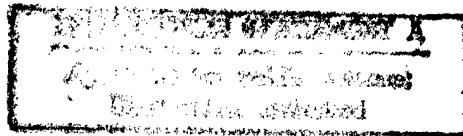


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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2024

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22 June 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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FEDERAL PRESS OFFICE CHAIRMAN ON ROLE OF THE PRESS

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 4, Mar 82 pp 25-37

[Article by Zdenek Cermak, chairman of the Federal Press and Information Office:
"Permanent Validity of Lenin's Ideas Regarding the Role of the Press"]

[Excerpt] Today the news media are again firmly under party control and are helping the party to implement its policy. They again are serving the working class, the interests of socialism and of its further development on a national and international scale. And as Comrade Vasil Bilak said about the news media in his report at the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in March of 1980: "On the whole we may say that our news media are functioning from a clear stand in support of socialist class interests, of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, speaking out for the interests and will of our people. The party regards the press, radio and television workers as its support and immediate aktiv."

These words of high praise from the leadership of our party for the sphere of journalism, which truly has become reborn after the years of crisis, simultaneously obligate all journalists to fulfill, conscientiously and with the greatest responsibility, the tasks and duties that are incumbent on them in view of the position they occupy within society and objectively stem from the principal tasks that our entire society must solve in this stage of its development.

What stage is this? This is the stage that lends substance to the general policy of building a developed socialist society, adopted at the 14th congress, and confirmed and developed further at the 15th and 16th congresses. At the 16th CZPCZ Congress, Comrade Gustav Husak characterized this policy as follows: "... it is a comprehensive, long-term Marxist-Leninist program of our society's political, economic, social and spiritual development, a program of our country's domestic and foreign policy. It is a part of the fraternal socialist countries' joint effort."

We present this general characterization because it quite clearly reflects the long-term validity of this policy, its main aspects, and finally also its basic domestic and international interrelations. And yet in our propaganda we often overlook this policy, particularly in the course of its implementation through the mass media.

The coming period daily raises specific tasks to which we must respond also in our propaganda. It is essential to explain the nature of these tasks and to gain the workers' support for their fulfillment. But the clarification of the specific or partial tasks must not depart from the long-term tasks of the general policy of building a developed socialist society, elaborated at the individual congresses for five-year periods and, of course, spelled out at the individual sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee between congresses.

What awaits the news media after the 16th Congress was expressed by Comrade Gustav Husak in his congress report with these words: "The main task of the news media will remain providing for public opinion clear standpoints on the basic questions of our domestic and foreign policy. The news media must present on a high political and professional level the prospects of building socialism and must explain truthfully, from a Marxist-Leninist position, the experience of the masses. The news media must likewise explain frankly the causes of the difficulties and shortcomings and must indicate how they can be corrected."

The 16th congress instructed the news media not only to contribute as fully as possible toward an understanding of the congress' policy and the tasks stemming from it, but also to mobilize society for their realization. Economic propaganda in the news media plays a particularly important role. Its place follows logically from the importance of the economy and of its growth, for the development of socialist society. Therefore the CPCZ Central Committee is devoting constant attention to economic propaganda. It is discussed regularly by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's Committee for the Management of Economic Propaganda and Agitation. In 1972, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium adopted an important document entitled "For Raising the Effectiveness of Economic Propaganda and Agitation". It set obligatory tasks for the news media. In October of last year, the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat approved a document entitled "The Timely Tasks of Economic Propaganda in the Mass Media". It established, among other things, ". . . that the sharp rise in the demanding nature of the tasks associated with building a developed socialist society demands a significant increase in the level and effectiveness of economic propaganda as an important link in the party's ideological work. The mass media have an indispensable role in this area."

In agreement with this document, the Federal Press and Information Office (Federalni urad pro tisk a informace; FUTI), which regularly analyzes economic propaganda in the news media for the needs of the party and state organs, notes a quantitative and qualitative growth in economic propaganda on the one hand, but also the far from fully tapped reserves in improving its effectiveness on the other.

It will not be easy and simple to fulfill the mission of being an effective propaganda, agitational and organizing instrument of our party after its 16th congress; it will require of everyone working in this field, and especially of journalists, that they creatively consider and systematically improve their journalistic work, its content and forms.

For example, journalists should approach the explanation of even the seemingly most simple phenomena or problems in our lives, whether economic or political, always with a thorough knowledge of the given problem and with due consideration for the broadest temporal (developmental) and "material" interrelations. Only in this way is it possible to avoid unnecessary mistakes, distortions and vulgarization, and in the final outcome also the low effectiveness of our propaganda. Of course, it is no less important to realize what is to be achieved by specific propaganda and also agitation, and what arguments and forms should be used. This applies especially to material with a critical slant.

Much has already been said about criticism in the news media, especially in conjunction with the evaluation of the news media in the years of crisis, and now in context of using criticism for the fulfillment of the tasks in our economy. Lately the leadership of our party has already spoken out several times, with adherence to principles and quite clearly, on this particularly sensitive question, especially in the frequent speeches of Comrades G. Husak, V. Bilak, J. Fojtik and

other party leaders. It was emphasized that criticism in the news media must effectively aid the struggle of the new with old in our society and the world in general; that the sharpness of its tone must correspond to the degree and seriousness of the shortcomings or wrongdoings; that it must select a form suitable for the profile of the specific news medium and for the specific social position of the person against whom the criticism is directed; and that, last but not least, the criticism must show the way to correct the criticized shortcomings. Also in this case we can cite the experience of the Federal Press and Information Office that, among other things, monitors how our main news media use criticism, specifically in the area of economic propaganda. Here again we see a favorable development since the 16th party congress, but also reserves that are far from fully utilized.

To enable journalists to successfully fulfill more and more demanding tasks, it is certainly necessary to also ensure the essential conditions for their work. We must admit that much has been done in this respect in recent years. I have in mind the financial provisions for journalists and care for their growth, and also the development and modernization of the material and technical base of the news media. This, too, was discussed at the 16th congress.

In their capacity as propagandists, journalists must receive more-effective aid also by strengthening the theoretical foundations of propaganda, as this was discussed truthfully by Comrade Jan Fojtik during a meeting with our foremost journalists, in December of last year: "Without this theoretical foundation, it (meaning propaganda--Z.C.) would be condemned to superficial apologetics of the given practice, or to shallow criticism that easily leads to negativism."

In my opinion, however, all this mentioned aid is only one side of the coin. The other side is the own effort of every journalist, how he approaches his work, how he educates himself, how the less experienced journalist learns from his more experienced colleagues, how he evaluates his articles or broadcasts on the basis of the response from readers or the audience, and also according to the specific "response" of practical events within society, etc. Only the development of both these sides in their organic unity can ensure the greater social effectiveness of our journalism.

We have already mentioned several times the Federal Press and Information Office. This federal central organ of state administration for the press and other news media was established as of 1 January 1981, on the basis of a resolution adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, the federal government, and the supreme legislative organ of the Federal Assembly. Its main task is to assist the Communist Party in providing optimal conditions for the information policy of the news media, especially so far as the uniform implementation and coordination of this policy is concerned, to ensure good publishing conditions for the newspapers and magazines, to organize and coordinate press conferences, seminars and training for journalists, to ensure contact between the state administration and the public, to systematically analyze for the needs of responsible organs the activity of selected newspapers, magazines, and radio and television series. It has also been commissioned to register periodicals significant from the viewpoint of entire society, to ensure the safeguarding of important state interests in the press and other news media, and to decide the importation and circulation of foreign periodicals in Czechoslovakia. Besides this federal office there also exist its counterparts at the republic level, namely the Czech and the Slovak Press and Information Offices, with similar duties within the individual republics. The duties of

FUTI are based also on the experience of its Soviet counterpart, GLAVLIT [Main Administration for Safeguarding Military and State Secrets in the Press] that was established on V. I. Lenin's direct initiative, shortly after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The activity of the Federal Press and Information Office is not directed against journalists; to the contrary, it is intended to help them in every possible way. At present, for example, FUTI is working on the problem of a so-called data bank that could serve as a qualified source of information for journalists. As a supplementary source of information for this purpose, since January of this year there already exists the FUTI bulletin, published in cooperation with the republic offices as INFORMACNI TYDENIK [INFORMATION WEEKLY]. It is sent essentially to all editorial offices, and to the party and state organs down to the okres party committees and okres national committees, to keep them better informed of the activities of the central state organs, republic organs, and the central committees of the social organizations belonging to the National Front. The bulletin also publishes information about the countries of our friends, particularly about the Soviet Union.

