. The largest users of our Adriatic ports for transit shipping are the CSSR (38.3 percent), Austria (31.7 percent), and Hungary (24.3 percent), while other countries account for 5.2 percent. The port of Rijeka accounts for 76.8 percent of the total amount of such cargo, while 90.2 percent of all transit cargo passes through this port and the port of Koper. Bulk cargo still dominates, such as coal, ore, concentrates, artificial and natural fertilizer, i.e., goods with the lowest tariff. Trade in ferrous metallurgical products is declining, along with the decline of this production in Europe; but trans-loading of containers is also stagnating, although the most investments have been made in equipment for this technology. Competition from CEMA countries has been strong and is seen in the greater use of Baltic, especially Polish, ports, along with payments of services in clearing account currencies. Austria is making greater use of Italian ports because of the exchange rate relations; while Hamburg, although further away than our ports, is attractive for Hungary and the CSSR because of the very low West German rail prices. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 12-14 Jul 86 p 10] /9274

**FOOD, PRODUCER GOODS IMPORTS**--In 1985 imports of agricultural products was as follows (in millions of dollars): grains 27; edible oils, oleaceous plants, oilseed cake 132; beef 15; meat from pigs 6; milk and butter 4; southern fruit [citrus, etc] 52; coffee, cocoa 50; and wool, hides and skins 350--totalling \$636 million. The inclusion of wool, hides and skins in the official statistics of agricultural products, in line with international classification norms, considerably worsens the foreign exchange balance. If we add to this figure of \$636 million the foreign exchange outlay of \$510 million annually spent to import agricultural producer goods, we arrive at a total figure of \$1,146,000,000

which is an enormous burden for our country. Annual expenditures to import producer goods are broken down as follows: imports of artificial fertilizers and components for fertilizer 240; of protein ingredients for animal feed 130; imports of pesticides and herbicides; spare parts for agricultural machinery 20--totalling \$510 million. [Excerpts] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 86 p 5] /9274

EMPLOYMENT IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVIAN--The policy of accelerating employment in Bosnia-Hercegovina is continuing successfully also this year. In the first 5 months 32,700 young workers were hired in the socialized sector, or 4.3 percent more than in the same period last year. The percentage for employment is 3.2 percent higher than that called for in this year's Resolution on Socioeconomic Development. In addition, 2,493 workers from this republic were employed in other republics, and 1,006 were employed abroad in this period. As of the end of May 1,258,322 workers and citizens in this republic have subscribed to the public loan to create additional employment; the amount thus far collected is 41.3 billion dinars. For this amount 1,309 investment programs which would open up employment for 94,400 workers have been submitted to the republic economic chamber. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 86 p 8] /9274

CSO: 2800/323

## HISTORIANS DOCUMENT 'HORTHYIST-FASCIST TERROR'

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian May 86 pp 512-516

[Article by Ioan Balgradean reviewing the book "The Horthyist-Fascist Terror in Northwestern Romania. September 1940-October 1944," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1985, 336 pages]

[Text] The appearance of this book represents an important contribution to knowing the situation created in the northwestern portion of Romania following its annexation by Hungary after the Vienna Dictate, thus filling a gap which has existed a long time in our historiography.

The special effort of the authors deserves to be stressed; with a view to carrying the work, they investigated a large volume of archive documents, a vast bibliography and periodicals of the time. (Footnote) (Mihai Fatu, Mircea Musat as coordinators, Ion Ardeleanu, Gheorghe Badea, Oliver Lustig, Ludovic Vaida. Also collaborating were Vasile Arimia, Vasile Bobocescu, Ion Calafeteanu, Ladislau Fodor, Olimpiu Matichescu, Gheorghe Unc)

In the introduction the authors make inroads into the country's history, from the Getic-Dacians up to 1940 when, due to its international isolation following collapse of the Versailles system, Romania is forced to make big territorial concessions following the pressures exerted by the revisionist states. In particular the authors emphasize the history of Transylvania, once again bringing out for those who do not know or who do not wish to recognize the fact that this was never an integral part of Hungary until 1867, but rather from its conquest it permanently had an independent status, playing an important role in the political constellation of the Hungarian feudal kingdom. As we know, following the defeat suffered at Mohacs in 1516, Hungary disappeared as a state from the map of Europe while Transylvania became an independent principality under Ottoman suzerainty, for around one and one-half centuries (1541-1699) having an international political-legal status similar to that of Moldavia and the Romanian Country. But at the end of the 17th century, together with its annexation to the Habsburg Empire, Transylvania entered a new phase of its evolution which ended in 1867 with Austro-Hungarian dualism. Also in this period Transylvania was a separate province of Hungary's, continuing to have an independent status within the Habsburg Empire (legalized by the Leopold Diploma of 1691) with its own institutions and laws.

Following establishment of the Austro-Hungarian dualism, as a result of which Transylvania was annexed for the first time to Hungary, the state authorities launched a powerful action of Magyarization of the nationalities, particularly the Romanians. During one-half century (1867-1918) the Hungarian diet adopted an entire ensemble of laws which in the end aimed at Magyarization, sought with particular perseverance by the governing circles of Pest. Included in this were the law on nationalities (1868) which proclaimed the existence of one single nation in Hungary--the Hungarian; the law on public instructions (1868) which declared Hungarian the single official language; the electoral law (1874) which discriminated against the Romanians and sought to hinder their participation in state political life in proportion to their share of Transylvania's demographic structure; the law on the press (1872) which instituted a strict control over all Romanian publications, whose purpose was to annihilate the struggle for national emancipation along this path, also. Added to these are also the economic legislation which sought to keep Romanians in a state of inferiority compared with the dominant nation. Proceeding from the premise that the Magyarization policy in the end would come off victorious only if Romania was eliminated from the schools, the assault would be launched furiously, particularly against them. Thus we see a true avalanche of laws in the area of education: the laws of 1879 and 1883, the law on children's kindergartens of 1891 and the Draconian Apponyi law of 1907 which also was the height of the Magyarization policy. These laws had two important consequences: first, substantial reduction in the number of hours of Romanian language favoring those of Hungarian language in the denominational schools--with its share, following Apponyi's law, being greater than 50 percent of the total--and then legalization of the abuses of the state school authorities, in this regard its being telling that just three years after the law was adopted (in 1910) around 500 Romanian denominational schools were closed. In the new political and national context the Romanians organized into two political parties (the Romanian National Party of Banat and the Romanian National Party of Transylvania--in 1869) which in 1881 would be the Romanian National Party. The Romanians' opposition to the annexation of Transylvania to Hungary at the end of the 19th century was demonstrated by two far-reaching actions. The Pronouncement of Blaj (in 1868) and the memorandist movement, concluded with the hateful Cluj trial of 1894, in which the leaders of the Romanian National Party were sentenced to many years of prison and fined large amounts of money.

The Romanians' struggle in Transylvania for emancipation and national unity took on new dimensions at the start of the 20th century, reaching its height during World War I and in particular at the end of it when the Grand National Assembly of Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918 decided for the union of this province with Romania once and for all, an act later validated by the Paris peace conference of 1919-1920. At the end of the introduction the authors present a concise situation of Romania following achievement of its national unity, in particular emphasizing the main characteristics of economic, social and political life in the context of international relations in the inter-war period.

Drawn up following a careful plan, the work has 11 chapters, each of them solidly analyzing one aspect of the problem being discussed on the basis of careful research of archive documents.

As is natural, the first chapter treats the international context in which the big fascist and revisionist powers --Germany and Italy--imposed on Romania the hateful Vienna Dictate, with its being the overture for an entire procession of sufferings, humiliations and ridicule to which the population of the ceded territory, particularly the Romanians, was subjected. In the concept of the leaders of the revisionist states this point marked the epilogue to their prolonged attempt to dispose of the problems in litigation once and for all by force. Once again the authors bring out that this dictate was of an unjust, imperialist nature, from which we have its short-lived nature, being imposed on Romania against its will. Through the Vienna Dictate Romania was forced to cede to Hungary the northeastern portion of Transylvania, with an area of 43,492 square kilometers and a population of 2,667,000, of whom 50.2 percent were Romanians. In this regard an obvious proof is the treaties of Turnu Severin, which took place on 16, 19 and 24 August 1940, upon the express indication of Hitler that Romania should immediately resolve its territorial litigations with Hungary and Bulgaria. On this occasion, Romania categorically rejected Hungary's demands, which claimed a territory with an area of 69,000 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 3.9 million, of whom just 1.2 million were Hungarians, accepting merely an exchange of populations. Besides the territorial claims, Hungary demanded 3 billion crowns from Romania as reimbursement for damages made by Romanian "rule" over Transylvania during two decades (1918-1940). Faced with this new despotic act (the Vienna Dictate), international public opinion showed its solidarity with the Romanian people. Here is what the famous British historian Seton-Watson said on 30 August 1940 during a radio broadcast from London: "Today may be considered a day of bitterness for the Romanian people, one of the blackest days through which the country has gone. Today a new and monstrous cutting of Romania's borders was committed in Vienna by dictate of the Axis powers " (p 36). Several years later, in 1944, the American journalist Milton G. Lehrer, in his book "Transylvania, Romanian Land (The Transylvania Problem As Seen by an American)" pointed out that Transylvania always had been an indissoluble Romanian unit and as a result, the Vienna Dictate represented "a new historical, geographic, economic, ethnic and ethical meaning, an absurdity and a threat to peace in Europe" (p 37).

Having learned of the decision imposed on Romania by the Fascist powers to give up a portion of Transylvania, the Romanian army and people appeared firmly determined to defend the country's independence and integrity with weapons in hand. Following pronouncement of the sentence from Vienna, the Romanian army and authorities were forced to withdraw from the ceded territory, with the Hungarian troops making their entrance here. For three months (5 September-8 December 1940) the ceded territory was under military administration, with exceptional legislation being introduced. Even from the first days of occupation, the Hungarian military authorities moved to apply the program established beforehand of extermination, expulsion and Magyarization of the non-Hungarian nationalities (except for the Germans), and particularly the Romanians. In this regard the brochure by Ducso Csata entitled "Niucs Kegylem" (Without Mercy) published in 1939, is relevant.

The second chapter presents the political and state mechanism by which the rule of Horthyist Hungary was established over the northeastern portion of Transylvania.

Immediately following the occupation, the parties and the paramilitary and political organizations existing in Hungary--the Hungarian Life Party, the Cross and Arrow Party, the Hungarian Renewal Party, the National Union Party, the Hungarian National Defense Association, the Order of Heroes, the Hungarian Committee for Preservation of Order, the ragged guard, the Turanian Hunters, the Organization of the Ten, the Szekler Border Division, the Levente Organization and others--also expanded their activity to northwestern Romania. Other Fascist organizations appeared along with these, even in the first year of Hungarian rule and limited as to area of action only to the territory invaded, with the first being the Erdely Magyar Part (the Hungarian Transylvanian Party) which from the start became an active supporter of the Horthyist regime.

In the third chapter the authors bring out the monstrous crimes and atrocities committed by the Horthyist authorities in the territory temporarily being occupied. The sadism and barbarity of the Hungarian occupants--hard to understand for the person of the 20th century but perhaps easier for the person at the start of the Middle Ages--were demonstrated by mass assassinations (Traznea, Ip, Ciumirna) and individual assassinations, tortures, beatings, arrests, desecration of holy places, collective and individual devastations (see the statistics on pages 87-91).

Other methods used by the Horthyist regime to reach the final goal--elimination of the Romanian element from the occupied territory--which are the subject of the fourth chapter were mass displacements, expulsions over the short-lived border into Romania, prevention of the Romanians' participation in political life. Primarily the expulsions were directed at the intellectuals, thus seeking elimination of any opposition from the Romanian population. Of course, the scope of those expelled was much broader, comprising all social categories so that in the four years of Hungarian rule the total number reached 218,919 (p 143); the total reaches more than one-half million if we add the approximately 80,000 refugees from terror as well as the 250,000 who were on the other side of the imposed border when the Vienna Dictate was pronounced.

The fifth chapter is concerned with the economic policy of the occupants on the occupied territory who were seeking to impose Hungarian supremacy and pauperization of the Romanian element at any price by depossessing them of material goods. On the basis of statistical calculations, the losses brought to Romania in the four years of occupation have been evaluated at more than 88 billion lei (at the value of 1938). There were many methods used to reach this goal: establishment of the Economic Council of Transylvania in Cluj in September 1940, whose purpose was to study the economic problems on the territory occupied (actually the ruthless exploitation of the earth's wealth); establishment of Hungarian control over the Romanian enterprises; subordination of the credit institutions (in 1943, the assets of the Romanian National Bank were confiscated for the Hungarian National Bank); cancellation of the 1921 agrarian reform. Proceeding from the idea that "who has the land has the country," as expressed by the Hungarian minister of agriculture, the officials launched a true campaign to dispossess the Romanian peasants of the plots they had received during the agrarian reform and to return it to the former owners, the Hungarian aristocracy. Even more, the lands which had been purchased with the acts in order also were taken. The oppression took place with the same vigor against the Romanian workers so that in 1944 their number did not exceed 1-2 percent of total personnel in an enterprise.

With a view to eliminating the Romanian element and the other oppressed populations, the occupiers fully used the system of internment in camps, sending to encampments and forced labor detachments, deportations and so forth, as we see in Chapter VI. In order to achieve this goal, internment camps were set up on the occupied territory immediately following annexation (added to the ones already existing in Hungary) with the total number of those arrested and interned rising to 13,359 (p 177). Also added to this are around 70,000 people who were sent to forced labor campaigns (p 183). Also, tens of thousands of Romanians--men and women--were taken to labor in Hungary and Germany, with approximately 30,000 being sent to Germany alone.

The seventh chapter brings out the persecution launched by the Horthyist authorities against the communist and worker, antifascist and democratic movement. The persecution of the communist and revolutionary organizations intensified particularly after Hungary declared war on the Soviet Union on 27 June 1941 when during the period of 29 June-20 September alone the repressive Hungarian organs arrested 1,210 people--Romanians, Hungarians, Jews (pp 202-203). Following this vast action, called "open pursuit," the resistance movement was temporarily paralyzed but could not be eliminated. It should be mentioned that weakening of the resistance movement also was due to some mistakes made by the RCP CC Secretariat which, on the basis of instructions which had come from the Comintern, decided that the party organizations in the northwestern portion of Romania should take action within the Hungarian Communist party, a fact which made more difficult the communists' struggle to free this territory and to bring it back within the natural borders of the Romanian state (p 196).

The Hungarian authorities gave special attention to the policy of Magyarization of the Romanians through administration, church, school, army and so forth, an aspect treated in Chapter VIII. One of the most utilized methods by the occupiers was Magyarization of names. A special chair was established at the University of Cluj for the problem of Magyarization, which aimed at preparing students from all the faculties in this regard. Also for the same purpose the "Research Institute for Races and Social Settlement" was created and it sought to create zones which were to a high degree Hungarian, speaking demographically, on the occupied territory. The authorities' furious assault was also launched against the Romanian churches and its priests. The priests were beaten, tortured, some were assassinated, the majority expelled, churches closed, made into warehouses, torn down, devastated, desecrated and all kinds of pressures were exerted on the population so they would take on the Hungarian religions (Catholic or Calvinist). The Romanian episcopates created after 1918 were abolished, while the episcopate of Haidudorog was reestablished (it was established in 1912 before the tearing away of some parishes in western Transylvania subordinate until then to the Greek Catholic metropolitan of Blaj) and the bases were placed for the Hungarian Greek-Eastern church headed by Mihail Popoff, a former military priest in the tsar's army, thus seeking Romanian religious subordination. The school policy promoted by the occupiers also was a basic element in the denationalization policy. Hungarian language was introduced in the schools and even hours of religion (two per week) for Romanian pupils were given in Hungarian. The oppression primarily was unleashed against the instructors, with their being forced to take refuge in Romania; of 4,692 instructors existing in this part of the country on 30 August 1940, just 710 remained (p 242). The Jewish population also suffered from this school policy, with a September 1940 ordinance

establishing that "Jews, both in state as well as religious institutions, can only comprise 6 percent of total pupils" (p 246). An intense action of Magyarization of Romanians took place through the army. Those called to serve were subject to a strict Magyarization, in this regard a broad program being set up, such as socials, camps, taking vacations in Hungary in order to hear only Hungarian, learning songs with a chauvinist content. ("Transylvania is a Hungarian land," "Forward, infantry, for Transylvania and so forth). Along with this broad range of methods the occupiers undertook many measures aimed at reducing the birth rate among the Romanian population, at the same time seeking to increase the Hungarian population's birth rate (p 247).