Just as in other cases, also here the time that has elapsed since the struggle between socialism and capitalism confirms Lenin's teaching about the role of the news media in this struggle and proves its validity even today. It's confirmed also by our experience with the work of the communist press, beginning with the first issue of RUDE PRAVO. The scientific foundation and permanent validity of Lenin's teaching were not undermined even by years of deep crisis in our party and society. Here again it was unambiguously confirmed that this crisis had not been caused by observation of Lenin's teachings, by their alleged obsolescence, as this is being gleefully trumpeted by our class enemies; to the contrary, it was caused by departure from Leninism.

V. I. Lenin creatively developed the Marxist concept of revolutionary working-class journalism, giving us a scientific method for developing journalism further, so that it can always effectively fulfill its role as the communist party's instrument of political power, amidst the changing conditions of socialist revolution in the individual countries and on an international scale.

At present the news media of all countries within the socialist community are fulfilling a most important and most responsible task: to unmask the imperialist warmongers and adventurists, and to arouse world public opinion against them. In a certain sense this is also the struggle for socialism. The news media, guided by Lenin's teaching, are thus fulfilling an immensely responsible revolutionary task in this world class struggle.

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CEAUSESCU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM SPEECH

AU090800 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Jun 82 pp 1-7

[Speech by RCP Secretary-General Nicolae Ceausescu at the RCP Central Committee Plenum "On the current stage of building socialism in our country and on theoretical and ideological questions and the party's political and educational activity," held in Bucharest 1 June 1982]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the plenary meeting of the party Central Committee is debating theoretical, ideological and political-educational questions of the molding of the new man, conscious builder of socialism and communism. In approaching these questions we should start from the profound revolutionary transformations wrought in the Romanian society, from the big social and national changes, from the changes in the balance of forces in the contemporary international life.

We should analyze, in the spirit of the revolutionary conception of world and life of the scientific socialism and dialectical and historical materialism, the road traversed by our homeland in building the new social system, in the ensuring of the triumph of socialism, the stages of the revolutionary process, as well as Romania's current stage.

We should analyze in particular the development of the production forces, the current stage of the Romanian economy and its place in the world economy.

Likewise, we should analyze the social structure and relations, the ownership of the means of production, the mode of production and distribution of the social product and national income.

We must constantly bear in mind the fact that the way of thinking, the social consciousness, the level of development of science, education and culture are determined by society's material base, the mode of production and distribution of the material goods.

At the same time, the social consciousness, science, education and culture, the ideological and political-educational activity play an important role in the development of the production forces. Both spheres condition each other and, in dialectical unity, ensure the continuous progress of society, the rise in the people's welfare, the consolidation of the homeland's independence and sovereignty. (loud applause)

I. The Role of the Forces of Production and of the Revolutionary Concept of the World and Life in Perfecting the Organizational Framework of Social Life

As is known, mankind's history, and therefore the history of the Romanian people, is the history of the development of the forces of production and of social relations. It is the history of class struggle and of the struggle against foreign oppression and domination, and for national liberation and independent development. It is the history of the constant struggle between the old and the new. At the same time, mankind's history is marked by relations between various peoples and countries and by the rise and fall of certain empires, by the peoples' struggle to defend their own and their national existence.

Several modes of production and social systems have succeeded each other throughout the millenia. In all those systems, the class struggle and its appropriate forms for each stage, and the struggle against foreign oppression and for national liberation, that is, the struggle against social exploitation and national oppression, has constituted the motivating force for revolutionary transformations and mankind's progress.

Each mode of production and social system has its own way of thinking and its own social awareness. After the epoch of primitive communism, from the system of slavery up to capitalism, the dominating classes' concepts of life and the world have always tried to justify their forms of ownership, production and distribution based on the division of society into classes of owners and classes lacking means of production, into oppressors and oppressed. They have always tried to justify the exploitation and oppression of the people's masses.

At the same time, the oppressed classes formulated their own theoretical and ideological concepts of the world and life which, in keeping with each social system, illuminated their road in their revolutionary struggle to eliminate social injustice and to build a new, more just and better society.

As is known, in all social systems up to now there have existed and acted a number of generally valid laws for the overall society which have contributed to the development and assertion of the peoples' and nations' common awareness, and to the general development of science, culture and human awareness. However, those laws have always been used by the exploiting classes for their own aims to strengthen and preserve their domination over the other social classes and over the people's masses.

With the appearance of the workers class on the scene of history, a new revolutionary concept developed regarding the organization of society, social relations and the transition to a system without oppressing classes, a system of social and national justice.

One can state that for the first time it is in the socialist system, especially in communism, that conditions are created for formulating a uniform theoretical and ideological concept of the world and life. However, in socialism, too, and probably in communism as well, the theoretical and ideological concept will constantly change in keeping with the development of the forces of production and the level of scientific knowledge.

The disappearance of social classes, of social and national inequality, and the achievement of a society of social and national equality ensures the material and social basis for a uniform concept of the world and life. However, this possibility must be turned into reality on the basis of socioeconomic development and the revolutionary party's theoretical-ideological activity to eliminate outdated states of affairs, and the theoretical and ideological concepts that developed throughout several social systems. We must constantly bear in mind that the struggle against the outdated concept of the world and life, and the assertion of the materialist-dialectical revolutionary concept, is a long process. The party's educational-political, theoretical and ideological activity is taking place while a fierce struggle between the new concept and old states of affairs is taking place. The revolutionary party, the progressive forces and the workers class--as the society's leading class--must fulfill its historic responsibility under most favorable conditions both in developing the forces of production, in establishing new relations of production and in asserting the revolutionary materialist-dialectical concept of the world and life throughout society.

The constant struggle between what is old and new will continue to exist in communism as well, and will constitute the motivating force for the progress of human society. The dialectical law of the struggle between opposites and contradictions exist in socialism and will, undoubtedly, exist in one or another form in the communist society. Contradictions exist and will continue to appear in any society. They cannot be solved by negating them, but by studying them and understanding the causes that generated them, and, on this basis, by conscious actions aimed at eliminating old states of affairs and boldly promoting what is new. Only thus can one ensure the construction of the communist society. Only thus will mankind be able to achieve a society without oppressors. (loud applause) Completely new in communism is the fact that antagonistic classes, social classes in the old sense of the word, will disappear and conditions will be created to resolve contradictions through the conscious activity of the social forces, of the people, in the interests of the overall society, of social freedom and justice and of the material and cultural well-being of all members of society.

The creation of conditions for asserting the uniform theoretical and ideological concept of the world and life must not be understood in the narrow sense of uniformization, of accepting without question one or another thesis. The assertion of a uniform concept necessarily requires a constant struggle between various theses and concepts on the better organization of the forces of production, social relations and the masses of people's life. Certainly, this will be a struggle based on uniform relations of production and on the development of science, culture and human knowledge that will constantly open up ever new ways and means to improve life and social relations.

It is in the spirit of this revolutionary, materialist-dialectical and historic concept that we must view the development of the Romanian people and the current stage our socialist fatherland is going through.

II. The Knowledge of the Romanian People's Millenary History and Their Struggle for Asserting Their Own Being, for Social and National Freedom and for Independence and Unity--the Foundation of the Ideological Activity and of the Patriotic and Socialist Education of the Masses

Esteemed comrades, the Romanian people's millenary history and in fact the history of all peoples is the history of developing the forces of production, of manufacturing and improving work tools, a fact that led to uniting and organizing people in groups and states up to the centralized state of Dacians under Burebista and then, in keeping with the various epochs, up to the capitalist system and the transition to building the socialist society.