The situation of the population in northeastern Transylvania became even more difficult from 1944, following Hungary's occupation by the German armies on 19 March, due to the sharpened terror and violence, increase in massacres, intensification of chauvinism and anti-Semitism, with this broadly being treated in Chapter IX. Ordinances prohibited listening to foreign radio stations (including musical broadcasts), exceptional legislation was introduced in public administration, the requirement to work in agriculture, even on Sundays, was decreed, obligatory mobilization of women between 18-30 for military work was imposed, the mobilization of men in labor detachments and punishment detachments was intensified and in the army (the number of soldiers sent to the anti-Soviet front reached its highest level since the start of the war in June 1944). The terror was launched furiously also against the Jewish population, seeking to apply the "final solution," that is, their total extermination. In just several weeks the Jewish population in the northwestern portion of Romania was removed from cities and villages, interned in ghettos and from here they were sent on the road with no return, to the Nazi extermination camps. Of the total 166,601 Jews existing on the Romanian territory occupied by Hungary, around 150,000 were sent to the extermination camps, while approximately 15,000 were concentrated in forced labor detachments and just 25,000-26,000 survived, that is, 15.5 percent (p 266). While many Romanians even risked their lives to save Jews from the clutches of death (hiding them or helping them cross the border into Romania), most Hungarians helped the authorities during this "hunt," seeking to get hold of the biggest portion of the Jewish goods--factories, shops, workshops, homes (p 254). In the last days of Hungarian rule over the northwestern portion of Romania, the Horthyist terror, having reached its climax, was carried out with new crimes, massacres, devastations and destruction, with the most abominable act being the Moisei massacre of 14 October 1944 (p 284).

Chapter X presents the struggle of the revolutionary, democratic, antifascist forces from the Romanian territories occupied temporarily by Hungary against the Horthyist regime. In the four years of foreign occupation, the population in the northwestern portion of Romania presented a bold resistance to the temporary rulers, especially in strike actions, sabotage, refusal before requisitions, desertions from the camps and labor detachments, withdrawing from military obligations, creation of armed patriotic groups. An important role in organizing the resistance struggle was played by the working class, headed by communists and intellectuals. The resistance movement also was demonstrated in the press and culture.

The last chapter presents the struggle of the Romanian, along with the Soviet, armies to free the northwestern portion of Romania and repeal the hateful Vienna

Dictate. The victory of the Romanian insurrection of August 1944 resounded powerfully both internally as well as internationally, with this event opening the way for liberation of the Romanian territories under Hungarian rule. This news produced a deep impression on the Romanian population in the northwestern portion of Romania, contributing to the stormy rise of the struggle of resistance against the occupiers. In their struggle to free this territory, the Romanian and Soviet armies benefitted massively from the aid of the population, carried out to saving important social-economic objectives of national interest, saving them from destruction or evacuation, making transports needed to supply the troops, indicating the positions and forces of the enemy units, guiding the liberators on the most direct and protected paths and, in the end, participating with weapon in hand in the operations to eliminate the enemy forces. The population of northwestern Romania paid a heavy blood tribute to free this territory from foreign occupation and to bring it back to the mother country. Following liberation of the country, the Romanian armies participated alongside the allies to finally defeat the Hitlerist Germany, contributing substantially to freeing Hungary and Czechoslovakia, with the losses suffered on the territory of these country reaching 108,495 dead, injured and disappeared.

We feel that this book, written in a sober, dense style, due to the use of a rich archive material, on one hand represents an important contribution to knowing a period which has been explained little until now, from the recent history of our country and, on the other hand, a serious warning to democratic public opinion about the danger currently represented by the recrudescence of organizations which propagate fascist, revisionist and chauvinist theory.

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## MARXIST ROLE IN CATHOLIC POLAND, OTHER ISSUES EXAMINED

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 26, 25 Jun 86 pp 1,4

[Interview with Professor Stefan Opara, director, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences, by Michal Maliszewski]

[Text] [Question] I don't know if you will agree with me, but in my opinion Marxists in Poland are finding themselves in a peculiar diaspora. There are believers in the party as well. What effect does this have on the state of Polish Marxism?

[Answer] Traditionally, certain types of philosophies that lay claim to a scientific designation do not function immediately as mass phenomena. And Marxism meets those qualifications. It is a scientific philosophy, an intellectual offering, which as it were assumes a high cultural level on the part of its recipients. Philosophies of this kind never become popular immediately. They gradually become part of the mass consciousness. In any case, if we look at certain intellectual turning points in modern Europe, the Copernican theory and Darwinism also gained approval only after a certain time.

From the fact of Marxism's functioning in a social environment that is philosophically varied, certain obligations and inspirations result. Such a situation forces on the representatives of the minority philosophy certain attitudes that do not always characterize the representatives of the philosophical majority. These include tolerance and the ability to analyze and understand different arguments. The need for better, more profound presentation of one's own arguments also results from this situation. Thus many works by Polish Marxists differ favorably in their scientific level and reasoning apparatus from the work of Marxists from countries where they work under conditions more favorable to them.

In any case, these divisions and criteria are subject to change. For example, the division between advocates and opponents of Marxist atheism looks one way and the division between advocates and opponents of the Marxist social viewpoint looks another. We often have a situation where atheists are opponents of scientific socialism while religious people are advocates. So the philosophical divisions are neither as sharp or as easily visible as they would seem at first glance.

[Question] You surprised me with your statement about the greater tolerance of Polish Marxism. Up to now I always associated the minority with insularity, with the need to defend the surrounded fortress, not with openness.

[Answer] This phenomena must be examined historically. Most often the source of Marxist attitudes lies in certain objective circumstances. And over the past 40 years, these circumstances have been varied. Undoubtedly a Marxist will function differently during a civil war, when he could die because of his party affiliation. And people died for the very fact of their association with a party of the Marxist type. He will function still differently in a period of cold war and the atomic scare and differently now, in Europe after the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. So circumstances, the state of the class struggle, the nature of internal tensions and social conflict are decisive.

Except that so-called orthodox Marxists, those who are associated with the classical elements of Marxism, as a rule were open to cooperation; this was not an environment of hermetic bases. I would say that they were the promoters of dialog and cooperation, in contrast to orthodox Catholics, who have undergone a rather significant evolution in this regard. Until Vatican Council II they practically closed off the road to dialog and excommunication was the penalty for cooperation with Communists. Marxists, on the other hand, were guided by the slogan, "Proletarians of all countries, unite," proletarians, not atheists or Marxists, for example. And proletarians were, are and will be philosophically heterogeneous; in the majority they were and are religious people.

Therefore, from the start, Marxism advanced the motto of supra-philosophical cooperation in fulfilling social goals. Except that this attitude depends to a great extent on the partners. I would strongly emphasize the fact that the partners and, institutionally the Catholic Church, for years were hostile to Marxism, the worker movement and the Communist party. Moreover, the church was also hostile to socialist orientations inspired by Christianity. With equal fervor the church condemned socialists who cited the Gospels as well as those who cited "Das Kapital." Only Vatican Council II resulted in cooperation and dialog not being officially forbidden.

One can also distinguish a certain dependence on the political situation. We know that when there were strong governments in Poland, the church was inclined toward dialog. But when the government weakens, we always come up against an offensive on its part.

[Question] What does the term dialog mean in Marxist-non-Marxist relations here, where about 90 percent of the population professes Christian religions, of which Catholics are in first place, followed by Orthodox Christians and in third place--surprising in a certain sense--Jehovah's Witnesses?

[Answer] In your question there is a certain view of Poland's philosophical map that is rather popular but faulty. At the foundations of this map lie oversimplified criteria. Most often it is accepted that one's declaration that he is religious and belongs to a given church is sufficient. The Catholic Church uses an even less reliable criterion; whoever is baptized is a

Catholic. From this the overestimated data about the public's religiousness are taken.

Meanwhile there is no shortage of atheists who have been baptized. At one time, baptism was even a form of registration of newborns. Baptism was also certainly associated with the parents' religious views and so on. The criterion of baptism then is undoubtedly inadequate. The church also uses the notion of dechristianized Catholics to denote those who were baptized but have left Catholicism.

[Question] You must be familiar with the definition of Mircea Eliade, who calls Marxism desacralized messianism.

[Answer] One could just as well call Catholics christianized atheists, but that clearly is a kind of conceptual joke. All the research on the state of consciousness of our society shows much internal variation. Research by Rev Wladyslaw Piwowarski, a leading authority in the sociology of religion at Lublin Catholic University, shows that only one of three Polish Catholics meet the basic doctrinal criteria of Catholicism. According to Rev Piwowarski, the majority are heretics who do not profess the truths of their faith. Further, he states that even less than one third observe the principles of Catholic ethics; according to his data, in Warsaw, for example, just a small percentage of Catholics observe the moral principles of Catholicism in their daily lives.

So there remains a large and varied majority that should be the object of interest by the church as well as by Marxist circles. In this group there are many who go to church for conformist reasons. Research shows that people who don't believe in God at all make up a certain percentage of those who participate in services. This is without a doubt a purely Polish paradox. Because of cultural circumstances, certain deep rooted traditions and for political reasons too, participation in services is a form of environmental bond or a demonstration of one's position.

So in this complex situation, what does the word dialog mean. Most briefly, one could say that it is an attempt at understanding on a fundamental question--how are Catholics to take part in the implementation of socialism? Vatican Council II fundamentally changed the church's traditional, flagrant anti-Communism. We know that since 1849, when the "Communist Manifesto" was condemned, the church has treated Communism with extreme hostility. For example, in postwar Italy, where the Communists were one step away from gaining power by way of democratic elections, the church's position resulted in this not happening. Our church hierarchy too as a rule has not been neutral regarding political changes in the postwar period.

As I already mentioned, cooperation between Catholics and Marxists in implementing the new system created certain objective facts which the church has to take into account. Catholics, after all, make up a certain part of the members of the party, soldiers of the Polish People's Army and the militia defending the attainment of socialism. Also the majority of peasants who, in opposition to the church, supported agricultural reform. In the political sphere, there also emerged a social movement that attempts to unite the

Catholic faith with recognition of the principles of socialism. I am referring to pro-socialist associations of secular Catholics.

It is worth emphasizing that one can find many Christian movements in the world that actively support both the worker movement and the concepts of socialism. They have taken on particular vitality in South America. There we can observe a large group of priests inclined to tie the Gospels to Marx's teachings, and the cross to the red flag, acknowledging Marxism as a movement for social justice, approximating the ideals of early Christianity. These are priests who remind us that Christ did not come into the world into a rich family, but into the home of a simple man, and that one cannot use Christianity as an instrument in the struggle against movements of the poor and oppressed. These movements are acquiring major political significance, especially in the places abandoned by capitalism, where after the ostensibly civilizing mission of the former colonizers, a world of poverty, hunger and illiteracy remains.

Clericalists look with repugnance on progress Catholic movements and so today it comes down to a different dialog--anti-Communist dialog. This is a peculiar travesty of Lenin's statement that for workers fighting for justice, their views on life after death are unimportant; what counts is their agreement with secular work. For the priests who invite atheists from the pulpit, it is not important what opinion the atheists have about life after death, but rather that they are in agreement on their earthly, anti-Communist opinions. Today one can see a tendency to join a variety of faiths on the canvas of anti-Communism.

[Question] But it appears that the threat of nuclear annihilation or ecological catastrophe, which are common to the entire world, are speaking ever more strongly in favor of dialog.

[Answer] All divisions must be eclipsed when problems like the ecological bomb hanging over our heads come into play, when we are struggling for self-sufficiency in food production, when we want to protect society, especially youth, from drug abuse and a lack of principles. Regardless of how these higher values are motivated, a zealous patriot-Marxist will sooner reach an understanding with a patriotic Catholic than with an unprincipled element.

[Question] In your reflections on the religious attitude of Poles, you touched on the essential problem of the relationship to tradition and certain cultural conditions. Say what you will, but Marxism in Poland cannot escape defining its relationship to national tradition.

[Answer] There is a great deal to be done in this regard. If Lenin traces the sources of Marxism from utopian socialism and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union looks for its roots in the Decembrists somewhere in the 1920s, then I cannot understand why we do not reach into the traditions of patriotic Polish utopian socialism. Very few people in Poland even know the name of the first Polish utopian socialist, the great patriot, Wojciech Gutkowski, who wrote his significant socialistic work in 1817. We need to recall the thoughts and deeds of pre-Marxist Polish socialist who laid the groundwork for the concept of socialism in Polish culture.

One could see superficialization of our socialist tradition as the peculiar aftermath of the tendencies of the 1940s. The entire tradition was seen as unserviceable by some ideologists of that time and it was isolated to some extent. It did not operate among the public or in party training. The Romantics were reactionary, the positivists associated with capitalism, the first Polish Marxists were either nationalists or even fascists or idealists. On the battlefield, therefore, only Marxists from the end of the 1940s remained and they attempted to build traditions of progressive social thought out of themselves in Poland. And this error can be felt to this day.

In calling for respect for our progressive tradition, I am also an advocate of rational and critical appraisal of our past. So many national shrines and symbols arouse my skepticism. The great Polish intellectuals, like Renaissance philosopher Frycz-Modrzewski, function poorly in the contemporary consciousness. The traditions of Polish rationalism and Polish work from the ground up are not well known. Businessmen, engineers, inventors and industrialists celebrated on a par with great leaders elsewhere are almost absent in Polish history. But we revere lost uprising with great fervor. We make models of our rebellions. Of course one has to separate the heroism of participants in the uprisings from the frequent irresponsibility of those who led those impulses. It is not much better with victories. Perhaps we have to study much more carefully what the opponents of the Vienna campaign had to say. The victory at Vienna strengthened our future partitioners but did not bring a solution for many of our internal problems.

[Question] But let us leave yesterday and look at tomorrow, which in less than 15 years will be our today, the 21st Century. How would you see the scientific-technological revolution in Poland in the light of our distance from the most industrialized countries?

[Answer] According to a certain theory, countries are railroad cars and their position on the tracks and in the composition of the train depends on rather simple indicators, such as per capita income or the volume of steel production. At the head of the train are the US and Soviet Union, while other countries should be in hot pursuit of those in front of them and compete with each other. This model of progress is not a particularly rational one.

I think making progress through imitation alone is a disaster. We should look for certain alternatives for civilization. For example, we push for individual motorization, although we know the danger in this and are beginning to feel its effects. We prefer the individual pattern of recreation and so the majority of areas near fairly clean water sources have been built up with dachas. So we are pushing for patterns whose negative effects are already known. I think this painfully borne distance has its good and bad sides.

The technology gap is nothing new to us. Poland entered the 20th Century as a post-colonial country. And because we are in Europe and not in Africa does not change the fact that we had been colonized for more than 100 years. In the era of steam and electricity we were exploited and raw materials and manpower were extracted. If there was industry it was often in foreign hands. We went into independence with scant numbers of intellectuals, without a well developed political and parliamentary system, without efficient administration or a

powerful national army. We started everything from the ground up and if we were still a capitalist country, we would be condemned to the role of a raw materials source for highly developed countries and the entire process of civilizational development in Poland would have been seriously threatened.

[Question] But despite this, our raw materials--coal, sulfur, copper--are our ace in the hole.

[Answer] Yes, but we have not become an object of exploitation by capitalist countries. We have gained new opportunities. Except that our national aspirations have encountered numerous barriers. One of them was the relatively low number of the Polish working class. Yesterday's individual peasant has to undergo not a multi-year but a multi-generational process of adaptation in order to become a complete, conscious representative of the working class. This gives rise to particular problems in assimilating new technology. A factory that has the same machines and same number of workers as in the parent country often produces much less or poorer quality. In technology there are no miracles.

And all voluntarism can only threaten development. And we are experiencing this now, in constantly pursuing the 1979 production ceiling. This is an example of where a certain kind of economic greed has led.

[Question] In the light of technological processes taking place in the world, such as the introduction of microelectronics and robots, as well as social processes in highly developed countries, such as growing unemployment or the greater amount of free time, what does the future shape of the working class look like?

[Answer] This has been discussed intensively for several years. There has emerged the issue of the relationship of classical Marxism to phenomena that did not exist during the lifetimes of Marx and Engels. Thus conjectures were devised on the need to reassess certain theories, including the concept of the working class, whose historical role was to be fulfilled by the technical intelligentsia. This was an issue raised by the revisionist current in the party. On the other hand we should take note of theoretical works that are even more mature than many Western formulas. I am referring especially to the work of Radovan Richta, "Civilization at the Crossroads," which is the first attempt at intellectually mastering this phenomenon and reconciling it to the traditional set of Marxist theories.

Roughly speaking, all we have observed so far does not signify a change in the argument that the working class remains the most progressive force. Without a doubt Marx's observations on the mechanisms of capitalism and Lenin's on modern imperialism are still timely. These are all statements whose cognitive value does not change.

But the quality of the working class itself is changing. Undoubtedly the relationship between science and industry is changing. But still unchanged is the capitalist mechanism of exploitation and the significance of the classic criticism of private ownership of the means of production, and this criticism can even take on greater meaning when it concerns private, automated

factories. One could say that this is the most glaring absurdity of private ownership.

Technological determinism burdens many Western concepts; that is, the conviction that a change of tools will automatically bring about a transformation of social structures. Meanwhile, the theory of social life characteristic of Marxism is much more evolved and the role of tools is treated neither as exclusive nor decisive in social development.

[Question] What hope do you have for the Congress, especially since the PZPR's Academy of Social Sciences is the location of particular observation of what goes on in social and political life?

[Answer] I view as unparalleled the fact that the program of the 10th Congress introduces a certain order into reflection on the future and sets ideological concepts in order. A definition of socialism and Communism is contained in the most recent version of the PZPR's platform. If we look at the results of our social research and study political science texts, we can find characteristics of many doctrines there, not just the characteristics of socialism. This was even convenient for voluntarism in politics, so that few would know how socialism differs from non-socialism.