As is known, the Dacian civilization forcefully flourished for hundreds of years. Two years ago we celebrated 2,050 years since the formation of the first centralized Dacian state. However, the joint organization of the Dacian's life had begun many centuries before. For those times, various state formations of the Dacians had an advanced material and cultural life. They maintained relations with other peoples and civilizations in their neighborhood. During the centralized state, along with agriculture, mining developed too, as did the processing of metal and other trades, which reflects the Dacian's high level of civilization. The contacts and cooperation with the Greek and Roman civilizations exerted a powerful influence on the Dacian's way of life and thinking. The very long duration of wars between the Dacians and Romans is proof of the strength and lastingness of the Dacian state and people. The victory won by the Romans opened up a long period of coexistence characterized by an accentuated blending of the Dacian and Roman civilizations. As the documents of that time, archeological research and scientific evidence show, the Dacian-Roman symbiosis was achieved in that time and the formation of a people based on the loftiest virtues of the Dacians and Romans began. That is how the Romanian people came into being. After the withdrawal of the Roman armies in the face of the invasion of migratory people, the new people, in the process of being formed, stayed behind to defend their soil and common interests. Gradually, they proceeded to organize new groupings, voivodships, which waged violent struggles against the invaders to defend their own existence.

Hundreds of years passed during which the community of economic, territorial, cultural and language interests of the Romanian people strengthened. In that period, although with some delay, conditions were created for the transition to a higher organization--the formation of the three Romanian principalities: Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. As is known, they were born and developed in the struggle against foreign domination and for uniting into a powerful state able to withstand foreign invaders and to ensure their own independent development.

Our people will never forget the struggles waged by Mircea the Old, Stefan the Great and Mihai the Brave, and by so many others who firmly rose against foreign domination, to defend their own being and to assert the identity of the Romanian people.

It is very significant that from the very beginning close relations developed between the three principalities. During Mihai the Brave's time, the awareness of a common origin and the desire to unite into a single state--achieved in fact for a short time, that is true--existed in one form or another. The unification achieved under Mihai the Brave expressed the Romanian people's desire to have their own united state, heralding the formation of a later united national Romanian state in 1918. (loud applause)

There are historians today upholding the theory of a vacuum that allegedly existed in a certain period in the Carpatho-Danubian space. I think they got the right answer to this long ago; first, from more advanced people, from the people of culture of those times who were speaking about the inhabitants and voivodships that existed in the Carpatho-Danubian space--and I think they were more knowledgeable than certain contemporary historians who set themselves up as being omniscient and deny facts, deny what was the result of historical development. The answer was given by Mircea the Old, Stefan the Great, Ioan of Hunedoara, Michael the Brave. Those who defeated Bajazet, who stood up to so many invaders who set up the first centralized Romanian state in Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. They did not come from alien land, or out of the blue. They were born here and lived here, in this land which they defended with their own lives. (loud, prolonged applause) They continued their common existence on this soil for hundreds upon hundreds of years. They organized, developed and struggled to live freely and independently. That was the time when our people's awareness took shape, the awareness of continuity, of unity of culture and origin of all inhabitants in the three principalities.

The Romanian principalities were formed and developed in very difficult conditions: "They had to fight against the rule or the tendencies for domination of three big empires--the Ottoman empire, the Austro-Hungarian empire and the Tsarist empire--in order to preserve their identity. It goes without saying that those historical circumstances, the long wars that had to be waged against foreign domination, caused a certain lag in economic and social development, being the main obstacles to the formation and development of the Romanians' unitary national state. In those conditions, the people's masses, the heads of the three principalities continuously fought for independent development, for reinforcing the links and common feelings.

All this is illustrated by facts, by the social and national struggles waged throughout centuries and by active participation in international affairs of that time. This is illustrated by the peasant uprising, Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848--which, in one or another form, spread within all three Romanian principalities--and by the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia and the formation of the Romanian national state in 1859. The feelings of sympathy among the people's masses

in Transylvania and the active position held by the intelligentsia of Transylvania to demonstrate, to gain recognition for the Romanian nature of Transylvania and to achieve unification with the new Romanian national state are very well known. The independence war--the assertion of the Romanian people's will to shake off foreign domination for good--was a new opportunity for the people in Transylvania to show their desire for independence and for being united with the country. These feelings continued to develop and triumphed with the formation of the unitary national state in 1918 as a result of the fall of the Austrian-Hungarian empire, and of the assertion in Alba Iulia by the people's masses in Transylvania of their free desire and determination to become united with the country, with Romania. (loud, prolonged applause) The formation of the unitary national state was the crowning of centuries-old struggles and of the aspirations of Romanians everywhere to have their united independent state and to live freely, in peace and cooperation with their neighbors and with other peoples.

Archeological diggings and historical facts forcefully show that all socio-economic systems known to mankind followed each other on our fatherland's territory throughout millenia.

Historical circumstances linked with the migration of peoples, and then the domination of the great empires in certain periods delayed our people's development and the formation of the united Romanian national state. However, the strength and vitality of the descendants of the "bravest and boldest of Thracians," of the descendants of the Dacians and the Romans were especially obvious at those difficult times. They preserved and developed their specific common features and thus, throughout centuries and based on the unity of origin, language, culture, territory and common economic interests, formed the Romanian people and later the Romanian nation. (loud, prolonged applause)

In their coexistence with neighboring people in ancient times, with various migrating peoples and then with those who settled in this part of Europe in the second half and toward the end of the first millenium, mutual influence and intermingling took place.

Life and facts demonstrate that nomadic people and those who settled in this part of Europe toward the end of the first millenium came upon a higher material and cultural civilization, which they acquired. On the basis of historical facts, we can state that our people was formed throughout centuries in the Carpathian-Danubian area, that each meter of land and each rock speak about the perspiration and bloodshed of our forebearers. At the most difficult times, our forefathers did not leave the soil on which they were born, but, by fraternizing with it, with the mountains and fields, with rivers and stately forests, they firmly held their positions in this area and defended their being and their right to a free existence. (lively and loud applause)

The Dacian-Roman origin and the continuity in this area are basic features of the Romanian people. Establishing the place in history and the origin and continuity in the Carpathian-Danubian area of the Romanian people is the

foundation of any ideological, theoretical and educational-political activity. One cannot speak of socialist patriotic education without being familiar with the past and honoring it, and without knowing the work and struggle of our forefathers. (loud applause) We have a glorious past which represents the most valuable heritage of our people. We are dutybound to raise this valuable heritage up to a new level and enrich it with new material achievements, and to raise our people, our socialist nation, onto new peaks of civilization. (loud, prolonged applause)

History and events have taught us that foreign domination and the existence in our country's proximity of certain empires have, at one point or another, delayed our people's socioeconomic development, and the formation of the Romanian nation and the unitary national state. Those adverse circumstances, however, have not been able to hamper the achievement of the aspirations of the Romanian people, based on their common origin: namely, to surmount any difficulties and to win victory by forming a free and independent nation, by establishing a unitary national state and by the transition to building the socialist society. (loud applause)

From the long and tumultuous history of the Romanian people, one can draw the conclusion of a more general nature that foreign domination and occupation, no matter how long it lasted, cannot hamper the manifestation of a people's common interests, the preservation of its features, the formation of a nation and that of a unitary national state. These are objective laws in the development of any people.

This conclusion has been confirmed forcefully by many peoples who for hundreds of years were under colonial and imperialist domination, and who in the past 30 years have gained their independence and have formed nations and unitary national states. (loud applause)

III. The Forceful Development of the Forces of Production--an Essential Factor of the Victory of Socialism in Romania and of the Progress and Well-Being of All Our People

Esteemed comrades, the formation of the Romanian national state through the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859 opened up the road to a more forceful development of the forces of production and of our country's transition to capitalist development. An important role was played by the war of independence and the proclamation of Romania's complete independence. However, together with this, foreign monopolies and imperialist countries entered our country, thus acquiring and looting our people's riches and hampering the development of the forces of production and of the Romanian national economy.