The peculiar conceptual muddle in this regard was convenient for the opponents of socialism as well as opportunists in the party. The party program will interrupt this state, for it introduces a definition of socialism and criteria that permit distinguishing that which is socialist from that which is not. It permits, I think, an appraisal of our shortcomings; it will permit pointing out areas in the spheres of economics, politics and social consciousness that can be treated as still non-socialism or inconsistent with socialism.

In this context one should emphasize the significance of the planned concept which I hope will survive in the platform, that Poland is not in a state of fully developed socialism, as an attempt was made to describe it in the 1970s, but is rather in a transitional period between capitalism and socialism. This argument does not allow identification of many processes currently occurring with socialism. The processes we are now observing of necessity include many elements inconsistent with the model of socialism.

By the nature of things I am interested in this theoretical, planned achievement at the 10th Congress which deals with far reaching strategy as well as its expression in the form of a set of important, immediate goals. An important task of congress delegates and the entire party will be taking care that the adopted platform does not become merely wishful thinking and that, as they say, it will be translated into practical terms.

[Interviewer] Thank you.

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## DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM EXAMINED IN NEW BOOK

Poznan WPROST in Polish No 23, 8 Jun 86 p 12

[Review by Czeslaw Mojsiewicz of "Centralism demokratyczny w socjalistycznym systemie politycznym. Zarys problematyki" [Democratic Centralism in the Socialist Political System. An Outline of the Issue], by Edward Erazmus, Warsaw, 1986, 360 pp]

[Text] In the language of politics, one frequently encounters the expression "democratic centralism." The expression is ambiguous and hard to comprehend. Could centralism and democracy be merged? What do they have in common? How should, and could, they be understood? Professor Edward Erazmus' book, "Democratic Centralism in the Socialist Political System" is devoted to these issues. It is a needed study. It enables us to clear up various arguable issues and notions. The author writes: "The problem of the ideosystemic values and principles and of the forms of their implementation are some of the most important problems of the Communist and workers movement, and of the socialist states as well. In every social system those values prevail which are assiduously promoted by the ruling class." Democratic centralism is one of such basic values which belong to the mainstream of the principles of a political order and of the socialist political system. It is the centerpiece of the organization and activity of Marxist-Leninist parties and socialist states. What does the significance of this principle mean? "The principle begets the most important values, such as the entire activity area of socialist democracy institutions; collective leadership and openness in their work; freedom of discussion; criticism and self-criticism; as well as the necessary discipline, law and order in the functioning of a political system and of its various links," Edward Erazmus explains.

The democratic centralism principle is the end result of political life experiences and activities of various political parties. Positive experiences signify that, thanks to this principle, Communist parties have achieved historical successes in their task of carrying out socialist revolutions and socialist construction in various countries. The principle allows for effective action. Negative occurrences, however, have appeared as well. It is a regular experience that every principle might become distorted, if there is no sufficient clarity concerning its essence. The democratic centralism principle can be distorted chiefly [through a tendency] toward

centralism with democracy atrophied. We are familiar with such distortions in our political experience over the past years. That makes the analysis in depth of causes for democracy distortion all the more important. The book's author intended to demonstrate the sources of isolation between the "democracy" factor and the "centralism" one. Among them there are: belittling, or ignoring, the social drives of socialism; the role of an ideology in running political and economic life; determining the tasks of local and lower party links, as well as of state and administration bodies, by the central leadership centers, in excessive detail. Most frequently, such an abnormal situation was obtained when administrative and executive links would prevail over elective bodies: domination of ad hoc methods of instructions and guidelines, over discussion and convincing.

Centralistic distortions should not signify a weakened role of centralism in the political life. All the leading centers should guide the spontaneous social forces, and coordinate all the efforts and aspirations of various social forces. Centralism should prevent anarchistic tendencies and improper understanding of democracy as a spontaneous and arbitrary action. Centralism serves the concern for the common interest, the discharging of duties by citizens and by various organizational bodies.

The difficult part consists of using centralism cleverly, just to an extent determined by the life, by the common weal and by the advancement of socialist construction. For a socialist society, the development of socialist democracy becomes, and should be, a fundamental issue. It involves a significant interdependence between the progress in strengthening the socialist system, and the level of development of the socialist democracy. The stronger the system, the more elaborate are the democratic institutions it can tolerate. It is obvious that younger systems can afford less elaborate democratic institutions. The problem consists of whether--as the system strikes deeper roots--the leadership is able to reduce the centralistic issue in favor of democracy. The author draws attention to the fact that "democratic centralism as a systemic rule, affects both the structure and the functioning of socialist democracy institutions, and the system of running social processes, but it can turn into bureaucratic centralism if the principles of equality and social justice, of democracy, self-management, etc., are not implemented."

Edward Erazmus' book has a clear and logically coherent concept. There are four chapters. Chapter 1 is devoted to values and principles of the political system of socialism; many different opinions about it coexist. Chapter 2 includes an analysis of the interdependence between a socialist system, a political system, and the democratic centralism. Chapter 3 presents democratic centralism within the action system of a Marxist-Leninist party, while the final one (Chapter 4) deals with the same issue in a socialist state.

The author draws attention to the controversial character of the answers he has provided to different questions. He inspires readers' thought, their reflection on the problems of major practical and theoretical significance. Real socialism

is still a young system, it has developed on its own and is looking for the best institutional solutions. The author is right to stress the important idea, that "at the lower levels of power and society's political organizations, there is a need for the prevalence of democratic factors, primarily expressed in the prevalence of self-management and decentralization factors. At a certain developmental stage of socialist construction, it is these factors that play an indispensable role as sui generis safety valves for the entire political system."

Edward Erazmus' book is an important contribution to the debate on the further development of our country. It would do well to reach the desks of all those who--at various levels of power--have anything to do with the application of the democratic centralism principle.

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## CONCERNS ABOUT NEW RELIGIOUS EDUCATION PROGRAM ADDRESSED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 23, 7 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Piotr Sarzynski: "Wedged Implementation"]

[Excerpts] Among the nine new subjects that are coming to the high schools in September along with curricular reform is religious education. Instruction in the subject in certain countries (i.e., Sweden, West Germany) already has a certain tradition; in socialist countries this will be a precedent. The new concept is evoking interest and controversy in the public. This most often results from insufficient information rather than from objective appraisal of the program and procedures of its implementation.

#### The Program

In the bloc of newly introduced programs are introductory philosophy, problems of contemporary civilization, the study of law, introductory economics, selected issues from pedagogy and psychology, protection and formation of the environment, elements of data processing, study habits with elements of research methods and religious education.

What goals are set for them? In the informational brochure published by the Institute for School Curricula we read, "The new subjects should constitute one of the elements of planned political-educational activity aiming to change certain characteristics of the public mentality." Among other things these characteristics are voluntarism in perceiving and evaluating reality, succumbing to myths and stereotypes and rampant subjectivism. In direct conversations on this subject I also heard about "the need for undertaking a challenge of civilization" and "understanding the future." In speaking of religious education itself, all my ministerial interviewees stressed two conditions. First the need to perceive it as an element of a comprehensively planned system of humanistic education, not autonomous didactic-educational activity independent of the rest of the educational system. The second matter concerns the goals that are established for religious education. "In introducing this subject," said Prof S. Frycie, "we definitely do not assume total atheization of youth as has been suggested recently. The subject curriculum does not contain any elements hostile to the Catholic church; on the contrary we emphasize certain universal values in it whose carriers are religion, e.g., promulgated moral and ethical norms. But if we observe

advancing secularization, it is at most a result of the general educational process of the school, which is inclined toward education based on scientific premises, not a result of indoctrination." In the program itself there are three sets of goals to be achieved with the help of religious education. The first are cognitive goals.

-- interpretation of the appropriateness of the origin, development and persistence of religion as a social phenomenon,

--acquainting youth with the substance and values of scientific philosophy,

--understanding by youth of the principles of state religious policy.

The second set are educational goals, in particular formation of an attitude of tolerance toward people with different philosophies and a rationalistic attitude toward public life.

Finally the third set of goals--cultivating competence in the area of using basic concepts to define religious phenomena and in the area of conducting philosophical discussions.

Religious education will be implemented as a compulsory subject in the fourth year of general secondary schools (14 topics, 32 class hours) and as an elective in years one through five of technicals schools and secondary trade schools (22 topics, 60 class hours). Both programs are very similar, with differences only in the degree of detail of the topics. They are comprised of three parts. Part I is entitled "Religion as a social phenomenon" and includes such issues as an overview of concepts explaining the essence of religion, the sources and structure of religion, its substance, components, stages of development, etc. Part II, "Religions of the modern world," is an overview of the major religions--Buddhism, Islam, animism, Christianity and Judaism--and it includes their origin, development, basic canons of faith, ethical foundations and present states of development. Finally, Part III deals with the current state of religion in Poland. It is made up of topics concerning churches and religious unions operating in the PRL, church-state relations, principles of religious policy in our country and analysis of the phenomenon of the religiousness of Polish society. In the 32 hour high school program, eight hours are devoted to Christianity.

#### Problems with Implementation

Although the curriculum has been ready for two years and educational authorities have been convinced of the soundness of introducing the new subjects into the schools, the department delayed its final decision until almost the last minute. At the beginning of this calendar year it was not yet known what future awaited the new subjects, including religious education. Implement them or not? It was a perplexing situation. On one hand even partial retreat from curricular reform would have been a setback (not only one of prestige) for educational officials. But on the other hand the degree of preparation for teaching them by the schools was poor and there was a lack of qualified teaching personnel and textbooks, two crucial elements. It was just on 15 March that the minister's order on organization of the 1986-87 school

year was issued. Inasmuch as complete introduction of curricular reform was decided upon, in the area of basic subjects (i.e., Polish, mathematics, history, etc.), a truly solomonic solution was achieved as regards elective subjects. They are to be introduced by the so-called wedge method, based--speaking most simply--on leaving the right to decide to individual schools. Those that fell adequately prepared can begin instruction in September in all nine new subjects; those that do not can wait until the following year. The school administration and educational council make the decision in each case and the superintendent confirms it.

Therefore, as of September, religious education will be in the curricula of just some of the secondary schools. How many? No one knows yet, neither in the superintendents' offices nor in the ministry. The schools were supposed to report their readiness (or lack of it) for introducing the additional subjects by the end of May. Local educational authorities solved the problem of implementation in various ways--some gave the schools complete freedom of choice while others imposed specific conditions. Rzeszow assistant superintendent Antoni Stochla explained to me how the matter was handled in his area. Three conditions were imposed in the schools--an adequately prepared teacher, a library of necessary books and a classroom or cubicle for the subject. Only a school thus prepared can introduce the new subjects. This is to counteract "hurrah optimism" and ambitious trumpeting in school directors prone to proving themselves at any price. But in observing preparations and talking with schools directors, I have come to the conclusion that one should rather fear the opposite situation--"wait and see" attitudes, individuals' insuring themselves against accountability, but with profound psychological justification. Why go to the "front line" and run the risk of failure or various unforeseen problems when it is not necessary. For now let other experiment, try, and we will watch, gather experience and will start wiser next year. Anyway, maybe in a year it will turn out that the concept has changed and the ministry will abandon the new subjects? This and similar opinions are not at all rare. Various surprises have befallen teachers from the department in recent years and that teaches caution and suspicion.

#### Who Will Teach?

Whether religious education will "catch on" generally in September will be decided above by proper preparation of personnel to teach it. Dr Romuald Konczyk, vice director of the Institute for Teacher Training, said, "The future of the subject will be determined above all by the teacher--his qualifications and professional personality. Because of the nature of religious education as a subject of instruction, everything must be done to prepare teachers especially well."

It was in the Institute for Teacher Training that the general concept of training personnel to teach religious education was created.

Most teachers will supplement their education at various courses organized by the Departments of Teacher Improvement [ODN]. During this school year they were conducted at 14 of 29 ODNs operating in the country. In total, supplementary training began for 944 teachers, including 138 in Lublin, 89 in Lodz, 70 in Bielsko Bialy and 45 in Tarnow. This is not a small number

considering that in similar courses to train for conducting classes in economics only 135 teachers took part and just 51 participated in philosophy nationwide.

The second most common form of training is post-graduate studies. They were initiated in 12 academic institutions (mainly universities and Higher Schools of Pedagogy), including Olszyn, Opole, Wroclaw, Gdansk and Slupsk. In April a large post graduate department began operating at the Academy of Social Sciences and in October another will start up at Warsaw University. Courses to prepare teachers of religious education have also been organized by the Evening Universities of Marxism-Leninism and the Interprovincial Centers for Party Education. In sum, there are plenty of courses and departments, but the problem lies in finding people interested in them.

But training is one thing and implementation another. The department not only does not know how many schools will decide to initiate religious education as of the new year, but it is also unfamiliar with the number of teachers trained so far. At a meeting with journalists on 8 May, minister Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska said there are already 1800 qualified religious education teachers (4500 are needed). In my opinion, that number is too optimistic. Unless it takes into account all those who have just now started courses and those who will start in October. And after all, not all the trained teachers will decide to conduct classes (for the reasons about which I have already written). So it could happen that instead of the "wedged implementation," we will be dealing merely with a kind of pedagogic experiment in selected schools. And it will be even more difficult to find people interested in teaching (those who had inner motivation have already "supplemented" their education) and the pointing finger of the school director may replace volunteering and good intentions. Up to now there have not been particular problems with steering teachers to the courses. Conversations with teachers who will start teaching religious education in September have convinced me that the great majority have been interested in these issues for some time and saw the courses as an excellent opportunity to supplement their knowledge and prepare to conduct interesting classes. This was confirmed by others, directors of the Teacher Training Departments and postgraduate studies lecturers. Therefore, at least for the first year, real aficionados will be teaching. But it is rather hard to count on 4500 aficionados. There are already situations where the teachers who must supplement their obligatory teaching hours or who have received "an officer they can't refuse" from their supervisors are participating in the courses. But generally they drop out after a month or two.

The issue of the philosophy of future religious education teachers is arousing particular passion. Are the trained teachers an academic avant-garde of atheists determined to "fight" for pupils' souls? I was cautioned against such reasoning everywhere and this was even greatly feared. Dr Norbert Drobka, director of the Department of Teacher Training in Warsaw, said, "On all the forms from which we gather data on course participants there is no information on the subject of their philosophy. It did not occur to us to ask about it and we have no right to do so in any case. I am convinced that among them there are some who have a materialistic philosophy as well as practicing Catholics. Simply, teachers like those we have in Polish schools will teach the subject."

In such a large, heterogeneous environment, there will surely be instances of using religious education to promulgate atheistic as well as Catholic attitudes. This cannot be avoided, although educational authorities would like to avoid one as well as the other.

Teachers of Polish, history and social studies predominate among future teachers of the subject, but there are also teachers of mathematics, physics and Russian. In general their average seniority is over 10 years.

#### What to Teach From?

Along with personnel problems, there are difficulties with textbooks. Certainly it is already well known that there will be no textbook for religious education in September and we cannot expect one sooner than the end of 1987. On the other hand, work is being conducted concurrently on four (!) textbooks. The first is by the Polish Religious Education Association, another by the Academy of Social Sciences, the third by the Society for the Promotion of Secular Culture and the fourth by the Central Methodological Institute for Political Science Studies of Warsaw University. For now though, there remains only referring to literature already published. The Ministry of Education and General Instruction has issued a list of 36 books recommended for use (and choice) by teachers and pupils. There is a great variety of entries, beginning with the classics of Marxist philosophy (F. Engels, "Dialectics of Nature," K. Marx, F. Engels, "On Religion") through publications by Polish religious studies specialists, philosophers and religious sociologists (i.e., E. Ciupak, "Religion and Religiousness, A. Tokarczyk, "Religions of the Modern World") to "Bible Stories" and "Gospel Stories" by Z. Kosidowski.

I have encountered diverse, even extreme, appraisals of this system, adopted of necessity in any case, from admiration for "a step in the direction of school academism" to fears about the possibility of conducting classes "under these circumstances." What is interesting is that the higher one goes on the educational hierarchy, the more optimistic the atmosphere. A high level department official assured me, for example, that "the generally accessible, broad selection of literature affords teachers the possibility of maneuvering, prepares pupils for interesting classes and incidentally will teach them independent work in the libraries." But one can see that this official has all the new material on his desk, provided in the form of authors' editions. I personally checked; from the proposed list, one can buy four or five items in the bookstores and these will certainly be in short supply soon. And it is no wonder. Of the 36 books, 14 were published in the 1960s, 17 in the 1970s and just five in the 1980s. So what do the teachers in the "young" schools have to say, where the selection of books is meager and the aforementioned entries are "like hen's teeth." Of course, there will be supplementary materials--manuscripts for teachers, even the series of articles in ARGUMENTY, synchronized with the curriculum, but is all this enough and is it an adequate substitute for a traditional textbook?

#### How to Teach?

If the answer to the questions of who will teach and what to teach from is more or less known, then total ignorance prevails when one asks how to teach.

In the department of education and its branches no theory or even a concept of teaching religious education has been worked out so far. Methodological considerations for now have not gone beyond the level of appropriate, to be sure, but very general truths. We know that the subject demands particular caution, tact and common sense on the teacher's part. We also know that for the time being there will be no traditional grades, only a two-tiered system--credit or no credit. But speaking of teaching methods, phrases such as these are being repeated--free exchange of opinions, discussion, seminar system, reports, scientific working climate, respect for proper reasoning. Will these "aids" make a teacher wiser? One of them admitted, "So what if I am fairly familiar with the history of Islam or Protestant ethics, if I do not know how to talk with young people on the PZPR's attitude toward religion. I don't care about carrying on a discussion--I can deal with that, but what about the allowable limits of expressing opinions by pupils and the nature of possible intervention by me?" To this are added other difficulties and dangers. Can a teacher who has taught history or Polish for 10 or 15 years according to old, tested and perfectly assimilated standards (questioning, lecturing, dictating notes, assigning homework) suddenly change his habits, switch his thinking to another frequency and from one class period to another change into a seminar leader for an hour? Educational officials asked about this say they believe in the wisdom of the Polish teacher. Somehow this argument did not convince me.

Under these circumstances there is nothing to do but wait for the experience of the coming year.

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## BRIEFS

SOVIET OFFICIAL IN KRAKOW--Lev Voronin, vice chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee on Material-Technical Procurement and other members of a Soviet delegation are presently visiting our country. They were in Krakow on 14 May. The Soviet visitors took part in a meeting with representatives of the city government, visited the historic Old Town and the 1,000-year-old underground salt-mine in Wieliczka. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 May 86 p 8] 13073/8309

WARSAW PARTY WRITERS MEET--On 16 May members of the PZPR Primary Party Organization of Warsaw writers met. The meeting was dedicated to issues of cultural development, in particular the development of literature. As a prelude to the fundamental portion of the discussion, Zygmunt Wojcik, secretary of the Primary Party Organization, presented the activity of party writers in Warsaw. Following this, Witold Nawrocki presented the most important issues of cultural development which were discussed during a recent session of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee. The decisions made during that session are directions for further activity by all artistic circles. Andrzej Wasilewski, Krzysztof Gasiorowski, Janusz Przymanowski and Andrzej Wydrzynski spoke during the discussions. (PAP) [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 May 86 p 9] 13073/8309

FINNISH DELEGATION MEETS--Visiting Poland is a delegation of the Democratic Union of the Finnish People with chairman Esko Helle, member of Parliament. The delegation had discussions with the leadership of the PRON National Council, represented by Jan Dobraczynski, Jerzy Jaskiernia, and others. Viewpoints on the role of organized social forces in Poland and Finland were exchanged as well as their cooperation for maintaining peace and international security. Both sides spoke in favor of broadening cooperation in such areas as environmental protection. A proposal was issued to organize a Polish-Finnish round table meeting in 1987 with the participation of a group of representatives of social opinion of the two countries. The delegation was received by Jozef Czyrek. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 86 p 9] 13073/8309

DEPUTY PREMIER, UNIONISTS MEET--Vice Premier Jozef Koziol met with representatives of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry. Among the representatives were Jerzy Kozlowski, the federation chairman, and Bogdan Zarzycki, Council of the Fruktopol Association chairman. During the meeting, problems in speeding up the industry's development and providing necessary containers for fruit and vegetable products were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 86 p 9] 13073/8309

AMBASSADOR TO SYRIA RETURNS--Damascus (PAP)--Abdel-Halim Chaddam and Zuehir Maszarka, vice presidents of the Arab Republic of Syria, received Boguslaw Kaczynski, ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland, in connection with the completion of his diplomatic mission to that country. The vice presidents sent greetings and expressed best wishes for the Polish people and the highest authorities of the People's Republic of Poland. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 86 p 7] 13073/8309

CPCZ DELEGATION VISITS--A delegation of NOVA MYSL, the theoretical-political order of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's Central Committee, is visiting Poland on the invitation of the NOWE DROGI editorial staff. The delegation became acquainted with the progress of the party's preparations for the 10th PZPR Party Congress. Discussions were held in the PZPR Central Committee and in the Slupsk Voivodship Committee. A program for further development of cooperation between the two editorial staffs was set at the NOWE DROGI editorial office with the participation of Stanislaw Wronski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 86 p 2] 13073/8309

SOVIET ACADEMIC LECTURES--Professors from the Soviet Academy of Sciences conducted selected lectures and seminars during a Post-graduate session titled "Knowledge About the Soviet Union and Polish-Soviet Relations." Academy member Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, also conducted lectures. Professor Bogomolov answered questions about the socioeconomic development of the USSR and other CEMA countries. He also dealt with socialist economic integration, particularly the implementation of the complex program for scientific-technical progress to the year 2000. (PAP) [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 86 p 2] 13073/8309

LENINGRAD DELEGATION IN GDANSK--Ties of friendship and cooperation linking Gdansk and Leningrad have a long tradition. The same is true of the "Gdansk Festival" and "Leningrad Festival" which are organized alternately in Gdansk and Leningrad. The visit to the Gdansk coast by a party delegation from the Leningrad district which ended on 16 May was a further manifestation of this cooperation. On the eighth day of the visit to the Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot tri-city area, the visitors accompanied by Stanislaw Bejger met with the party-social aktiv of the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk. They participated in the launching of 9 of a series of crane ships intended for the Soviet fleet. They had social meetings in leading workplaces of the tri-city area. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 86 p 2] 13073/8309

RUSSIAN REPUBLIC DELEGATION VISIT--A delegation from the RSFSR Ministry of Social Security with director Domna Komarova arrived for a 6-day visit. They were invited by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. The object of the visit is to exchange experience in the field of social policy. The delegation held discussions with representatives of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Services. They also met with representatives of the Polish Red Cross. In the discussions many social policy problems were touched upon. The Soviet delegation was received by Tadeusz Szelachowski, vice chairman of the People's State Council. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 86 p 2] 13073/8309

ELBLAG PZPR PLENUM--The 19 May plenum of the Elblag Provincial PZPR Committee evaluated the process of the pre-congress campaign in the provincial party organization. The plenum stressed that the campaign has been influential in stimulating all party cells and channels. The campaign has also contributed to discussion by the general public of the projected PZPR program and theses of the 10th Party Congress. During the campaign 474 candidates have been accepted into PZPR ranks. The plenum confirmed the materials of the voivodship pre-congress conference. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 86 p 2] 13073/8309

POLISH, SOVIET HISTORIANS CONFER--Historians from Poland and the Soviet Union have ended a 3-day conference at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. The conference was dedicated to the problems of socioeconomic and cultural growth in Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, White Russia, and Lithuania in the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 May 86 p 7] 13073/8309

LOCAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETINGS--Three Voivodship Defense Committees met on 20 May. In Gorzow Wielkopolski the activity of the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia was discussed. The Legnica Committee evaluated the sociopolitical situation, the state of public security and law and order in the region. In Skierniewice the work of regional misdemeanor courts was evaluated. A session of the Suwalki Provincial Defense Committee was held in Augustow, with the participation of Minister General Michal Janiszewski, member of the National Defense Committee and head of the Office of the Council of Ministers. The appraisal of the implementation of laws aimed against social pathology was the subject of the discussions. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 May 86 p 2] 13073/8309

SIKORSKI ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATED--On 20 May, the 105th anniversary of the birth of General Wladyslaw Sikorski, the residents of Warsaw paid tribute to the great Pole. General Wladyslaw Sikorski is remembered in Polish history as a statesman, an author of many works dealing with military education, history, and theory as well as tactics and strategy. After the September defeat in 1939, he was of great service as a spokesman for Polish affairs in the West while the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and the premier of the Polish government in exile. Delegations from the PRON Council of Warsaw, the Polish Army, the PRON Mokotow District Council, the Mokotow District Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, the

Wladyslaw Sikorski Elementary School No 292, as well as Mokotow workplaces laid wreaths and bouquets of flowers at General's bust on Belwederska Street accompanied by an honor guard and drummers from the Polish Army. (PAP) [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 May 86 p 5] 13073/8309

SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES MEET--On 20 May the annual conference of editors of magazines of friendship societies with the Soviet Union (USSR/Bulgaria, USSR/CSR, USSR/GDR, USSR/Hungary, USSR/Poland) began in Warsaw. Representatives of the Soviet magazine KULTURA I ZYCIE and the TASS and Novosti news agencies are participating in the conference. The host of the meeting is the editorial staff of the weekly PRZYJAZN, which is the 40-year-old publication of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship. At the conference, which will last until 24 May, fraternal editorial staffs will share their achievements and experience in popularizing and propagating the idea of friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and also discuss ways to publicize the achievements and resolutions of the 22d CPSU Party Congress. (PAP) [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 May 86 p 2] 13073/8309

PARTY-UNION COOPERATION GROWTH--A meeting of journalists was held on May 5 in Katowice on the theme 'The Party and the Trade Unions: A Form of Partnership.' The possibility of improving the effectiveness of party and union work in light of the assumptions of the draft party program for the Tenth PZPR Congress was considered. Alfred Miodowicz and Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the PZPR Central Committee Social and Trade Union Department, participated in the session. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 May - 1 Jun 86 p 8] 11899

LOMZA, PLOCK DEFENSE COMMITTEES--Provincial defense committees deliberated. The housing situation in Lomza was appraised. In Plock the status of public law and order, and security in the region were evaluated. It was emphasized that the actions taken to combat crime and social pathology are very effective. Attention was focused on the need to improve further the work of institutions and organizations involved in upbringing young people. Marian Orzechowski participated in the deliberations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 May - 1 Jun 86 p 8] 11899

PENAL CODE APPRAISED--On May 30 deputies evaluated the amended penal code during a session of the Sejm Committee on Administration, Internal Affairs and Administration of Justice. Attention was focused on, among other things, summarily examining offenses more frequently (this is linked with more severe sentences). [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 May - 1 June 86 p 8] 11899

OPZZ DELEGATION IN MOSCOW--At the invitation of the WCRZZ [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] a delegation of the OPZZ [All-Polish Compact of Trade Unions], led by OPZZ Vice Chair Anna Mierzynska, visited Moscow. She held talks with Galina Suchoruchenkov, WCRZZ secretary. They discussed problems associated with cooperation in the area of work safety. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 May - 1 Jun 86 p 7] 11899

POREBSKI CITED IN BULGARIAN JOURNAL--Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, was interviewed by representatives of the Bulgarian daily ROBOTNICZESKO DELO. In the interview he described the status of preparations for the Tenth PZPR Congress, and he characterized the present sociopolitical situation in Poland. Comrade Porebski praised highly Polish-Bulgarian cooperation. The interview was published in the paper's Saturday edition. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jun 86 p 8] 11899

JUDICIAL NOMINATIONS MADE--One hundred and fifteen regional and local court judges, who were appointed by the Council of State, were nominated on 31 May in Warsaw. Four individuals were nominated by the minister of justice to the position of public notary. In making the appointments, Kazimierz Secomski, deputy chairman of the Council of State, emphasized the importance of socialist administration of justice to strengthen public law and order. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jun 86 p 2] 11899

KOREAN RURAL UNIONISTS--The one-week visit to Poland of a delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic Central Union of Working Farmers and its chairman, Pak Su Don, ended 1 June. At the Central Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives Authority, there were mutual exchanges of information concerning the results of activities of both cooperative organizations. The Korean delegation was received by Stefan Zawodzinski, director of the PZPR Central Committee Agricultural and Food Department, who informed his guests about the results of agricultural policy and preparations for the Tenth Congress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in 2 Jun 86 p 2] 11899

GREEK UNION CONTACTS--The vice chairman of the All-Greek Federation of Trade Unions for the Entertainment Industry and Radio Broadcasting (POIHA), Grigoris Danalis, visited Poland. He held discussions with Jan Budkiewicz, chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions for Art and Culture Workers. An agreement on cooperation was signed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jun 86 p 2] 11899

SCIENCE, EDUCATION COOPERATION--Cooperation between military and civilian science was the subject of a meeting between the directors of the Ministry of Defense and the Polish Academy of Sciences. It was emphasized that this cooperation will be guided by the slogan 'Concern About Defense Bestows Increased Benefits To the Country.' General of the Army Florian Siwicki, the minister of national defense; Prof Jan Kostrzewski, president of the Polish Academy of Sciences; and Prof Zdzislaw Kaczmarek, Polish Academy of Sciences scientific secretary, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Jun 86 p 5] 11899

SOCIALIST REFORM SEMINAR--A Polish-Jugoslav symposium on theoretical problems of reforms in socialism was held in Jablonna, near Warsaw. The symposium participants met with Hieronim Kubiak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Jun 86 p 2] 11899

INDIAN CULTURAL CONTACTS--An Indian cultural delegation, including V. S. Das, secretary of state in the Republic administration, is visiting Poland. The guests were received by M. Orzechowski, minister of foreign affairs and Politburo candidate member. Talks were held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the program for cultural and scientific cooperation for 1986-1988. The program was approved on June 2 by Minister Das and Tadeusz Olechowski, vice minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Jun 86 p 2] 11899

BLOC JOURNALISTS MEET BEDNARSKI--The progress of discussions on the draft of the PZPR program was the subject of a meeting held 2 June between Henryk Bednarski, Central Committee secretary, and correspondents from socialist countries who are accredited in Poland, and press attaches of embassies of these countries in Warsaw. Andrzej Czyz, deputy director of the Central Committee Ideological Department, also provided information to the journalists. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Jun 86 p 2] 11899

NOWE DROGI HOSTS CPSU COUNTERPART--Vadim Trubnichov, a representative of the CPSU Central Committee theoretical-political organ KOMMUNIST, visited Poland at the invitation of the editorial staff of NOWE DROGI. He was apprised of the party's ideological activities and the preparations for the Tenth Congress. He held talks with the PZPR Central Committee and the PZPR Poznan Regional Committee. The Soviet guest also met with Bogdan Jachaczem, director of the Central Committee Propaganda department; Jan Bisztyga and Janusz Janicki, deputy directors of the Central Committee Propaganda Department; and Bronislaw Ratus, prorector of the Academy of Social Sciences. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Jun 86 p 2] 11899

LESZNO, NOWY SACZ DEFENSE COMMITTEES--The regional defense committees deliberated in Leszno and Nowy Sacz. In Leszno, the status of discipline and order in the region were appraised. Division General Michal Janiszewski, chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers, was present at the meeting. In Nowy Sacz, the results of patriotic and defense training of young people were discussed. The participants were also apprised of the progress in recruiting young people for professional military training. Service-Branch General Antoni Jasinski, vice minister of national defense, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jun 86 p 2] 11899

GERTYCH IN LODZ 'STOMIL' PLANT--Zbigniew Gertych visited the Stomil Plant in Lodz on 4 June. Accompanied by the region's political and administration leaders and by Tadeusz Chechowicz, the vice premier visited the production shops and was apprised of the possibilities of manufacturing auxiliary equipment for the printing industry. Zbigniew Gertych also met with representatives of Lodz's scientific community at the PAN Lodz branch. The activities initiated by institutions to implement rapidly into industrial practice new developments and technologies were discussed. In the afternoon, Zbigniew Gertych also visited the State Machinery Center in Rabien, near Lodz, where residents are building a primary school as a collective social act. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jun 86 p 8] 11899

RAKOWSKI AT SEMINAR--Participants in the Polish-Jugoslav political and sociological symposium deliberating in Jabonna, near Warsaw, met with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski on 4 June. He described the status of the current results of the campaign preceding the Tenth PZPR Congress, emphasizing its wide scope and very important program achievements. The discussion, which lasted many hours, focused on the mechanisms of socialist democracy, especially the question of economic reform and local self-government. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jun 86 p 2] 11899

'SCHIZOPHRENIC' WRITERS CRITICIZED--Professor Dr Witold Nawrocki, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Department of Culture stated: "...I myself belong to a cohort which in its youth used to learn agitprop and socialist realism lessons in the spirit, as it were, of Andrey Zhdanov, and I have since encrypted in my memory where it leads. It always leads to defeat. I do not, therefore, believe in the second circuit [the West], and I do not assume it could survive. I have a different problem and different worries and that is that; many writers would prefer to function both in the first and in the second circuits. That is to say, to find fame in the socialist countries, while making money and [acquiring] satisfaction, in the West. Obviously, we believe that anyone can come back to Poland, but appearing both here and there is, after all, a schizophrenic experience"--from an interview with Leszek Michalski, TAK I NIE, 23 May. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 7 Jun 86 p 2] 12485/8309

## ROUND TABLE ON IMPORTANCE OF POPULATION POLICY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 7, 10 Apr 86 pp 39-45

Text Abridged discussion by Mihail Florescu, Minister State Secretary, National Council for Science and Technology, Univ Prof Dr Mircea Bulgaru, Univ Prof Dr Olivia Clatici, Dr Stefan Costea, Dr Vasile Ghetau, Dr Ioan Jinga, Dr Emil Lazea, Dr Constantin Maximilian, Dr Emil Mesaros and Dr Sebastian Nicolau

Text The RCP's demographic policy is based on the view that the population is an essential and critical factor for the vitality of socioeconomic development and the productive power of society. The whole series of economic, social and medical measures taken in the last two decades at Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion were based on that consideration, measures which were to help stimulate the birth rate, reduce general and infant mortality, prolong people's lives, and maintain the youth and vitality of the Romanian people.