Even after the formation of the unitary national state in 1918 the major part of the Romanian economy, beginning with oil, continued to be in the hands of imperialists and foreign monopolies.

On the eve of World War II more than 60 percent of the Romanian economy was in the hands of imperialist corporations and monopolies. For this reason, Romania remained an agrarian country with a poorly developed industry. Under such circumstances, the Romanian economy completely served Hitlerite Germany, and Romania itself was thrown into the antinational war against the Soviet Union, on the side of Hitlerite Germany.

We must never ever forget that the RCP was the only force that rose with great determination against that war and acted toward the unification of all patriotic and antifascist forces, and organized the struggle for pulling out of the war and achieving the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation.

The achievement of the historic act of 23 August 1944 under favorable international conditions determined by the victories of the Soviet and allied armies, and by the peoples' struggle in Europe against German fascism, opened up a new era in our people's millenary history. With all its might, Romania joined the Soviet armies against Hitlerite Germany to completely free the fatherland from Hitlerite-Horthyist domination, and then fought, making great sacrifices for Hungary's and the CSSR's liberation and until the complete crushing of fascism. In the just war waged against fascism, our people demonstrated that they had nothing in common with the military-fascist clique that pushed our country, together with Hitlerite Germany, against the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Romanian people thus asserted their glorious traditions of struggle for independence and for supporting the struggle waged by other peoples against foreign domination and for freedom and independence. (loud, prolonged applause)

The antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation opened up the road to achieving the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution, and for the transition to building socialism. It ensured the necessary conditions for great revolutionary transformations. The Romanian people have recorded, under RCP leadership, epoch-making achievements in the country's general development.

In a short historic period, Romania has traveled several historic stages and has proceeded to building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

In this period of great revolutionary transformations, the capitalist-landowner ownership of the means of production, and class exploitation and oppression were eliminated and a unitary socialist economy in industry and agriculture was achieved based on the working people's common ownership, as the property of all people, and on cooperative ownership of the means of production. The application of the socialist principle of distribution of the social product and national income was ensured in conformity with the principles of the ethics and equity of the new system. On this basis, the forces of production forcefully developed and Romania turned into an industrial-agrarian country with a powerful industry and a developed agriculture in full progress.

Were we to compare Romania's situation in 1938--the year of the most developed economy before World War II--to its situation in 1980, we can note with pride and satisfaction what great achievements our people have recorded, in a historically short period, in their socioeconomic development on the road of socialism, of well-being and the happiness of the entire nation. (loud lively applause)

As I have mentioned, on the eve of World War II, that is after more than 80 years of capitalist development, Romania was a country with a poorly developed industry and a backward agriculture. Almost 80 percent of the people were working in agriculture. Today Romanian industry produces 48 times more than in 1938. But even in comparison with 1950, the year when we started our first 5-year plan, that is, when we actually started to build the socialist society, our country has experienced a forceful socioeconomic development. Taking 1938 as a comparative basis, I will refer to the situation in 1950, 1965 and 1980 so as to better understand the road travelled, the great changes that have taken place, and the material and cultural strength of the Romanian socialist society today.

The Dynamics of Major Growth Indexes of the National Economy

1938 equals 100

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1980</u>
Population	104.6	122	142.3
Active population-fit to work	101.2	117	125
Number of working personnel	150.5	305.1	520.2
Social product	99	410	14 times
National income	99.5	411	14 times
Gross industrial production	147	957	48 times
Gross agricultural production	74	143	258
Per capita national income	95	337	10 times

The above figures demonstrate forcefully, on the basis of facts, the great achievements recorded by the Romanian people in socialist development and in raising the level of civilization and improving the material and cultural living standard. Proceeding from the social product and the per capita national income, we can state that today Romania is fifteen times richer than in 1950. The most telling example in this respect is the situation of fixed assets--which constitutes the basis of the society's development--which are nine times larger than in 1950. Thus what had been achieved throughout centuries of economic development of our people, has been increased nine times over in only 30 years of socialist construction.

The dynamism of our economic development in the years of socialist construction is also expressed through the proximity to the economically developed countries, through the per capita levels of a number of physical products such as: the consumption of primary energy (in terms of pit coal), steel production, cement,

tractors, trucks, freight cars, chemical fertilizers, synthetic yarns and fibers, plastics, synthetic rubber, refrigerators, television sets, radio sets, fabrics, footwear and foodstuffs.

All this forcefully demonstrates the correctness of our party's policy which applies generally valid truths to the concrete conditions in Romania and acts in close relationship with the realities in our country.

Our country's experience has been and is still being discussed. Some theoreticians and economists abroad still issue theses according to which Romania did not do well to pay such great attention to developing the forces of production and especially socialist industry. In the bourgeois-landowner regime, too, there was a thesis--promoted under the influence of imperialist monopolies--according to which Romania should have remained an eminently agrarian country. Some people even stated that the Romanian people have no aptitude for industry and that they should not proceed to industrialization. This thesis made our country stay a poorly developed country with a very low standard of living. If, in proceeding to socialist construction, Romania had not acted to forcefully develop the forces of production and to build a modern industry on the basis of the most modern technology, we would have continued to be a poorly developed country and dependent on industrialized countries.

The forceful development of socialist industry, the distribution of the forces of production and the progress of industry in all counties have constituted and constitute an essential factor for the victory of socialism and for the transition to building the comprehensively developed socialist society, and Romania's advance toward communism. (loud applause) On the basis of the forceful development of the forces of production and of industry, we have been able to ensure the agrarian revolution and the transition of agriculture to socialism, and an increase of three and a half times over in agricultural production compared to that in 1950.

On this basis, deep revolutionary transformations have been achieved in the country's social structure by increasing the workers class and reducing the share of the peasantry from 80 percent to less than 30 percent in 1980.

The development of the forces of production, industrialization and the development of the other economic branches, and the forceful progress of agriculture have constituted essential factors for the flourishing of science, education and culture, and for eliminating illiteracy and achieving a cultural revolution by generalizing the compulsory 10-year education and more forcefully developing the educational-cultural activity among the people's masses. (loud applause)

On this basis a constant improvement of material and cultural well-being has been ensured for all our people. The development of the forces of production and of this society's technical-material base has ensured an increase of more than four times over, in the past three decades, in the working people's

remuneration, and an increase of 15 times in the sales of goods, a fact that shows that in a number of basic consumer goods the per capita consumption--while our population is growing--has shown very important progress. I will refer only to some figures in order to illustrate the great improvement, in just a few years, of the people's material and cultural living standard, by taking 1950 as a basis:

The Development of the Main Living Standard Indexes

1950 equals 100

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>
Per capita national income	354	482	11 times
Real remuneration	226	271	418
Net nominal average remuneration	305	382	664
Peasants' incomes from work			
performed in agricultural			
production cooperatives and			
private farms, per active person			
--real	189	202	434
--net nominal	296	342	822
Sales of goods	459	683	15 times

In the 1950-1980 period, while the number of work places showed an increase of more than 5 million, the net nominal average remuneration increased from 330 lei to 2,238 lei per month. At the same time, the peasants' monthly net nominal incomes increased from 167 lei to some 1,400 lei. Per capita sociocultural expenditures increased from 211 lei to some 3,200 lei.

As for the people's consumption, in the 30 years of socialist construction, it showed a per capita increase of 3.7 times in meat; 1.6 times in milk; 4.5 times in eggs; 4 times in sugar and 2 times in vegetables. The fact is especially important that these increases were achieved while the urban population was rapidly increasing--from 3.7 million in 1948 to 11 million inhabitants in 1980.

The level of supplying people with durable goods, especially television sets, refrigerators, automobiles and other items has also increased. In a number of foodstuffs and industrial goods the consumption has reached the level of many developed countries.

In the 1950-1980 period some 4.6 million dwellings were built, which means that some 70 percent of the people of our country benefit from new housing.

The people's health has radically improved. The infant death rate decreased from 142.7 per live births in 1948 to 29.3 in 1980. The average annual growth rate of the population was 1.1 percent, thus placing Romania among the countries with the most rapid demographic growth in Europe. At the same time, the average life span increased from 42 years of age in 1932 to 70 in the 1976-1980 period.

We can state with good reason and on the basis of realities that the socialist system has created proper conditions for the forceful development of the forces of production; for eliminating, in a relatively short period, the backwardness inherited from the bourgeois-landowner system in order to raise Romania onto a higher level of progress and civilization. Life has clearly demonstrated that only by developing the forces of production will we be able to ensure the necessary conditions for improving the people's living standard, and achieving progress in science, education and culture and a higher level of civilization for our overall society. Only thus will we be able to ensure that the fatherland's material and cultural force, its independence and sovereignty are strengthened. (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, the implementation of the program on the country's socio-economic development has required sustained efforts by all our people. Year by year we have allocated approximately one-third of the national income--I am referring to the past 15 years--to the socioeconomic development fund. Only on the basis of the sustained efforts made by all our people have we been able to forcefully develop the forces of production and the material-technical base of society. Only thus has been possible to make up for a significant part of the backwardness we inherited from the old regime and cover some of the distance separating us from developed countries. [sentence as printed]

Today Romania continues to be a developing socialist country. The group of developing countries include 100 nations. Within this group, too, there are fairly large differences between various countries; we can state that there are at least three large categories as far as development level is concerned: countries with a per capita income of up to \$400-\$500; countries with a per capita income of \$1,000-\$1,200; and countries with a per capita income of \$1,500-\$2,000.

In 1950 Romania was in the first group with a per capita income of some \$100. Today we are in the third group with a per capita national income of more than \$1,500.

As for the developed countries, among which there are also differences, if we compare Romania with the group of medium-developed countries, then in 1950 Romania's per capita income was 15-20 times lower and today it is at most 4-5 times lower. Thus we have narrowed the gap between the developed countries and our fatherland to a great extent. Certainly, there is still a long distance to cover.

However, national income is only one criterion for judging whether a country is a developing or a developed country. We must take into consideration the general, balanced development of the national economy and of the various branches and sectors--industry, agriculture, transportation--and the development of science, education and culture, all of which are particularly important factors in assessing a country's level of development.

Taking into consideration those and other factors, we can state that in many fields Romania has surpassed the characteristics of a developing country. The Romanian socialist society is characterized by comprehensive economic, scientific and cultural development as far as the people's general living standard is concerned. However, irrespective of the efforts made to surpass the characteristics of a developing country from all viewpoints, Romania will always be on the side of and will always act, together with the developing countries and with the countries struggling for their independent economic development. (loud, prolonged applause)

IV. The Basic Target of the Current Stage--The Achievement of a New Quality of Work and Live in the Romanian Socialist Society

1. Strengthening and Modernizing the Material-Technical Base and the Constant Increase in the Economic Efficiency--The Lasting Foundation of the Development of Society and of Improving the People's Well-Being

Esteemed comrades, proceeding from the level of the forces of production and from the fatherland's comprehensive development, the 12th party congress set forth the basic target of achieving a new quality of work and life in all fields.

The provisions of the current 5-year plan are known and therefore I do not now want to refer to them. Through the fulfillment of the current 5-year plan, Romania will travel another important stretch on the road of implementing the party program and will enter a new development stage and it will experience a forceful development of the level of civilization of all our people.

In the current 5-year plan, the decisive role of our economic dynamism depends upon raising labor productivity, continuously increasing the net industrial and agricultural production and the maximum use of Romanian products on the world markets. We will have to vigorously develop science, as a dynamizing factor of socioeconomic progress, and the domestic energy and raw materials base as well as agriculture, as decisive sectors of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring progress toward communism.

Everybody is familiar with the measures taken to attain these goals and with the programs aimed at fulfilling and even exceeding these provisions.

In the long term, the Romanian economy will be based on a modern and powerfully developed industry and a modern and highly efficient agriculture. Romania will continue to be an industrial-agrarian country. On this basis we will develop the forces of production, promote the overall progress of society and raise the people's material and intellectual well-being.

Romania's transition to a new development stage, in the group of countries with an average development, will not change and must not change the basic orientation of the Romanian economy. We must always bear in mind that the

fulfillment of the targets set by the party program and the 12th congress decisions requires the continuous allocation of about 30 percent of the national income to developing the forces of production. Our socialist society, like any other society, must always ensure the necessary means for an enlarged reproduction and high accumulation, which are the basis of developing the forces of production and the country's overall civilization level. At the same time, we must increase the efficiency of accumulation and all investments and raise economic profitability and the national income, the only source for the constant development of the enlarged reproduction and for the continuous increase in all the people's living standard.

Our millenary history, particularly the latest centuries of our fatherland's existence, lead us to the conclusion that, up to the socialist victory, the degree of accumulation and the level of increase in the overall national wealth have determined the progress and creation of the nation and the unitary national state; our people, like all peoples, were able to ensure their socioeconomic development and strengthen their independence and sovereignty only on this basis.

One can assert with complete justification that what is decisive for a people's future is not the high consumption level or the overall national income, but the level of accumulation and the allocation of a significant part of the national income to the country's socioeconomic development.

To consume everything or almost everything means to condemn the country to backwardness and to loss of independence and sovereignty, thus affecting the very future of the country and people.

We must always bear in mind and be fully aware of the fact that only by ensuring a high level of accumulation and enlarged socialist reproduction will we create the necessary conditions for continuously raising the people's material and intellectual well-being. (prolonged applause)

Of course, there is a basic difference between the way in which the capitalist countries have developed and the way in which Romania and other peoples that have recently won their independence are developing. If the capitalist countries have attained a high level of accumulation, this was due to a large extent to the exploitation and oppression of scores of peoples from the colonies. Even the Romanian people have contributed with scores of billions of dollars to the development of the imperialist capitalist countries. Our people and other countries which have embarked, since World War II, on the road of socioeconomic development are achieving progress by relying upon their own forces and work and allocating a significant part of their national income to strengthening the technical-material base. Only thus can we eliminate backwardness, raise the country up to a higher development level and strengthen the fatherland's economic and political independence. (loud, prolonged applause)

Proceeding from these conclusions, it is necessary to continue to work firmly to develop socialist ownership, increase the national wealth and raise the technical and qualitative level of production, labor productivity and economic efficiency.

We must always bear in mind the well-known truth that work is the decisive factor of developing the forces of production and promoting the progress of all societies. Work has played the decisive role in the physical and intellectual development of man. One could say that man himself is a creation of work. It is true that, when society was divided into exploiting and oppressed classes, work was also a means of enriching the few, but it continued to play the decisive role in the overall development of society.

As is well-known, the capitalist society has evolved a more highly developed organization of economic activity, and the formation of an advanced industry, the development of social work and the improvement of the division of labor. This has been a very important element of the overall development of human society. It is true that this society is characterized by private capitalist property and the capitalist distribution of production. Socialism wants to develop the social character of work and to intensify and improve social work and the division of labor in society, thus eliminating private capitalist property, turning it into social ownership of the means of production and also eliminating inequitable distribution and replacing it with the principle of distribution in accordance with one's work and contribution to the overall development of society, namely the principle "no work without break and no bread without work."

Our socialist society has implemented these socialist principles of ownership, work and distribution. The working people, regardless of nationality, are today the owners of the means of production and the entire national wealth and the direct producers and end-users of everything produced in society.
(loud applause)

Perhaps it is also necessary to explain more fully the socialist principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." This principle means that each member of society, within the framework of the division of labor, must place his entire work capacity and knowledge at the service of continuously raising material production and developing science, education and culture. In the current development stage of the socialist society, we must do everything possible to produce as much and as well as possible, at a high qualitative level and with ever lower expenditures, we must ensure the continuous rise of efficiency, net production and national income, the foundation of society's progress and the people's greater well-being.