According to the guidelines and tasks set by the 13th Party Congress, the current five-year plan will also specially emphasize growth of the birth rate and health protection as major objective requirements for the all-around development of the Romanian socialist nation and the construction of a bright future for the future generations. In speaking of the measures adopted for these purposes on the basis of the decisions of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee at the end of last year, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "We shall pay special attention to families with several children in the course of these measures, which we are taking because the national demographic situation must be improved, the birth rate and the natural growth of the population must be adequately increased, and the youth and vigor of the Romanian socialist nation must be preserved."

In view of these considerations our editors arranged the following discussion, intended to bring out some important aspects of the relationships among the population, society and development as well as the critical role of the corresponding harmonious growth of the population in all-around social progress, the party's and state's sustained efforts in that direction, and the profound implications of the demographic policy promoted in socialist Romania for its general progress and prosperity.

MIHAIL FLORESCU: The relationships between population growth and economic growth are among the main concerns of most states today as a predominant basic and far-reaching consideration of the contemporary world. The correlation between demographic and economic phenomena is the subject of many analyses and international discussions. The various UN bodies, nongovernmental institutions, specialized national institutes and political organs, as well as scientists in the most varied fields (economists, demographers, statisticians, sociologists and mathematicians) are making regular efforts toward comprehensive study of problems of this kind. The logical and significant conclusion, now generally accepted, is that the economic strategies of the states whether large or small can no longer be considered apart from the demographic questions, and that it is impossible to plan developmental programs aside from the demographic variables in the present stage of mankind's development. Accordingly the population-economy relationship cannot be investigated statically or by any standard procedure but must be considered in its evolution in order to reveal the characteristics of the phenomena and clarify the trends in their evolution or to plan the appropriate measures of economic and demographic policy.

MIRCEA BULGARU: The evolution of the world's population is extremely complex and contradictory, so that no generalizing conclusions can be drawn from its analysis that would apply to any country regardless of the particular conditions. Although population can be considered a global problem on the planetary level from the standpoint of the systems theory, the extent of its integration into that system is limited because the models of development of the various countries' human resources depend upon a series of very diverse and complicated factors (economic, social, geographic, sociological, psychological etc.) difficult to cover in models and typologies that would be generally valid. Therefore I think at least three distinct points should be considered in examining demographic evolution in connection with economic development. First is the great diversity of conditions under which the countries develop. Second is the integration of the problems of population and demographic evolution in economic growth and the economic variables, as it has been pointed out here. Actually nowhere in the world today can a model of economic development be devised apart from the demographic models, giving rise to the problem of complete integration of the population, the individual and the human resources in all the socioeconomic models. And third is the nature of the demographic phenomena and their evolution over a long period of time. Therefore analysis of those phenomena must include the various long-term effects, which may have major consequences on many levels and for several generations.

MIHAIL FLORESCU: The steady population growth since World War II especially is an essential feature of global demographic evolution. According to the UN figures there were 2 billion people in the world in 1925, their number exceeded 4.8 billion in 1985, and it is expected to reach about 6 billion in 2000.

In view of this real trend in man's evolution, a number of studies made in the western countries in the last few decades reach some conclusions that are questionable in some respects, if not downright erroneous, including the famous Club of Rome reports. Essentially, they try to establish the idea that the crisis phenomena in the world of today, as well as those of economic and social inequality, are largely due to the population explosion, especially in the developing countries. Actually they are trying to obscure the structural

weaknesses of capitalist society and their consequences by blaming the developing countries for the great economic discrepancies in the world, omitting to mention the responsibility of the imperialist, colonial and neocolonial policy for the backward state of a large part of mankind. I do not think it is any accident but a very significant fact that those studies began to appear in the 1970's, that is at the end of the economic "boom" of the 1950's and 1960's, when the economists and politicians in the western countries were coming to realize that a period was approaching of great new economic and financial difficulties for the capitalist system. Those studies reflected understanding, in general, of the fact that the demographic evolution of the developing countries in connection with their trend toward industrialization augured radical changes in the world economy. The developing countries' growing economic potential, including their opportunities to exploit their natural resources with their own forces instead of exporting them to the industrialized capitalist states, creates a new situation in international economic relations and also on the world market for raw materials and energy sources that conflicts with the particular interests of monopolist capitalism and with the old international economic order.

The researchers' forecasts indicate that even at the present level of their exploitation the earth's potential resources can support a population of more than 10 billion. Accordingly demographic growth is not the chief cause of mankind's serious problems today but the imbalances, rivalries and obstacles visited upon the world by the whole capitalist system, the transnational monopolies' interests, the imperialist and neocolonial policy, and the old international economic relations and mechanisms, to say nothing of material values and manpower caused by the aberrant armaments race, which directly or indirectly affects all humanity and all peoples of the world by threatening the very existence of life and of man in the event of a nuclear catastrophe.

In the world of today, where the trends toward industrialization and modernization of the national economic structures are becoming general and where there are great gaps as well in economic and social development and in the distribution of the natural and manpower resources in different parts of the globe, the evolution of the population is proving more and more dependent upon the evolution of the world economy as a whole. Under those circumstances it is in the interest of all nations of the world, large or small, to solve the vital problems of this period through widespread economic, technical-scientific and cultural collaboration and cooperation and new international relations based on mutual benefit, observance of national sovereignty and independence, and noninterference in other states' internal affairs.

MIRCEA BULGARU: Two different and diametrically opposed trends are to be seen in the world's demographic evolution. First is the rapid population growth metaphorically called the "demographic explosion," but it should be noted that this exponential growth is not due to a higher birth rate as it might appear at first glance but to a considerable decline of the death rate in all countries, and especially in the "third world" ones, while a high birth rate is maintained. Alongside the strong "growth trend" of the "third world" populations there has also been an opposite trend in recent decades toward a decline in population and depopulation of some areas known as the "demographic implosion," with serious long-term effects upon the future socioeconomic development of the respective nations. It has been increasingly studied in the technical literature, since

instances of depopulation are present particularly in such Western European countries as the FRG, Austria, Denmark etc. Therefore these developed capitalist countries are faced with the problem of stimulating the birth rate in order to change the direction of the population's evolution and achieve a demographic optimum, that is a population growth rate which, when integrated in economic growth, will secure the socioeconomic balance and steady improvement of the quality of life. Highly competent researchers have studied this declining trend of the birth rate in the western countries and concluded that a population growth rate of 0.5-1 percent a year is needed to reach the said demographic optimum.

Having examined these forecasts of demographic evolution in the western countries in comparison with Romania's, we can state that the RCP's and the state's demographic policy is a realistic, scientific and prudent one in keeping with the general trends of the population's evolution on the European continent and integrated in the general efforts of the kind. The demographic programs planned in Romania at the suggestion of Nicolae Ceausescu and under his direct supervision are intended to secure a birth rate of 18-20 per 1,000 inhabitants, or a growth rate somewhat less than 1 percent, which is absolutely necessary and entirely rational. Upon comparing this rate with the evolution of the national income, which is planned to increase by 5-6 percent a year, we conclude that it will mean an economic growth of about 5 percent, fully meeting the requirements for Romania's all-around progress and the security of its future.

MIHAIL FLORESCU: In the current five-year plan Romania's employed population will reach 11.5 million persons, about 73 percent of whom will be working in industry and other nonagricultural sectors and about 27 percent in agriculture. New jobs will be created, and there will be 2.5-3.5 percent more employed personnel. Therefore a further increase in population is an objective necessity for the general progress (economic, social, cultural, intellectual etc.) of Romanian society in the next few years and in the more distant future. As contrasted with the capitalist countries, where constant market fluctuations aggravate the crisis phenomena that inevitably affect the employment of the labor force and cause chronic unemployment, in Romanian society planning, organization and uniform management of all socioeconomic activity according to the Unified National Plan completely correlates the manpower requirement with the employment of the active population, with a steady gain in social labor productivity and overall economic effectiveness. That is an essential and permanent characteristic of Romania's development in this and the following five-year plans.

VASILE GHETAU: In evaluating the effect of the population growth rate upon economic development the long-term effects must be considered because they are among the main characteristics of the demographic phenomena and processes in the entirety of socioeconomic phenomena and processes. At first glance a low birth rate might seem to have some economic advantages because it reduces the material and financial resources that society and the population require for maternity and for raising and educating the children. But the real social and economic consequences of a low birth rate can be evaluated only in the long range, after a period wherein the new generations become active economically. The long-range reduction of the human productive potential causes an economic loss that far outweighs the immediate advantages of a low birth rate. The reduction in active population lowers the growth rate of the national income (even granting that labor productivity will continue its regular rising trend), with bad effects upon both economic development and improvement of the living standard.

STEFAN COSTEA: I should like to approach the population problem from a viewpoint other than the strictly demographic one, which would be at least multidisciplinary if not interdisciplinary. I would submit that in examining the relations between population and social development not only economic development must be considered but also scientific, cultural, technological and other kinds of development. When we speak of a population we are speaking of people or of the Individual in a generic sense as a composite reality, an objective product of the general development of the world, nature and society. The individual and the population are products of history but the individual is also a controlling factor or element in historical development, so that human problems cannot be studied solely from the standpoint of the individual as a factor for development. I think it is necessary here to point out that the RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu give priority in all activity to the individual and his vital aspirations to freedom, progress and dignity. Fulfillment of those aspirations and constant improvement of the people's living standard and quality of life are the supreme goals of all socioeconomic development.

OLIVIA CLATICI: In fact, the RCP documents keep stressing the point that socialism is being built with the people and for the people and that Romania's entire socioeconomic and cultural development is for and on behalf of the individual, improvement of the people's material and cultural living standards, and all-around development of the personality. Socialism and eventually communism constitute the most humane social order, wherein the individual can give full measure of his working capacity, creative power and fulfillment in all aspects of human existence.

STEFAN COSTEA: That is indeed a true fundamental that should always guide examination of the relationships between population and development in any sector of society. Until recently the political economists of capitalism especially emphasized the essential role of material, natural and financial resources in the general development, treating the individual largely as a mere labor resource. In these days even those who take stands far removed from the concept of revolutionary humanism have begun to change their minds about the place of the human factor in the entirety of developmental efforts. Against this background new concepts are coming up in the theoretical discussions such as "human capital" and "human resources" in a broader sense than that of a labor force, and more emphasis is being placed on the highly complex problems of the mentality needed to secure present and future socioeconomic progress.

Actually the essential problem is that of a thorough understanding of the fact that the individual is the vital factor for progress and development on all levels, including the rates and effectiveness of development. Why? Because ultimately the human factor, the individual, is the only actually inexhaustible resource of progress. Among all the components of natural or social existence he is the only one capable of creating, innovating and producing new material and cultural values. No other social or natural reality is in that position. That quality inherent in the human factor unmistakably affects all aspects of the relationships between man and development and population and development.

EMIL LAZEA: Actually man is a product of history in the sense that he is a product of biological evolution and of society. But the importance of the demographic factor in the historical evolution of society lies particularly in the fact

that people, with their creative powers and their working capacity and experience, are society's chief productive force on all levels of its development. As the sine qua non for reproduction of material life, the population is the basis and subject of all economic and social progress. Depending on the developmental stage of the productive forces, the population exploits the natural resources, develops the various economic sectors, enhances the social division of labor and at the same time determines the extent of the social wealth as well as the rate of social development.

I think multidisciplinary treatment of the questions of Romania's present and future demographic evolution must also include Romania's realities and traditions inherited from the past and the particular conditions on the population's development on Romanian soil over the centuries, because the human potential of today is a legacy of the past, an outcome of long quantitative accumulations, and a synthesis of the distinctive features of the Romanian people's historical development.

MIRCEA BULGARU: As a matter of fact this question is a particularly interesting one, being one of historical demography, which is vital to Romania's whole present and future demographic policy. In what respect? By reconstructing the evolution of the population in this area we reach a conclusion of profound social and political as well as demographic significance, because in spite of all the vicissitudes of history the Romanian people have endured over the centuries in their ancient ancestral homeland. It is estimated that the world's population was about 250 million at the beginning of our era, while the population of Dacia, occupying the present territory of Romania, was about 1.2 million inhabitants, so that the ratio of the population on the present territory of Romania to the world's population 2,000 years ago was about the same as it is today. In other words while peoples, nationalities and languages were disappearing from the earth, the Romanian people succeeded in maintaining their existence by their resolute struggle for freedom, unity and independence but also because of their high birth rate, vitality and health.

EMIL LAZEA: The ancient authors of some writings referring to the Thraco-Daco-Getae mention that they were one of the most populous peoples known at the time. The fact that the Daco-Getae could not be defeated without great difficulty in their wars with the most powerful empire of ancient times indicates, among other things, that the Daco-Getic state had a high enough demographic potential to raise an army capable of defeating the Romans.

We do not have enough data from the period of the migrations of the peoples and the formation of the Romanian people to evaluate the demographic potential, but we can infer from the fact that our ancestors could remain unmoved in their historical homeland without being dispersed or assimilated by the waves of many migrant peoples succeeding each other for about a 1,000 years on the soil of ancient Dacia that the indigenous population was strong in this period too, not only in their hardihood but also in their number, to be able to survive the bitterest times in their history.

The relatively small population in the more distant historical periods and the slower evolution of the demographic increases in those times are not to be explained by a lower birth rate but by a very high death rate, especially of

children, and also by the much shorter longevity of the population as a whole, in addition to the effects of several other factors that often lead to major losses in the demographic potential. For example, the Black Plague raging from 1347 to 1350 reduced the population of Europe by about one-third. The studies in historical demography, especially those concerning the Middle Ages, show that the high birth rate was not only an unquestionable fact but also an urgent necessity demanded by the living conditions characteristic of medieval society. Moreover under capitalism, in the manufacturing and mechanical stages of its development when more hands were needed for exhausting work, the rapid decline of the industrial population was checked solely by continuing absorption of fresh manpower from the country.

New living conditions for all workers including the young generation were not created until socialist society instituted its radical reforms in our times, when provision for an adequate birth rate can maintain the youth and vitality of the Romanian socialist nation as an essential requirement for socioeconomic progress and constant improvement of the people's material and cultural welfare.

MIRCEA BULGARU: I think the Romanian researchers should investigate the questions of historical demography even further. A numerous population inhabited these lands in the period of Burebista and King Decebal and thereafter when the Romans abandoned Dacia. We should reconstruct Romania's demographic evolution now over the nearly two millennia in greater detail as far as possible, in the most important phases of the Romanian people's history.

I also think we must make a forecast of Romania's population for a longer period. The year 2000 is knocking on the door. I would suggest a forecast up to the year 2025 and even further, in keeping with the periods covered by the UN forecasts.

EMIL MESAROS: Man's biological capacity to reproduce himself has not changed very much over his entire history. For a very long period humans reproduced to their natural capacity, that is according to their biological potential, and they barely survived their hostile environments, their intertribal wars, later their international wars, etc. Until relatively recently man could not intervene to control his reproduction, being entirely dependent upon his biological potential.

I pointed this out because as it has been said here there is now a great diversity of demographic situations on this earth corresponding to the degree of economic development, man's ability to determine the natural laws, and his capacity to understand and control the phenomena of his own reproduction. Although there are some communities today, generally very small, that still reproduce according to their biological potential, for the most part man has begun to control his reproduction. In fact, in some areas underreproduction seems to be reaching extremes, as it has been said here.

VASILE GHETAU: While the economic reasons are the most important ones in demonstrating the need of a relatively high birth rate (although the term average would be more appropriate for a birth rate of 18-20 per 1,000 in view of the chronological evolution of the phenomenon in Romania), I do not think we should overlook the effects of the birth rate on the population's age structure either.

The European populations as a whole are undergoing a demographic aging process meaning a growing proportion of elderly people, due solely to the prolonged decline of the birth rate. The economic and social consequences of the process are far-reaching and largely negative. It is believed that in general rapid economic progress depreciates people's occupational experience more rapidly in favor of the new disciplines the young generations acquire, with effects upon growth of social labor productivity. Demographic aging also impairs geographic and occupational flexibility and, on the whole, increases the cost of specialized medical care.

In many European countries about 20 percent of the total population is 60 years of age and older. The proportion is lower (14 percent) in Romania because in general the birth rate has been higher than in other European countries. But it must be said that 30 years ago that proportion was only 10 percent. If the low birth rate of the last 2 or 3 years remains constant, the proportion of sexagenarians will reach about 18 percent in only 15 years.

In itself the growing number of aged is a natural process, as a direct result of a higher standard of material and cultural civilization, a lower death rate and greater average longevity. But it should be pointed out that the only way society can check the demographic aging process and accordingly mitigate its bad effects is to encourage a relatively high and stable birth rate.

**EMIL MESAROS:** In view of the basic fact, also pointed out in this discussion, that man, or the population, is the main factor for all-around progress in the present and in the future, it is objectively necessary to secure demographic indicators adequate to maintain the youth and vitality of the people. That is why the accomplishment of these major aims (fully substantiated in Nicolae Ceausescu's works) is one of the main concerns of the RCP and the state, as reflected in regulatory acts and in many measures to further improve the population's material and cultural living conditions. This also applies to the measures taken by the party and state administrations at the end of last year to increase the state allowance for children, the benefits to mothers with several children and the childbirth allowance, as well as those to increase the contribution of childless persons to society's outlays to secure adequate demographic growth. In addition to those measures, allowances for school textbooks (and in fact for those for the whole period of 10-year compulsory education) and scholarships are granted, the network of creches and kindergartens is being developed, and medical care and many other benefits are granted that relieve the budgets of families with children of heavy expenses. All these measures reflect the guidelines set in the RCP Program and in the 13th Party Congress' documents concerning Romania's demographic policy and improvement of the people's living standard.