At the same time, proceeding from the principle of distribution according to work and contribution to the society's general development, we must always aim at attaining an equitable relationship between small and large incomes, maintaining differences and material incentives in work, but also

ensuring the necessary living conditions and the physical and intellectual development of all members of society. This is how our party has acted and continues to act, by establishing a relationship of 1 to 5 between large and small incomes as a remuneration criterion. This principle will be firmly applied in the coming period, until the implementation of the party program's provisions. However, even in the perspective of the transition to building the communist society and ensuring the victory of communism, we must bear in mind that this socialist principle will remain valid for a long time to come.

The principle of communist distribution "from each according to his work, to each according to his needs" must also be properly explained and understood. In communism, too, each citizen will have to give his best, in the established work period, to develop the technical-material base, increase the wealth and ensure society's overall development. The principle "from each according to his ability" must be understood in the sense that each person will continuously raise his professional and technical level and add to his scientific and overall knowledge and will give his best, at his place of work within the social division of labor, to the smooth development of society. At the same time, society--which will have reached a high level of development of the forces of production and the material base--must ensure to all its members the necessary scientifically determined conditions for their physical and intellectual development and for meeting their bodily and spiritual needs.

There is no doubt that, in view of the social division of labor, a certain differentiation and various forms of material and intellectual incentives will exist in the communist society, too, in order to ensure optimum conditions for developing the socioeconomic activity.

In the light of these considerations, it is necessary to eliminate simplistic interpretations that can be found in our society, particularly the desire of some people to take everything from society and give back as little as possible, or even nothing at all. As is well known, nothing like that happens even in nature. When a plant that receives more gives more back to society, it thus rewards it for the care shown to it; while in colonies of bees, the drones are eliminated so that they will not uselessly consume the fruits of the diligence of the bees. We must, therefore, consistently explain the principle "no bread without work and no work without bread." (loud, prolonged applause)

No person can live from someone else's work, nobody can live without work! Work in accordance with everybody's capacity and specialization is an honor and duty for each citizen of our socialist fatherland. Let us ensure that all working people make an active contribution, with all their physical and intellectual ability, to the overall development of the socialist society.

It is necessary to organize our activity in such a way that every able-bodied citizen can participate, within the framework of the social division of labor, in ensuring the development of society and can perform necessary and useful work.

There must be no unemployed in socialism and communism. Unemployment is specific to capitalism, the society based on exploitation and oppression. We must thus organize activity in such a way that all able-bodied citizens can make a contribution to overall development.

2. Developing the Socialist Property and Workers Self-Management-- Primary Elements of Building the Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society and Ensuring the Progress Toward Communism

Taking into account the social character of property, work and distribution, it is necessary to clarify certain notions of property, so as to better correlate them to the realities of our socialist society. I believe it is a mistake to identify social property, the property of all the people, with state property. The state is and must not be the owner in the legal meaning of the word; social property belongs to the people. The state is only an instrument in the hands of the workers class, working people, regardless of nationality, and all the people in carrying out the process of socioeconomic development in an organized way. It is necessary to take this into consideration, to bring certain improvements to the notion of property and to strengthen the awareness and powerful manifestation of the working people's capacity as owners.

In this respect, it is necessary to improve the principle of ownership, social organization, and workers self-management and self-administration, so that the working people in a given socioeconomic unit can better exert their capacity as owners of that part of all the people's property entrusted to them for management and development. The working people in a given enterprise must understand that they are the owners of that enterprise and are directly responsible for maintaining, defending and developing the property. They must understand that it is their duty to continuously increase economic efficiency with the available means, thus also ensuring the necessary means for their remuneration and participation in profits, for accumulation and for the development of the forces of production as well as for meeting certain overall requirements of the state and the country's defense.

The state, as the representative of all the people, must exert control over and see to it that the property of all the people is better administered and develops continuously; that there is no waste; and that all units unswervingly fulfill, under increasingly better conditions, their duties as regards self-management, self-administration and continuously raising economic efficiency.

Proceeding from this, we will probably have to consider some direct participation of the working people in developing the basic means, the means of production. In this respect, perhaps we should consider the idea of allocating 70 percent of the fixed assets and basic funds of a given unit as joint property given to the respective collective of working people for administration, management and development, while 30 percent of the basic

means should belong to the working people in the respective unit, on the basis of each one's participation with an appropriate contribution. In view of the experience gained in agricultural and artisans cooperative units, I am thinking that the working people should be able to deposit, as a form of social participation, a certain sum which should not exceed, say, 40,000 or 50,000 lei per person but which should not be less than 10,000 lei either. This should give those who participate in the development fund, and who remain the owners of the deposited sums of money, the opportunity to annually receive a 6-percent interest on their money, in addition to their general rights within the framework of remuneration and participation in profits. In the units with good results, where there are profits in excess of those envisaged, the interest rate may exceed 6 percent, in certain cases. I believe that such a regulation would strengthen the responsibility of the working people in their capacity as owners as well as their concern with the development of economic activity and with self-management and self-administration.

We will also have to continuously strengthen and consolidate the second form of social ownership, namely, the cooperative one. It is necessary to completely eliminate the mentality that this is an inferior form of socialist ownership. Cooperative council ownership of the means of production is in full accordance with socialist principles and must be developed and defended, both in agriculture and in the artisans cooperatives. Here, too, we must improve the spirit of responsibility in self-management and self-administration as well as in defending and developing the cooperative socialist ownership of the working people in each economic unit.

The state's responsibility is to equally defend and develop both forms of socialist ownership, since they are the technical-material base of building socialism and communism. (loud applause)

V. Key Issues of the Scientific Organization and Leadership of Our Socialist Society

1. Continuously Strengthening Socialist Workers Democracy and Improving the Organized Framework for the Participation of the Masses in Leading Society

Esteemed comrades,

The forms of socialist ownership, production and distribution are an expression of the highest workers democracy and of the fact that the working class and working people, regardless of nationality are the organizers of the entire production activity and the true masters of the national wealth. Proceeding from this, it is necessary to act firmly to continuously improve and develop the workers democracy, self-management and self-administration--the most appropriate form, in our country's conditions, for the manifestation of the workers class' role as leading force in society.

We have created a broad framework for the working people's participation in running all fields of activity. It is necessary to increase the role of management councils, in which the working people directly engaged in production amount to at least 30 percent, and to strengthen the role of the general meetings of the owners, producers and end-users in the smooth development of workers self-management. As was decided at the second working people's congress, the general meetings should discuss and adopt decisions on the entire economic-financial activity and the proper administration of each enterprise and should adopt the socioeconomic development plan, the budget of incomes and expenditures as well as measures to ensure each unit's development and to increase the working people's incomes and well-being. Proceeding from the fact that the general meeting is the supreme forum of the owners and producers, it is designed to approve the activity of management councils and their composition, including leading cadres, directors, deputy directors and others. Everything possible should be done to ensure that the general meetings and management councils of socioeconomic units fulfill the important role they play in our socioeconomic democracy and in running various fields of activity.

Important tasks are assigned to the national councils, particularly the national council of working people and the national council of agriculture, which cover all economic fields and must ensure the smooth development of the activity of management councils and general meetings, the discussion of basic problems of socioeconomic development, the adoption of economic development plans and the implementation of the state's domestic and foreign policy.

Within the framework of workers democracy, an important role is assigned to the working people's congress and the congress of agricultural workers, each of which consists of about 11,000 direct representatives of the working people in all fields.

Likewise, the congress of education and culture and the national conference of scientists play a very important role in discussing problems in the respective fields and promoting the country's overall development.

A particularly important role in the activity of people's councils and the harmonious development of all counties and towns is assigned to the people's councils congress and the legislative chamber.