**MIHAIL FLORESCU:** We must make the point that efforts toward demographic growth have taken their proper place in the programs and plans for Romania's socio-economic development, especially since the Ninth Party Congress, and that an adequate population growth rate, a harmonious structure by age groups, a better state of health, and a longer average longevity are major aims of the demographic policy consistently promoted by the RCP and the state under Nicolae Ceausescu's leadership.

**EMIL MESAROS:** Demographic growth is a problem of the entire nation because the people's future, which is the most important national asset, depends upon the

present generations' attitude toward motherhood and children. I should like to bring up some points in connection with this.

Nicolae Ceausescu says that in the course of Romania's socioeconomic development certain contradictions can arise at any point that must be considered and analyzed in order to eliminate their causes. I think some contradictions have also arisen in the relationships between demographic evolution and socioeconomic development in Romania. In the 1960's particularly there was a contradiction between the stable economic growth rates and the slower evolution of the birth rate, which was 14.3 per 1,000 in 1966, when the death rate declined and average longevity increased, causing an unsuitable natural population increase with bad long-term social and economic effects.

Thanks to the comprehensive measures taken in Romania in past years, the birth rate increased slightly but the increase was not in the nature of a stable correction and the birth rate continued below the quota that would increase the population rationally and mitigate the effects of demographic aging. The new measures to stimulate the birth rate and aid families with several children that were taken at the end of last year at Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion will unquestionably help the birth rate and enhance the natural population increase. Of course the natural population increase depends not only on the relatively high birth rate but also on a corresponding reduction of the death rate. Favorable conditions for this purpose have been created in Romania.

There is another contradiction in this field, namely an inverse proportion between women's level of instruction and the number of their children. The 1977 population census showed that women who had reached the end of their fertile period, that is from 45 to 50 years old, had an average of about 2-3 children. But there were great differences in their levels of instruction. Women with primary education have nearly 3 times more children than those with secondary and higher education. In general well-educated women have far less children than their reproductive capacities allow. This has serious implications for the future because all women will have secondary or higher educations as Romanian society becomes more and more homogeneous in regard to occupational training. Of course this raises some major questions for the demographic policy that must be considered.

MIHAIL FLORESCU: Actually the women with higher education who generally have the fewest children are in a social category with above-average incomes, so that it is not the economic factor or rather not it alone that plays the decisive role in demographic behavior. I think other factors can be considered at least equally important such as the cultural and educational ones and especially the sense of responsibility with which the role of the family in Romanian society is interpreted.

EMIL MESAROS: We have about 2.2 million women (over 15) with no children and only 850,000 women with more than four children. It is accordingly very important to take steps to increase the number of families with several children, both by the measures recently adopted by the RCP and the state to stimulate the birth rate and through the sociological, cultural-educational and other factors, but also to interest the millions of childless women in reproduction, which I consider vital. In that way a considerable gain can be made in the overall birth rate.

OLIVIA CLATICI: The question of children, of bearing, raising and educating them is of course primarily a question of the family couple and of the family's outlook on life. It is a matter of a set of values the family entertains, a code of life it chooses, and fulfillment of a certain level of aspirations. But short of being biased I think women's attitude toward motherhood is essential. In other words this question is not just an economic and political one but also pertains to the family climate, the family's aspirations, and its attitude toward motherhood and life.

It has been said here that the families with fewer children are primarily families of intellectuals. To be sure there can be many explanations, both general and particular, of this situation and from the social standpoint the fact certainly cannot be overlooked that women also have professional aspirations and strive for certain professional careers with social status. But the question also naturally arises, do we opt for a professional career alone and abandon our basic mission of becoming mothers, giving life and securing the continuity and future of the people? It is clearly not a question of that, because the two ambitions do not in the least conflict. Furthermore it is clear that not only intellectual women aspire to professional careers but all occupational categories of women qualified in some trade. It must be realized that the motherhood of a woman with three or four children extends over a period of 5 to 10 years or perhaps longer. During those years society's understanding and help are vital, as well as the facilities enabling the woman to cut down on the time that she spends out of professional activity. From this standpoint, the creche and the club (socially very useful institutions well organized in Romania) not only enable women to provide for the care and health of their children but also make an essential contribution to the continuity of their occupational and social activity. In this connection I would suggest considering the possibility of providing in the future, as the necessary material conditions are enhanced, for new aids and facilities for mothers, especially those with small children, in the process of qualification, requalification, general retraining and occupational improvement in order to give them more access to forms of training outside of production.

EMIL MESAROS: Perhaps more consideration should be given here to the requirements for giving women more help so that they can keep up their occupational activities during maternity. I mean all categories of working women regardless of their level of instruction.

OLIVIA CLATICI: But there is still another point, namely the question of economic and social aspirations. Sometimes you hear well-off couples say, "We do not want many children because we want to give our children the best opportunities to develop, to learn foreign languages, to have a car to drive, to know the country," etc. It is not reprehensible in itself to make such calculations and plans for raising children, but in the name of such calculations the right to life is sometimes refused to a child who would actually tend to prolong the life of the respective couple. This is also often due to misunderstanding of the meaning of education for work and life, indicated by expression of the wish to give the child everything in compensation for the parents' poverty in the past. Actually the child is often given everything but an indoctrination in the habit of working, making sustained efforts, and taking full responsibility in life. If he receives absolutely everything "to the maximum" from his parents, the child may reach a point where he is devoid of aspirations of any kind. It goes without saying that love for children must be rational and well measured.

What I think is essential in the RCP's guidelines is the requirement to redouble the educational effort to clarify the child's place and role in the family and in society. Education and especially higher education have a major obligation and responsibility in that respect.

IOAN JINGA: I entirely agree with what has been said here about the enormous responsibility of the family and the parents for their children and for their whole future as well. In view of the responsibility of education, I think the possibility of organizing a national system for "recycling" parents as parents and as educators might merit consideration in order to bring about better upbringing of children and their all-around preparation for work and life.

MIHAIL FLORESCU: Perhaps it is not a matter of parent recycling properly speaking but rather of influencing them through literature, some artistic works, the press, radio and television.

IOAN JINGA: I think the need of effective "recycling" of parents is due to the very changes that have taken place in the educational process and in the system for educating youth as well. Education has been enriched and diversified with new scientific findings, and parents are often handicapped in that respect. They are appalled by the new materials in textbooks and programs and can no longer guide their children with the necessary competence. Therefore I think their "recycling" is justified, not in pedantic forms of course but with interesting and attractive programs differentiated according to their cultural and educational levels. Both parents, but especially mothers, will know how to care for their children better and secure their harmonious development if they are initiated in the details of the child's physical and mental development at various ages and in the need of determining and considering his individual traits.

Many of the frequent mistakes in bringing up children in the family are also due to ignorance of how to organize their living and working schedules, especially as regards conditions for study, alternation of study with active leisure, rational feeding, formation of habits of physical and intellectual work, etc. Unfortunately parents, especially the young ones, did not learn all these things in school and they are not systematically informed of them in the course of consultations with them, although they perform their educational functions from the child's first year.

Preparation of youth for family life should begin in the upper grades of high schools (stage II) and trade schools with uniform programs drafted by the Ministry of Education and Instruction with the help of pedagogues, psychologists, sociologists and school physicians. After graduation from schools it should be continued in colleges or at workplaces, in cultural institutions and in the units of education and instruction as well for those who have become parents. Children and youths are being trained for life today in a practical way. They are subject to environmental and social influences and sometimes to influences that tend to erase the good ones instilled by schools and families as well as other institutions and organizations with educational tasks. In this light and in view of the foregoing facts, I think a radical change is needed in the way the schools work with the family. The consultations in which the teachers and professors tell the parents only about the children's absences, the marks they get and the way they behave are outmoded in my opinion and have actually become

ineffective. More effective programs are needed in the schools, as well as supplementary activities on the radio and television, in cultural establishments, etc. I also think the literary output should include more works for parents on bringing up and educating children (Why not?). Romanian film production can also do more on this subject.

OLIVIA CLATICI: Literature should indeed perform its function better in this respect, because you convince the general public much more rapidly with the emotional appeals of art and literature than with overqualified and overspecialized media that are understood only by a limited group of initiates. I would like to make another point in the same connection. When it comes to promoting new attitudes, the problem of credibility and receptiveness on the part of the public becomes highly important. But I have noticed that the popularizing materials on the family, motherhood, the population and children sometimes use far too specialized terms and sometimes, I would say, unsuitable ones lacking in the deference due to women. Of course if you use language unsuited to a certain intellectual and cultural level you cannot be convincing but may sometimes unintentionally provoke a negative reaction.

MIRCEA BULGARU: It is actually a question of maximum use of the possibilities of society as a whole for directing demographic growth properly, improving the human resources, enhancing the role of education, and strengthening the family. Even with the new social-occupational structures, when parents are more and more actively engaged in production, the role and responsibility of the family in educating and raising the young generation must not decline. The schools have a greater responsibility, but the role and responsibility of the family are greater too.

I also think that in the spirit of the guidelines set by the 13th RCP Congress and the Congress on Science and Education more attention should be paid to occupational training of youth and the labor force in keeping with the complex conditions of Romania's dynamic development and the great changes in the structure of trades and occupations, with special emphasis upon a broad profile of training to permit more rapid adjustment to the new requirements. The schools have a heavy responsibility for bringing about that kind of specialization for purposes of multiple qualification of the young generations.

IOAN JINGA: It has been pointed out here that the individual and human resources are the vital factor for progress. And the programs for national socioeconomic development, which are based on the policies and goals set by the 13th RCP Congress for the current five-year plan and on to the year 2000 also call for adequate training of the labor force at the level required by transition to intensive, qualitative development of the economy with increasingly intensive promotion of the new technical-scientific revolution.

The key problem of all education is to train youth as a future labor resource as well as a future beneficiary of all that is accomplished in socioeconomic development. I mean occupational training but also general-cultural, political and moral-civic indoctrination of the new generations. In this respect I think we, and especially we professional educators, are obligated to make maximum use of the existing facilities in the schools, wherein the foundations are laid for all-around preparation of youth for work and life. In this connection, it is of

course necessary to keep enhancing the role of the schools and teachers because it is the duty of the schools to largely replace the family's influence, especially in the case of families with many children and those with both parents employed in production. Sometimes it is even said that the schools should become "substitute parents." That is a metaphor to be sure and an exaggeration, but in a way it indicates the directions the schools' efforts must take.

The schools also have heavy obligations to improve instructive-educational work. And that is impossible without breaking the traditional pedagogic stereotypes and doing away with the pedagogic myth that two-thirds of the school population is inevitably average or in other words mediocre. We must find ways and means of adopting teaching strategies that will enable us to work in such a way that the great majority of youths will attain better performances, because that is really the reason for modernizing the schools.

Meanwhile I think education of youth for family life must be much further emphasized. The various aspects of friendship, love, relations between the sexes, marriage, permanence of the family with many children etc. should be approached more directly but also with the necessary competence and tact. Some educators' and parents' inflexible attitude toward such questions is unsuitable and often has undesirable effects upon adolescents' conduct. Activities in schools, cultural institutions, health units, mass media etc. for such purposes must be more intensively diversified in this respect.

SEBASTIAN NICOLAU: I think cooperation among schools, families and the other educational elements is vital to education and preparation of youth for family life. Health education of the public and especially youth is largely effected through the units of the medical-health network, yet the results of this activity do not always meet expectations. Perhaps we have not always known how to conduct this activity, but I believe the main reason for the unsatisfactory results is that we have worked in isolation from other educational institutions. I am convinced that it is only through considered and concerted programs in close and regular collaboration with all other educational elements as well as families that we will succeed in accomplishing our purposes.

STEFAN COSTEA: Against the general background of Romania's progress in applying an effective demographic policy, a broad field of action has been opened up to the educational units and institutions, as it has been pointed out in today's discussion. In this connection and in the way of consolidating the good results obtained and developing them in the future, such questions as the following are vital to educational theory and practice as well: training the young generation and educating the adult one to understand the political, economic and cultural significance of demographic phenomena and the measures taken in the course of the party's and state's demographic policy; heightening the sense of responsibility of all categories of the population for the very far-reaching problems of the family and family life, from the importance of founding a family, the ethics of family relations, parents' responsibility to children and children's responsibility to parents and the family environment as an educational medium to the profoundly good or bad effects of maintaining a healthy family life or breaking it up, and exertion of sustained efforts to accomplish the many tasks of hygienic, health and medical education of the population of all ages in view of the direct and very close connection between the degree and level of hygienic and health instruction and the demographic phenomena.

In all efforts to bring out the connections between demography and education it is a legitimate major aim to keep on promoting the RCP's view that the population, the human factor and the individual with his aspirations and needs are the chief objects of the whole process of socioeconomic development as well as the main factors in any program for social construction.

SEBASTIAN NICOLAU: A particularly important point follows from what has been said here, namely that population problems are not demographic alone. The higher birth rate and natural population increase are very closely correlated with public health protection and all these problems can be treated only as a whole.

The national party congresses' and conferences' periodic analyses of the problems of securing a lasting basis for the suitable growth of Romania's population and for preservation of the Romanian people's youth and vitality vividly illustrate the party's and Nicolae Ceausescu's constant efforts on behalf of the welfare, health and future of the Romanian nation. This is also true of the decree approved last December and effective as of 1 January 1986 to increase the allowances for children and the benefits to mothers with several children and wives of enlisted men as well as the childbirth allowance. In order to carry out this decree the state's outlay is being raised to 6.5 billion lei and the allowance for children is to be increased by an average of 26.8 percent, which is a considerable gain. The increases are even greater for families with more than three children, namely 45-80 percent in urban areas and 42-92 percent in rural ones. Moreover the childbirth allowance is also being increased, by 50 percent. A number of highly important tasks are also assigned to health protection in order to secure strong and healthy generations to maintain the Romanian people's traditional youth and vitality.

I should like to make one more essential point here, namely that in Romania provision for optimal health is not just a matter of theory. All Romanian medicine now has a preventive emphasis, and medicine of the healthy man is being promoted more and more emphatically. To this end efforts have been continually increased on behalf of the couple of future parents, which is vital to the birth of strong and healthy children. As we know offices for premarital counseling and family and genetic advice have been instituted in the counties, which offices are intended to determine future parents' state of health and to indoctrinate them in a pro-birth view. Besides physicians, these offices are also staffed with geneticists, psychologists and educators.

CONSTANTIN MAXIMILIAN: The importance of these offices for premarital counseling is very great indeed, because it is not enough to secure an optimal birth rate. There is need of births of the highest possible proportion of normal, healthy children. Man is the product of evolution, and evolution inevitably includes failures. Failure is an objective part of life and a natural phenomenon to be understood as such. But today medicine can predict and prevent the birth of children with genetic defects, and that is exactly the mission of the above-mentioned premarital and genetic counseling offices.

Romanian medicine now has an adequate technical base for prenatal detection of many errors of genetic development. Reducing the incidence of those errors is one of the great duties of medicine, which I am convinced will be able in the near future to identify more and more genetic errors prenatally and to advance

a real genetic preventive of maximum effectiveness through both specialized units and universities and clinics. It is our duty to do all we can to secure an optimal birth rate both numerically and qualitatively as a sine qua non to maintain and strengthen the Romanian people's health and vitality.

MIRCEA BULGARU: I do not believe the concept of health in contemporary society should be limited to medicine and physicians because it is much broader. The World Health Organization defines health as a combination of physical, mental and social well-being and not just an absence of diseases or infirmities. In this connection, I do not think the family, as a social entity, is being sufficiently studied as yet. There are 7 million families in Romania. I feel the family must be analyzed not only demographically but also economically, socially, psychologically etc. Life goes on to a great extent in the family, and the family is the primary cell of society.

OLIVIA CLATICI: Preparation for life in general and for family life in particular is also effected primarily by the family. The spouses' attitude toward each other and toward their children becomes an ideal for the young offspring. Accordingly the parents will be the first advisers and guides on family matters, and toward what demographic behavior they guide young couples is a vital question indeed.

MIHAIL FLORESCU: I would point out the important played in general by demographic research in better determining problems of population and the dynamics, nature and effects of the various changes or trends in its evolution. To be sure research in this field is of a profoundly interdisciplinary nature, as the discussions here have clearly brought out. Moreover demographic research is not even conceivable without the aid of such other sciences as political economics, statistics, data processing, sociology, medicine, psychology, history etc. We are accordingly working under the National Council for Science and Technology for the development of demographic studies in Romania in close connection with the various specialized units and with their aid.

VASILE GHETAU: Romanian demographic research shows some noteworthy results and I think it could be developed further by broadening its subject matter. Besides the two fields of investigation mentioned here (studies in demographic forecasting and comprehensive investigation of the family), others of great current interest could also be taken up, such as the mechanism of interactions between all demographic factors and the economic and social ones, demographic and socioeconomic effects of the intercounty migratory flows, demoeconomic models, effectiveness of the measures of demographic policy, leveling of demographic behavior, regional variations of demographic phenomena, etc.

The 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan is going to mark Romania's entry into a higher stage of its socioeconomic development, and science and technology are expected to play an increasingly important role. The general objective that the party is assigning to scientific research in this stage is the efficient and rapid solution of the problems that affect socioeconomic progress, and the contribution of Romanian demographic research must also be included in this.

MIHAIL FLORESCU: In conclusion I would like to point out that we have discussed some problems here at a time when the RCP and the state have adopted considerable

new measures in aid of families and mothers with several children. The importance of these measures and their extensive social and humane effects even further strengthen our confidence in the wise and realistic policy promoted in this field by the RCP in the light of Nicolae Ceausescu's profoundly scientific and brilliantly conceived view that the population has a decisive part to play in securing the vitality and productive power of society as controlling factors for the Romanian nation's free, flourishing and prosperous future.

Nicolae Ceausescu said, "It is our responsibility (and we must think of the Romanian nation's future) to secure an appropriate natural gain and to preserve the people's youth!"

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## HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY SAID BASED ON SOCIALIST HUMANISM

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[Article by Pamfil Nichitelea for the first year of the University of Politics and Management, "The RCP's Revolutionary Conception of the World and Life. Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's Contribution to Creative Development of Theory and Practice of Socialist Revolution and Construction"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works and entire political activity are characterized by a profoundly scientific view of the humanistic nature and principles of the new order and a constant effort to advance revolutionary humanism throughout Romanian society.

In the RCP's view, building the fully developed socialist society means both creating and developing the objective social structures, such as modernization of the productive forces, improvement of social and production relations, etc., as well as the subjective ones, such as formation of the new man with a high revolutionary socialist awareness as a builder of the new order. Accordingly the problem of the individual and humanism is emphasized in all party activity and Nicolae Ceausescu's works. As the party general secretary pointed out, "The supreme goal of RCP policy is to build a society focused upon the individual and his welfare and happiness and to provide all conditions for complete fulfillment of the new revolutionary humanism."

#### Marxist View of the Individual and His Development

The RCP's view of the individual is based on the Marxist theory of the nature of society. As they developed their dialectical-materialist conception of history, Marx and Engels set study and interpretation of questions of the individual a scientific basis, stressing the need of proceeding not from a presupposed abstract human nature but from social existence, from peoples' actual way of life. From this standpoint the RCP's innovating view of the individual and human nature sharply reveals the unsoundness of the abstract approaches of contemporary bourgeois ideology to questions of the individual, consistently calling for consideration of the essential concrete aspects of work and life in the human condition. In accordance with this view, the RCP is leading Romanian philosophical thought, science and culture to advance a revolutionary theory of the individual that will provide the answer to the main problems of the human condition and the real ways of solving them, and at the same time it is paying constant attention to the institutions and organizations engaged in forming and shaping the personality in a practical way.

Marxism views man as a member of a biological species in the highest stage of evolution. In that light, man appears as the product of the whole process of development of objective existence. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Essentially, we communists actually propose to come to the aid of nature, so to speak, which has synthesized in man the higher form of organization of matter, taking all measures to stimulate his noblest qualities and develop his sensibilities and his desire and will to surpass himself, to keep increasing his knowledge, and to fulfill his boldest dreams of progress, justice and happiness... In understanding and mastering the laws of nature we also try to put them to work for man, that is for all nature has created that is better. Now we intend to improve upon the highest product of nature, man the creator of all that exists in society!"

Therefore man is not just a biological being but is endowed with a will and an awareness, and thanks to that endowment he knows the outer world, forms ideals, is inspired by hopes and aspirations, etc. He is accordingly a being that also has a psychological dimension lent him by his status as a person, an individual distinct from his neighbors. As the party general secretary pointed out, "In educational work we must always bear in mind that every man has his well-defined individuality and personality."

Although the individual has a particular biological and psychological determination, his social determination, closely correlated with it, is the essential one. Historical experience tells us that work is the best way to develop the individual, and it has a twofold purpose, a social one as the source of the values produced in society, and an individual one as a primary educational factor because it forms the ethical and civic traits of the human personality. Without work no full development of each one's capacity would be possible, nor any complete use of creative talents, aptitudes or initiatives, nor the qualitative leap whereby work becomes more and more a vital requirement for human fulfillment as well as a means of livelihood for every member of society. Work is essential to a worthy life because the duty to perform a socially useful activity is a definitive criterion for each one's civic awareness and attitude.

Romanian socialist society permits full expression of the dignity of the human being, and that is done primarily in daily work. In socialism work determines the value changes in the whole area of human traits, namely discipline, responsibility, diligence, initiative, conscientiousness, collectivism etc., so that we could say that work is the decisive area among the many that are characteristic of social existence.

A new kind of humanism, namely revolutionary socialist humanism, is based upon this profoundly scientific conception of man. The idea of humanism includes the concepts that recognize the dignity and worth of the human being and his unlimited possibilities of development, while militating for development of the personality. Humanism has differed in different periods and social systems and among different peoples, classes and thinkers, so that it has a pronounced historical and class character. As Nicolae Ceausescu said on this subject, "As contrasted with bourgeois humanism, which fosters the selfish instinct, individualism and the struggle for one's own good at the expense of one's neighbors, the essence of revolutionary humanism lies in centering all social activity and effort upon the individual while establishing harmonious structural relations between the individual and the community."

The superiority of socialist humanism is most apparent in its elimination of the abstract, contemplative, speculative and Utopian character of the old forms of humanism. Socialist humanism bases development of the personality upon revolutionary social reform and abolition of any exploitation or oppression. In its entire policy, in the innovating preparation and implementation of which the Ninth Party Congress was a real landmark, the RCP has been bringing out the fact that true humanism is no abstraction nor any theoretical problem but primarily a problem of real life whose solution can be found only in actual social practice.

In conformity with the general RCP policy the documents approved by the 13th RCP Congress set the guidelines and directions of national socioeconomic development in the current five-year plan and on to the year 2000, their main objective being firm continuation of the policy of implementing the RCP Program with special emphasis on development of the productive forces, improvement of social and production relations, increasingly active participation of the people in social management, development of science, education and culture, institution of a new quality of work and life, and all-around development of the personality.

Accordingly revolutionary humanism is fundamental to all areas of Romanian society and its chief value, because it acts as a unifying principle both in determining the socioeconomic and political objectives and in the fields of culture, art and the political-ideological and educational institutions and activities.

Since it reflects the formation of harmonious relations between the individual and the community and the provisions for social justice and focuses all social activity upon the individual, revolutionary socialist humanism has a number of distinctive characteristics. In the first place, it is a complete humanism, because it is aimed at a complete harmony of the values contributing to all-around fulfillment of the personality, offering the latter extensive and equal access to professional and technical-scientific values as well as political-ideological, cultural-philosophical, literary-artistic and moral-civic ones. Consequently formation of the personality requires development of its talents and creative capacities and of the individual as a producer of material and cultural values, a social activist and a personality with high ethical and aesthetic standards.

The real and practical character of socialist humanism is one of its distinctive features. It bases satisfaction of man's material and cultural needs upon development of the productive forces and improvement of production relations and of socioeconomic activity as a whole. The real and practical nature of the socialist humanism promoted by the RCP is most evident in every worker's resolute effort toward construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. This feature of socialist humanism is also indicative of the fact that the party policy is characterized not only by promotion of the values essential to all-around development of the personality but also by creation of the right means to actual achievement of the human ideal, so that every member of society can fulfill himself according to his aspirations and the general needs of the people as a whole.

Socialist humanism is a revolutionary humanism because it is designed to make radically innovating changes, reforms and improvements that will eliminate any conditions that impair the human being and also create new social conditions that will enable people to make increasingly good use of their creative powers

to determine their own futures. In other words, the humanism of Romanian socialist society places the individual in the first rank of social activities as an active fighter for social progress. It is opposed by its very nature to any form of social oppression and to any racial, national or other discrimination.

Socialist humanism is also characterized by a militant spirit involving a firm and aggressive stand against any antihumanist ideas or practices and against all that is harmful to the individual. Revolutionary socialist humanism is also an optimistic humanism promoting confidence in the individual, his potentials for fulfillment and development, and his unlimited potentials for reforming the world and himself.

The collectivist basis of socialist humanism is one of its essential features, the fact that every individual's all-around development is secured by the united strength of the community and by his interdependence with his neighbors and the masses. While as we know the systems based on exploitation have alienated and dehumanized people, socialist society makes it possible to humanize social relations and to promote collaboration among truly free and equal people united by common interests and ideals. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We are creating a new and revolutionary humanism that emphasizes the individual as well as the all-around development of each one's personality, while discouraging individualism and heightening each one's responsibility to the collective and to society. We proceed from the fact that each one's material and cultural benefit and true freedom can be achieved and promoted only as part of the general benefit and of the entire people's freedom and independence."

#### Socialist Society As the Basis of True Humanism

The achievement of socialism in Romania was the practical application of humanism as a true humanism. Based on the structure and characteristics of the new order, socialist humanism is one of the latter's constituent principles, pervading Romania's whole social system. It is the very essence and the modus operandi itself of a society freed of exploitation and based upon social justice and equality. By instituting new socioeconomic relations of mutual aid and collaboration and thereby making it possible to disalienate the human being, socialist society is concluding the historical period wherein, as Engels said, "Any progress is also a relative regression, in which the welfare and development of some are accomplished through the sufferings and oppression of the others."

The Romanian people's great revolutionary gains under party leadership, progress in building the fully developed socialist society, further improvement in the new social relations and in scientific social organization and management, greater workers revolutionary democracy, and growth of socialist culture have opened up a broad field for development of the personality and permitted coordination of social progress as a whole with unrestricted development of the personality.

Bearing out in practice Marx' principle that "If the circumstances are such that form the individual, we must make the circumstances suitable," Romanian society has radically changed the socioeconomic conditions of man's existence and is constantly changing them, perpetuating social relations based on "equality and freedom of the individual to develop his personality and determine his own future purposefully," as Nicolae Ceausescu said. Accordingly socialist social

relations are basic to the objective material and economic requirements as well as the subjective political and ideological ones for harmonizing the general and personal interests and forming a new kind of social and historical individual as the subject of social development. Relations of exploitation and class domination have disappeared forever from Romanian society, and those of collaboration and mutual aid have been established among all its members. Moreover the social classes and categories are being leveled, and the essential differences among them are being gradually erased. Under these circumstances the all-around development and fulfillment of the personality are no longer meeting with social, economic or national obstacles. By instituting public ownership of the production means, socialism brings about a structural unity between the interests of the individual and those of the social and national community and among those of all social classes and groups as well.

In the present stage of Romanian society's development a process of constant consolidation of these conditions is going on that contributes to all-around development of the personality and accordingly to promotion of socialist humanism. In determining the entire Romanian people's courses of action, the RCP Program and the documents of the 13th RCP Congress integrate socialist humanism in the very concept of the fully developed socialist society. Implementation of socialist humanism is accordingly seen as a social process closely related to the other political aims and options and reflecting the purpose of the creative activity of the masses, who are purposefully building their own future. As contrasted with the technocratic trends, seeking maximum profits and overlooking the individual and his needs, the RCP policy of widespread promotion of technical-scientific progress and all-around social development is focused upon satisfaction of the vital and rational needs of the individual and fulfillment of his vital aspirations. The rapid development of the productive forces and of the national economy as a whole on the basis of the latest scientific and technical advances, improvement of social and production relations, and expansion of socialist democracy serve the profoundly humanistic purposes of all party activity, those of raising the nation to new heights of progress and civilization and achieving a new quality of work and life.

Thanks to the success of socialist revolution and construction, the workers have acquired the threefold capacity as producers, owners and beneficiaries of the entire national wealth. The institution and development of socialist ownership make it possible to release all of the masses' creative and constructive energies and initiatives. Meanwhile democratization of social relations, the workers' direct participation in socioeconomic and all social management, and unrestricted exercise of the civil rights and freedoms guarantee all members of Romanian society self-determination and the possibility of all-around development.

As contrasted with the systems based on exploitation and oppression, wherein only the "elite" are granted personality while the workers, the real creators of all material and cultural values, are condemned to the status of a passive mass devoid of creative originality, Romanian socialist society makes development of all its members' personalities actually possible. So far from undergoing a "personality crisis" or a "depersonalizing process," as some western ideologists claim, the socialist system makes all-around development of the personality possible as its supreme goal. We can proudly say that a new man is emerging in socialist Romania more and more vigorously, deeply dedicated to the socialist and

communist ideals and armed with the new advances of knowledge and the party's revolutionary scientific ideology. This is a striking demonstration of the superiority of revolutionary socialist humanism and the strength and viability of the new social order.

Since every member of society must participate actively and of course competently in construction of the new society, and since the quality of the masses' participation, decisions and actions depends upon the quality of every worker, the complete, all-around development of the personality is a major motive force for the progress of Romanian society. Therefore it is the highest duty of every citizen and every worker to show by his entire activity and behavior that he is acting as an inspired and enthused builder of the new life and an effective contributor to implementation of the party's domestic and foreign policies.

#### Revolutionary Humanism in Party Activity and Nicolae Ceausescu's Works

By focusing their whole activity upon the individual and his necessities of life the RCP and its general secretary have been consistently promoting a new kind of humanism, namely revolutionary humanism. Of course forming the fully developed personality and a new man in this light is a complicated and lengthy process. Since the Ninth Party Congress especially, the RCP's and Nicolae Ceausescu's contributions in this respect have proved to be of both notable theoretical value and outstanding practical effectiveness. By his theoretical works and his entire practical political activity the party general secretary has considerably developed and enriched the revolutionary theory of humanism by consistently demonstrating the necessity of solving the individual's real problems of work and life and of centering all social activity upon him.

In the RCP's view, revolutionary humanism as a characteristic and a motive force of the new order's development, is advancing progressively along with the development and improvement of social activity as a whole, with the growth of socialist democracy, and with social progress in general. By virtue of its economic, political and cultural structures themselves, construction of the fully developed socialist society is a new and qualitatively higher stage in the implementation of humanism. The RCP is working consistently on both the material and cultural levels of society to form the new man and to fully achieve revolutionary socialist humanism.

This calls immediate attention to the great objectives adopted by the 13th Party Congress for socioeconomic development, which will transform Romania by the end of this century into a socialist country fully developed in regard both to industry, agriculture, education, science and culture and to the people's general standard of living and civilization. The current five-year plan and Romania's prospective development up to the year 2000 form a marvelous program to revolutionize Romanian society. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the Report to the 13th Party Congress, "The Romanian people and the young generations of Romania are presented with the great goal of a vast creative activity to transform nature, society and man and to fulfill the highest aspirations to prosperity and welfare, to free and democratic development, and to the worthy and sovereign progress of the Romanian socialist nation."

Romania's rise to new and higher levels of socialist civilization will more and more fully meet the material and cultural needs of the workers and the entire

people. In the RCP's view, not even the increasingly strong assertion of the principles of revolutionary humanism is possible without assurance of a new quality in the development of the productive forces and of economic activity as a whole. The party general secretary keeps pointing out the fact that an advanced society and a higher, humanistic and cultured civilization able to create unlimited opportunities for their citizens to advance in all activities "must be based primarily upon a strong economic power. Equal rights are achieved only when equal living and working conditions have been created and action has been taken to build a strong material base that will guarantee the workers a truly free and independent life... Equality in poverty is no equality. Equality is achieved when people can live to the full and enjoy the material and cultural benefits equally."

The RCP general secretary has brought out the political aspect of revolutionary socialist humanism, concerning formation of an adequate, comprehensive and flexible institutional system enabling every worker and all citizens of Romania to share in socioeconomic organization and management and in discussion and adoption of decisions on matters of local or national public concern. Moreover this aspect of humanism also involves development of the workers' political awareness in the sense of their responsible revolutionary commitment to the solution of all problems of building the new society and to the implementation of the party's domestic and foreign policy.

In the light of this view and especially since the Ninth Party Congress, the RCP has been emphasizing development of socialist democracy and improvement of the unique organizational structure of revolutionary workers democracy, which provides for all workers' increasing participation in social management. Moreover the profoundly democratic nature of Romanian socialist society and of revolutionary humanism is expressed in the actual exercise of the basic human rights and freedoms. As we know human rights and freedom are extensively discussed in some western circles, but such discussion serves the antisocialist and anticommunist propaganda with which the imperialist reactionary forces distort the social-political facts of the socialist countries in the attempt to undermine the new order and its growing prestige in the world. To that end bourgeois ideologists distort the concept of the basic human rights by emphasizing secondary and marginal aspects or presenting them in a biased way.

But the really basic problem of observance of human rights cannot be treated "in general" or in the abstract. A specific analysis of these rights, such as individual freedom, equality, the right to work, access to education, use of aptitudes and creative capacities etc., shows that many of these rights are still to be desired in the world of capital although they are officially recognized. Therefore, as Nicolae Ceausescu said, the discussions of democracy and human rights must proceed from the consideration that "True democracy and humanism are incompatible with perpetuation of exploitation of man by man, with maintenance of the serious economic, social and political inequalities of capitalism, and with national, social and racial discrimination."