All these together represent a unique democratic system, in which the direct representatives of the broad masses decide the country's destiny and the ways and means of unflinchingly implementing the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure progress toward communism; they also decide the country's domestic and foreign policy and adopt measures to continuously develop the fatherland and strengthen its unity and material and intellectual force as well as Romania's sovereignty and independence. (loud, prolonged applause)

In the long-term view of our society's development, we will always have to watch over continuously improving the democratic framework of the direct participation by the working people, regardless of nationality, and all the people in running all fields of activity.

We must never forget that socialism is the conscious work of the people and that it is being built with the people and for the people. Therefore, we must do everything possible to ensure the people's direct and democratic participation in leading society. (loud, prolonged applause)

At the same time, it is necessary to harmoniously blend the new bodies and forms of democratic leadership of society with the bodies of the socialist state, proceeding from the fact that the entire activity of the state and all kind of bodies is called upon to ensure the smooth development of socioeconomic life, the peaceful work of the people and the order and calm of all citizens.

2. Increasing the State's Role in Leading the Entire Socioeconomic Activity and Strengthening the Control of the Broad Masses Over State Bodies

The state and all its bodies, which are under the permanent control of the broad people's masses, are called upon to unflinchingly implement the party's domestic and international policy. The state and its bodies are responsible for all their activity before the people and their representatives. Workers in all kinds of state bodies must always be under the control of the broad masses and the people and must account to the people for strictly observing and applying the laws and socialist legality and defending, as the apple of their eyes, social property, the socialist ownership and the country's independence and sovereignty. (loud applause)

We can say that the state is the supreme representative of the owners and producers and the organizer of the common life of all the people and nation. In this respect, we must continuously work to ensure the smooth functioning of all state bodies and all state apparatus cadres and to increase their responsibility in fulfilling in an exemplary way the tasks entrusted to them.

Our socialist state bodies, in close cooperation with the workers democracy bodies, must ensure the balanced development of society and expand the forces of production at a regional level, thus attaining an appropriate relationship between various branches and fields of activity. Particular attention should be paid to planning socioeconomic development, proceeding from the need to blend the responsibility of working people's councils and general meetings that establish the plans for each unit with ensuring appropriate relationships between branches and sectors, so as to make rational use of the available material, financial and human means in order to continuously develop the forces of production and the national wealth and to raise the people's general well-being.

It is necessary to resolutely act to implement measures on regional self-management and self-administration and on increasing the responsibility of local bodies in ensuring proper supplies to the people, in accordance with resources available to society at a given time. We must strengthen the role of people's councils and party-state bodies in ensuring the participation of citizens from each county, town and commune in fulfilling production plans, achieving proper supplies to the people and meeting the general requirements of society and the state. The unflinching implementation of the principles of regional self-management and self-supply is particularly important within the framework of socialist workers democracy for meeting the requirements of the working people in the country's inhabited areas. In a broader sense, regional self-management and self-supply are an important element of strengthening the country's defense capacity and creating conditions for being able to solve problems connected with the good supply, administration and self-management of all towns at all times.

3. The Firm Application of Socialist Legality and of Social Coexistence Norms

In ensuring order, calm and the observance of the laws, an important role is assigned the bodies of the Ministry of Interior and the security and militia bodies. They are called upon always to watch over the unflinching observance of laws and norms of social coexistence. In close cooperation with the working people's democratic bodies and with the broad masses, they must ensure the defense of public property and consistently act against any infringement of social legality and any manifestations against the interests of the working people, society, socialist development and public order and peace. (loud applause) In carrying out their activity the Ministry of Interior bodies are directly accountable to the party, the broad masses and the people for the way in which they fulfill the highly responsible mission entrusted to them.

Like all state bodies, the Ministry of Interior bodies carry out their activities in accordance with the country's laws and bear total responsibility for unflinchingly observing socialist legality.

The prosecutor's office and judicial bodies have the duty to act unfailingly to ensure the observance of laws and to punish all those who violate social coexistence norms of our society's legal order. Our justice has acquired a broad democratic character through the participation of the broad masses and trial councils in the application of the laws; at the same time it is a powerful force in the hands of the working class and broad masses for defending and developing the socialist society.

It is necessary to continuously improve the activity of Ministry of Interior and judicial bodies, by strengthening their links and cooperation with working people's councils and the broad masses. They must discuss widely, within public meetings, various infringements of the law and norms of

coexistence; those who do not observe the law and norms of social coexistence must be brought to the direct attention and discussion of the working people. We must never forget that a number of habits left over from the old social system continue to be manifest and still influence certain people and that, unfortunately, there are still citizens who ignore the laws and social coexistence norms. As our people say, there is no forest without dry rot. It is our duty to ensure that the dry rot does not affect the forest itself; we must defend the norms of social coexistence, develop the principles of social justice and equity and ensure the healthy moral and intellectual development of our people. (loud applause) Each citizen must understand that in the Romanian socialist society everybody must work; there is no room for parasites and lazy people, for violators of the norms of social coexistence, for those who commit excesses or who steal the fruits of other people's work. By virtue of the rights of the working people and the nation, in accordance with the provisions of the law, it is necessary to take most severe measures against those who commit infringements and irregularities or violate the norms of social coexistence. This is a requirement of high workers democracy and a prerequisite for our people to be able to live in tranquillity and to build socialism in accordance with their wishes. (loud, prolonged applause)

It is true that we have had periods when excesses were committed in applying the law. While we try to eliminate all excesses and adopt measures to prevent such excesses from ever being repeated, we do not have the right, in any circumstance, to relax our vigilance and firmness toward those who violate the laws and norms of social coexistence. Even more so, we must show no mercy toward those who go into the service of our country's enemies and betray the interests of the people and the fatherland. (loud applause)

4. Defending the Fatherland, National Independence and Socialist Achievements-- The Duty of All the People

Esteemed comrades, the construction of the socialist society is taking place under complex international conditions of the existence of the policy of force, military conflicts and wars and the maintenance of the danger of a world war. In these circumstances, socialist Romania has the duty to take all measures to develop its defense capacity and to organize, train and equip the army so that it can always fulfill its sacred duty to the people to defend their revolutionary achievements, independence and sovereignty. We proceed from the fact that defending the fatherland is the basic duty of all our people. Therefore, it is necessary to develop all forms of military training and defense of the country; to strengthen and develop the activity of workers guards and paramilitary youth; and to organize regional defense where, as I have already said, self-management and self-administration represent a very important factor. Proceeding from this concept, let us continuously strengthen and develop links between the army and people and let us develop a broad cooperation in combat training between the army, on the one hand, and workers guards, paramilitary youth and the broad people's masses, on the other. The army is the armed extension of the people. It must serve the people in all circumstances and defend our revolutionary achievements and the country's independence and sovereignty. (loud, prolonged applause)

At the same time, in accordance with our international commitments, the Romanian Army will always fulfill its defense duties together with the friendly armies against an imperialist attack.

We will develop relations with the armies of other socialist countries and with the armies of independent countries, believing that this is an important factor in defending independence and struggling to prevent a new world war.

As is well known, throughout the centuries, the Romanian Army has always acted only in defense of the people's existence and national independence. There was a single instance in which the dominant classes forced the army to act--against the people's national interests--alongside Hitlerite Germany against the Soviet Union. Our people have drawn all necessary conclusions from this violation of the century-old traditions of the Romanian people and army, which never invaded other peoples; on the contrary, it has granted powerful assistance to the liberation struggle of other nations and peoples. (loud, prolonged applause)

Our army is being molded and educated today in the spirit of high socialist ideals of social and national justice, in the spirit of friendship and cooperation with all states, regardless of social system. The army is training to defend the country's independence in case of aggression and to fulfill its obligations to its alliances in case of an imperialist attack.