In acting upon these considerations the RCP and the state have not confined themselves to formally proclaiming the civil rights and freedoms but have been securing their implementation in practice and their exercise by all workers and the entire people, with priority upon the basic socioeconomic rights guaranteeing the individual's existence and security and his fulfillment in many respects

such as the right to work, education, culture and health, the right to share in the solution of problems determining the whole nation's welfare, prosperity and progress and his own advancement, the right to the entire nation's free and independent existence, and the supreme right to life and peace without which all the other rights lose any meaning or value.

National equality is one of the great gains of socialism and the RCP. The minorities problem was solved in Romania in the spirit of scientific socialism by securing equal living and working conditions for all workers regardless of nationality.

Since construction of the fully developed socialist society is the purposeful creation of the entire people, all-around development of the personality is an inevitable requirement for raising Romania to new and qualitatively higher levels of prosperity, progress and civilization. Of course the critical role of the masses in building the new order does not mean that the role of each individual member of the masses is ignored or diminished or that the personality of any member of Romanian society is neglected. As it says in the RCP Program, the personality is not lost among the masses but is more and more intensively developed as the entire nation develops.

Another aspect of revolutionary humanism often stressed by Nicolae Ceausescu is the ethical one, or ethical humanism, which not only reinforces some high human qualities and makes them socially useful but also promotes the values of the new order throughout society as a whole. Hence also the RCP's emphasis on further improvement of social-human relations and consistent promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and justice throughout society.

Promotion of revolutionary humanism is actively aided by culture, education, science and improvements in instruction, education, occupational training and knowledge in general. The scope of cultural development in Romanian socialist society is making it possible for all workers to fulfill their personalities as completely as they can as both creators and beneficiaries of the cultural values, and for the values of art, science and culture to become more and more a benefit to all categories of the public.

The influence of socialist humanism is greatly enhanced by the intensive political-ideological and cultural-educational effort to promote the militant revolutionary spirit more and more effectively in the entire effort to form the new man, indoctrinated in the spirit of the cult of work, socialist patriotism, international solidarity and intolerance of shortcomings or any manifestations contrary to the principles of socialist ethics and justice. Moreover the increased demands upon political-educational work call for greater revolutionary opposition to backward attitudes, recollections of the old order in people's awareness, and the influences of reactionary foreign imperialist ideology, as well as a greater effort to consistently promote the ideals of socialism and revolutionary humanism. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Address to the Congress on Science and Education, "We must combat and expose any chauvinist, nationalist, racist, anti-Semitic, backward or obscurantist manifestations, which have always been and are now especially foreign to socialist ideas and to scientific views of the world in general. They are foreign to progress and democracy and we must take a firm stand against them."

By consistently promoting man's creative efforts and the values of socialist ethics and justice, freedom, civilization and culture as well as the basic rights of man and the peoples, and by constantly broadening the scope of the personality, the RCP is distinguishing itself as a tireless promoter of the highest form of humanism, namely revolutionary humanism.

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## KOSOVO JUDICIARY SECRETARY DEFENDS POSITION AGAINST CRITICS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 86 pp 21-23

[Interview with Vesel Latifi, secretary of the Secretariat for Jurisprudence of SAP Kosovo, by Vera Lukovac: "Between the Word and Real Life"; date and place not given]

[Text] The secretary of the Secretariat for Jurisprudence of SAP Kosovo on the specific problems of the secretariat and judicial authorities in the province, on political crimes and ordinary conflicts with the nationalistic rear, on the unconstitutionality of certain decisions and on the most recent detection of organizations and groups of the Irredenta and Albanian nationalists.

[Question] Recently the SAP Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Jurisprudence has been a frequent target of attacks coming not only from the political public, but also the broader social public. But in all of this there have been many misunderstandings and an unfamiliarity with the legal and political functions and also capabilities of this secretariat. Perhaps it would be good, then, at the beginning of this interview for you to explain what are the real powers of the provincial secretariat for jurisprudence and what are your authorities as its head official?

[Answer] This is precisely defined by our law on provincial administration. Thus we perform administrative tasks which have to do with the organization and business operation of the courts, public prosecutors' offices, bodies for misdemeanors, and criminal authorities, as well as to penalties, international administrative assistance, execution of punitive security measures, clemency, and certain other legal affairs. However, in the range of its functions this secretariat also has other tasks which are above all of particular social and political importance. That is why we must also figure as a definite entity in the province's political and social life. But there is a great deal of public misunderstanding of our work, and unjustified criticism is often addressed to us. This is the point: The constitution grants judicial authorities important powers and independence in their work. Precisely because judicial authorities are independent, then, in their work, our function relative to them is not a directive one, but an organizational one; many things that have to do with their ineffectiveness are often blamed on us. I would like to emphasize once again: the secretariat performs administrative functions which have to do with the organization of work, but it does not manage judicial authorities.

[Question] And with respect to your specific rights and powers as the secretary?

[Answer] There are several ways in which one could talk about that. Nevertheless, my work most frequently pertains to monitoring the organization of judicial authorities and taking the initiative for certain measures where things are not as good as they might be. Accordingly, I can create a commission which will study the work in those places, but it is up to sociopolitical authorities, opstinas, or the province whether they will accept my report or not. On several occasions our or my suggestions and requests as provincial secretary have been rejected by the competent authorities of the opstina, but there also have been those which we have gotten through. Thus in the period since 1981, when I took over this position, more than 30 judicial officers named in our requests have been dismissed. But, as you see, my office is not omnipotent, nor is the secretariat itself.

[Question] The work of certain judicial bodies has not been satisfactory over this 4-year period. But in spite of that evaluation, you have been reelected to this position for a new term of 4 years. Tell us something about that.

[Answer] With all the shortcomings of whatever nature that have been evident in our province, there is no one who can fully justify what he has done. Everyone has influence in a certain way in the exercise of his office, and that also means responsibility. In performing the functions of the provincial secretary for jurisprudence in the last term we took measures and actions so that the performance of this secretariat, with the support of the Executive Council and indeed the Kosovo Assembly and other entities, were favorable. However, the situation has not been good for 20 years now in jurisprudence, and the public concern has not proven equal to the needs. For example, the number of cases and judicial officers have grown 60-80 percent over the last 10 years or so, but there has been only a 10-percent growth in the facilities those authorities require. When the gap is that wide, one must ask to what extent certain judicial bodies can perform their function. Even today we have judicial bodies which conduct proceedings in private houses. But in spite of these and similar difficulties, we have also had additional loads.

For example, jurisprudence in Kosovo has had great difficulties because of the extremely large increase in the number of cases of political crimes. This does not mean that others do not have them as well, but no one has this kind of growth. When we add that cases of this nature, because of the security situation and political situation and all the other social relations in Kosovo, have priority, including the organization of the strongest staff in judicial bodies, then there is a great question about the promptness and effectiveness in handling other cases. But in everyone's judgment from the Federation to the province the judicial authorities have once again passed the test. Individual omissions in these actions are insignificant when it comes to the struggle against political crime.

[Question] You have indicated the exceptional importance of promptness in handling political crimes, but is that enough for self-satisfaction in the general appraisal of all aspects of your activity?

[Answer] I think that judicial authorities have been in an extraordinary situation over the last 4 or 5 years. I would not wish that kind of experience on any judicial system in the country. It is no longer any problem for us to try 40-50 people, people far outside the law, either from the legal standpoint or in the actual organization of the effort, beginning with acceptance of the charge from law enforcement agencies all the way to monitoring the entire full investigation. Here and in penal policy we have been equal to the task. There has been no criticism in this respect. I would not like to have what I say taken as an excuse, but we here have had many specific difficulties in our work that they do not have in other parts of the country. One of them is the bilingual situation. All of this has an impact on promptness and effectiveness, since interpreters have to be found, translations have to be done, and so on, and then if you add to that something which no other judicial system in the country has to deal with: priority handling of cases in which the principals are of different nationality, especially where Serbs and Montenegrins are the injured parties, and all of this because of the political campaign, and that priority takes away our personnel and takes up time, then it has to be said that the actions which have been conducted, but also the circumstances we find ourselves in, led to the conclusion that that effectiveness and promptness could have been better, but what was of particular importance to this society in the work of the judicial authorities was good.

[Question] Fine, it is obvious that there are differences in the assessment of your work, but there are several facts that make it evident that something has not been functioning as it should. Among other things, during the last term you dismissed more than 30 persons from judicial office, and you have also undertaken new emergency measures for more prompt and effective work?

[Answer] That is true. We did dismiss people from those positions sometimes because of idleness, sometimes because of professional incompetence, and sometimes because of moral and political unsuitability. We are particularly disturbed by the slowness and ineffectiveness of the regular courts, i.e., opstina courts, and it is very important to emphasize that the opstina courts do not depend on our secretariat, but on the opstinas, and the greatest difficulty is that the opstina often looks upon the opstina court as some opstina agency, not as a body of the government in general. We have to create the conditions for constitutionality and legality to be honored, so that judges cannot be chosen to suit some opstina president, but rather those who fulfill the legal qualifying conditions. Then there would not be any cases when people would be elected to opstina courts without passing the bar examination, which does not happen anywhere in the country except in Kosovo. We have had more than 50 such examples. That is why we intend to propose measures for reorganization, so that the opstina and district courts will be abolished and replaced by basic and superior courts, and that will facilitate greater constitutionality and effectiveness in their work.

[Question] Do you think that this will bring about radical changes in the organization of work of the province's judicial authorities?

[Answer] Certainly it will. After all, we have often been forced to resort to campaigns and commissions precisely because of our specific conditions as I

have described. That is, our specific conditions are that certain conflicts which arise in proceedings before our authorities are looked at altogether differently because of the consequences which such a conflict could have. I think there is every justification for our having to deal with such conflicts in Kosovo promptly and effectively, since this has various dimensions in the political and security situation in the province.

[Question] Doesn't this also represent a certain load and political pressure on the work of judicial authorities?

[Answer] Yes, but I also perceive it as a necessary condition for monitoring the political and social situation here.

[Question] But should it be the function of judicial authorities to solve political problems as well?

[Answer] Judicial authorities are government agencies, and in proceedings they must above all protect constitutionality and legality. They cannot find their independence by being outside social and political events or if their measures and actions do not contribute to stabilization of the situation. And if we were to go all the way with democracy, as you conceive it, and say nothing about political measures and campaigns, and deal with the political cases independently of the situation, then a problem would arise that would have particular dimensions. I think that that would be politically unacceptable.

[Question] Yet there are those who think that both nationalities have lost confidence in your work and in its objectivity because of the pronounced politicization of judicial authorities in Kosovo.

[Answer] Our multinational community and our political-security situation in Kosovo, especially since 1981, necessitate the full commitment of all the subjective forces. I think that jurisprudence dare not be the cause of certain grave consequences in Kosovo, nor the cause of people moving out.

[Question] However, the embittered attitude of the citizenry toward your work has come to the fore, or perhaps your turn has come.

[Answer] We have not come to the fore, but rather it might be said that our turn has come. After all, we are unfortunately in the foreground, although we have not really fulfilled all the "conditions" to deserve that foreground. But in any case, if I were an individual who was a principal in proceedings before any court and if proceedings concerning my right should drag on for several years, then certainly I would be extremely embittered and dissatisfied. However, this has altogether different dimensions in our situation, since often subjective difficulties resulting from professional incompetence and the like are equated with nationalistic motives. You see, before 1981 cases were taken up in the judicial system according to the priority given them in law and according to whatever practice was customary for the entire country, and people new which cases had to be dealt with urgently. But now we are in a situation where we open our eyes wide when we have conflicts between principals belonging to different nationalities. Now even ordinary cases of

theft, ordinary crop damage, traffic accidents, become something special when they involve principals of different nationality, and we have to look at the background of that conflict.

[Question] Are you certain that nationalistic and political motives have always been behind these ordinary conflicts? Doesn't this at times edge over into a kind of political paranoia?

[Answer] That is possible. But we in the judicial system have to investigate and eliminate such motives in conflicts when different nationalities are involved.

[Question] The topic of sales contracts is certainly one of the most painful topics related to the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Viewed in legal terms, it is the constitutional right of every citizen of this country, regardless of his ethnic commitment, to do what he likes with his property. How do the judicial institutions in Kosovo manage to square the legal and political aspects of this problem?

[Answer] We as a country have uniformity both in the political and the legal system. In the functioning of particular authorities which are in the spirit of these systems there cannot and must not be solutions that would be unconstitutional in any way whatsoever. The question of restricting the right to sell real estate is regulated by law. It must not be different when it involves two Slovenes in Slovenia or Serbs and Croats in Croatia or any other members of different nationalities in the country. Accordingly, the restriction of the sale of real estate in Kosovo is unconstitutional. That is, it is unconstitutional to order a court not to act in accordance with the law.

[Question] But that is exactly what is happening here.

[Answer] That is not exactly so. We have had great problems with sales contracts when all the principals were Albanian for the simple reason that the population in Kosovo is turned toward agriculture, which is not the case with any other region of our country. It is only here in Kosovo that the percentage of the farm population is rising. Our peasant, especially the Albanian, is strongly tied to the land, and he invests everything he earns, often hard-earned abroad, in land, even more than he needs, since many people here see farming as a way out of the unemployment situation. That is why the prices of land in Kosovo are enormously high by comparison with other regions of the country. Other relations are often forgotten in these material and commercial interests, but if this edges over into the area of interethnic relations, then it becomes still more dangerous. That is why many conflicts and many murders have occurred even among the Albanians themselves, precisely because of land, but conflicts between different nationalities in this context also have a broader dimension, since pressure is applied to sell, the price and the sale are imposed, and here conflicts arise which result directly in people moving out.

However, it is not unconstitutional to temporarily halt the registration of these contracts. We have suggested to the courts that they temporarily halt

the registration of sales contracts which might have an impact on the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins.

[Question] Certainly, political arguments have to be honored, but there still remains the question of civil rights. That is, today an Albanian in Kosovo cannot purchase land or a house even if he really needs them to solve his problems in making a living; for instance, a check is run on the origin of his money. Hasn't this gone too far? It seems to me that all legal and legislative possibilities have not been taken advantage of whereby these problems might be solved as they have been in other parts of the country.

[Answer] I agree with you, but I do not think that the purchase of land is so decisive at this moment. We have to fight with every weapon so that the program of the Irredenta is not carried out, and if people wait a bit with these purchases, I do not think that we will lose much in the question of equal rights. We have more to lose in terms of equal rights if all the Serbs and Montenegrins move out.

[Question] Perhaps you might tell us something about the numerous demands and criticisms from various international organizations concerned with human rights and which have to do with the trial of political offenders in Kosovo. How do you receive them and comment upon them, or do you honor such correspondence at all?

[Answer] Yes, here in the secretariat I quite often receive various letters from various organizations abroad addressed to me. On behalf of certain freedoms and rights they seek the release of many political offenders, who are mentioned by name. This does not represent any special activity for us, we understand their involvement, but we think that within the framework of our system we should deal with our affairs ourselves. Often these demands from abroad are unobjective and not sufficiently supported with arguments. There have been comments from outside to the effect that there are many trials in Yugoslavia, that there are a great number of political prisoners, that there are bans here on the right and freedom of expression, and practically to the effect that everything that is the worst exists here in our system and nowhere else.

[Question] How much does that affect your work and could it create a certain atmosphere that might affect the adoption of certain verdicts?

[Answer] This has no impact whatsoever on our work here in Kosovo. I think that we know our job quite well and know how to solve our own problems. But in all of this the most vocal are those systems which have a very high number of political prisoners themselves. Those are systems which themselves have problems with human rights, and those are systems which have all kinds of problems with their own nationality questions. We speak openly about our trials, but in many countries which criticize us for violation of human freedoms entire families are lost, ethnic features are being erased, languages are prohibited, and so on.

[Question] What is the treatment of political prisoners in the prisons at present? Are they treated differently from other offenders?

[Answer] I do not know of a single system in the world, and I am rather familiar with this field, which treats its fiercest enemies, people who have bent their every effort to destroying this system, as is the case with the Irredentists, the same way that we do in the prisons: they choose what they want to eat from the menu, they request and receive literature in their own or any other language, they have special television programming in their own language, and they can seek health protection and clemency, and they receive visits from their families. Whenever you go to those prisons, you will find them healthy in mind and body. That is, I want to say that our system is democratic, and in this connection the system of executing prison sentences is the most humane in the world. Even during the serving of such sentences our society provides all the conditions for resocialization and a constructive return to society even when the most serious cases are involved.

[Question] This June broke the record for the trials instituted against entire groups and organizations of the Irredenta and Albanian nationalists. Because of the number of such persons there are those who think that political crime in Kosovo is on the rise. What is the actual state of affairs?

[Answer] Since 1981 more than 1,000 persons have been tried for political crimes, and more than 6,000 for misdemeanors with political elements. A certain number of persons have served their sentences and been released. Other persons and organizations have been discovered or are being discovered in the meantime, and that is an ongoing job and process, so that I would not agree with those who think that this crime is on the rise. This is rather an indication that it is being effectively detected and punished. Likewise it is only now that a certain number of organizations have been detected, but this does not mean that there have not been any created since 1981. Unfortunately, there have been, but we have also detected them and many of them or their groups are involved in court trials right at this moment.

[Question] Have their been "repeaters" in these trials?

[Answer] Unfortunately, there have, a great many.

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