I deem it necessary to clearly state at this plenum, before all the people, that the Romanian Army will never participate in an aggressive war and will never deploy itself against other peoples; it will only wage a war in the defense of the fatherland. (loud applause)

History teaches us that each people should see to it that its army does not participate, under any circumstances, in subjugating and oppressing other peoples. This is one of the key prerequisites of the socialist society and socialism in general! We must never forget the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist thesis that a people which oppresses other peoples cannot be free!

5. Socialism--The Conscious Work of All Working People

Looking ahead, we can say that it is necessary to continuously strengthen the state and its bodies so that they can fulfill, in all fields, their organizing role in promoting socioeconomic development, guaranteeing the peaceful work of the people, carrying out the socialist construction, and defending the country's independence and sovereignty. At the same time, we must continuously expand the forms of cooperation between the workers' democratic bodies and state bodies--since they supplement each other and confer an increasingly more democratic character on our socialist society--by ensuring the organized participation of all social groups in running the country.

Socialist-workers democracy is higher than any form of democracy known in history, including bourgeois democracy. It is always necessary to continuously develop socialist-workers democracy as a decisive element in building socialism and communism in Romania. (loud, prolonged applause)

Socialism is the work of the broad masses, the working people and the people. It is being built with the people and for the people. Socialism is the conscious work of the workers class, the broad masses and the people, who are consciously shaping their own history and future in accordance with requirements of social development. We must never forget that what we have attained in the country's socialist development is the result of the self-denying work of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people, regardless of nationality, and all the people. Therefore, in implementing the party program we must do everything possible to ensure the leading role of the working class and the conscious participation of the people in building communism. (loud applause) The working class, the other social classes and groups, the people are the true builders of socialism! Everything we are attaining must meet the people's aspirations and ensure their well-being and happiness. This actually represents the essence of socialist-workers democracy!

That is why, on the 60th anniversary of the party, we raised the question of whether the formulation "the dictatorship of the proletariat" still corresponds to our society's new stage of development. I mentioned at the time that we would have to renounce this notion and replace it with the "state of workers democracy" or another formulation in accordance with the new conditions for the socialist development of the fatherland; for the broad manifestation of revolutionary workers democracy and for all the people's conscious participation in shaping their own future.

6. The Dialectical Relationship Between the Communist Party and the Socialist State

I would also like to refer to the role of the state in our socialist society. The state and its supreme legislative and executive bodies represent the supreme power in our socialist society. The country's laws and decisions, adopted by state bodies in accordance with the law, are compulsory for all citizens.

The party's leading role in our socialist society does not replace the state bodies under any circumstances; it does not and cannot diminish in any way the responsibility of state bodies before the laws and people.

It is necessary to remove any misunderstanding with regard to who occupies the more important place in society--the party or the state. One should not even raise this question.

The state and its bodies cannot be replaced by anybody, hence not even by party bodies.

The state and its bodies are directly responsible for the smooth development of the entire socioeconomic activity and for strengthening socialist order and discipline.

Party bodies must not replace state bodies. On the contrary, they must do everything possible to strengthen the state's role and ensure the proper functioning of state bodies from top to bottom.

Party activists and communists working in state bodies are responsible for their activity before the laws and people. As activists and communists, they must always account for their activity to the party and are always under party control. One does not exclude the other, but they mutually condition each other, in a dialectical way.

Any violation of the country's laws is incompatible with the character of an RCP member.

We proceed from the scientific thesis that the state first arose in a certain stage of social development--when the exploiting classes emerged and society became divided into antagonistic classes--and that it will disappear at a later development stage. Of course, we have enough time to think about how it will disappear.

As for the present and for a long time to come, the state will continue to play an important role in organizing social life and developing the society, including the communist society. The state's nature and forms of activity will change according to the development of the forces of production and the society.

In this respect, it is necessary to make certain clarifications regarding the flags of the country and party.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution, the sole state flag is the tricolor. It is symbol of the unity, sovereignty and national independence of the Socialist Republic of Romania. (loud, prolonged applause)

The state flag, the tricolor, cannot be replaced by any other banner.

The party flag is the symbol of the party's revolutionary struggle--like the banners of other organizations such as the Union of Communist Youth, the Pioneers, and the fatherland's Falcons. However, the party flag, and even more so any other flag, cannot replace the state flag, the tricolor. The tricolor is the supreme flag for the party and all other organizations, the symbol of the unity of all the people and the independence and sovereignty of the fatherland. (loud, prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-the tricolor!")

VI. The Development of the Socialist Nation and the Just Resolution of the Nationality Problem--A Key Prerequisite for Strengthening the Unshakeable Unity of All Working People, Regardless of Nationality, in the Service of Socialist Romania's Flourishing

Dear comrades, in the first part of the speech we discussed the historic distance covered by our people and the struggles waged to form the Romanian nation and the united national state.

As is well known, the nation appeared at a certain development stage of human society. In our socialist society, it has acquired new dimensions and characteristics. The character and role of the nation has been thoroughly changed by the elimination of society's division into antagonistic classes--exploiting and oppressed classes--the creation of socialist society based on friendly classes inspired by the same goals and interests and the uniform development of forces of production, science, education, culture and a new concept about world and life. Our nation has acquired superior features and is developing at a higher level in the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advancing toward communism.

The nation, by acquiring new characteristics and traits, will continue to exist as an important factor of international cooperation and peace. This holds for communist societies, too. In this spirit, developing the feeling of national pride and socialist patriotism is a very important element in the struggle for socialism, peace and cooperation in the world.

National pride and socialist patriotism involve the need to value and honor the glorious past of work and struggle and everything that was good in our people's development throughout the centuries. At the same time, we must resolutely identify those actions and states of affairs which did not correspond to our people's spirit. National pride and socialist patriotism are not in opposition to other nations or any nation in particular. Developing the sentiment of national pride must be closely linked with developing the spirit of friendship with other peoples, the spirit of friendship, cooperation and coexistence between the Romanian working people and the working people of various nationalities in our country. In this respect, national pride and socialist patriotism should help strengthen our people's unity and its cooperation with all nations. (loud, prolonged applause)

Throughout history, citizens of other nationalities settled on Romanian territory. Coexistence with them has led to intermingling and mutual understanding. Today working people of Hungarian, German and other nationalities are living on our fatherland's territory. As is known, on more than one occasion the Romanian, Hungarian, German, Serbian and other working people fought together for freedom and justice, knowing that they must rally their ranks against the oppressors, irrespective of their nationality. It is also very well known that the oppressing classes have always tried to stir up enmity among the working people of different nationalities in order to better oppress and subjugate them. Even today certain countries and certain reactionary, imperialist circles use the nationality problem as a means to stir up enmity among people and split them.

Our communist party has always been against the policy of national oppression and has constantly struggled for complete equality of rights among all working people, irrespective of nationality. As soon as the achievement of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, the democratic and socialist revolutions, Romania proceeded to resolve the

nationality problem in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary concept, thus ensuring full equality of rights for all working people irrespective of nationality. This is one of the great achievements of our socialist society which entitles us to be proud and which we must develop. (applause) We are duty bound to continue to do all we can to resolutely apply the principle of full equality of rights, thus ensuring the participation of all working people in leading the socioeconomic activity. Citizens of our fatherland, irrespective of nationality, enjoy the same rights and duties.

We have a common fatherland. Through the joint work of all our people we are building the most humane and just society in the world--a socialist and communist society. Let us do all we can to strengthen the cooperation and unshakable unity of all our people, of all citizens, irrespective of nationality! (loud, prolonged applause) Anyone who tries, in one or another form, to deal a blow to the cooperation and unity of our fatherland's citizens implicitly serves our country's enemies, the enemies of the builders of socialism. (lively applause) Irrespective of our parents' origin, we have a common origin: the fatherland in which we were born; all of us must learn to speak one single language, the language of the dialectical-materialist and historic revolutionary concept. We must learn to love and defend our common fatherland! (loud applause; chants: "Ceausescu-Socialist Republic of Romania") Under all circumstances, all of us must serve the people, the fatherland, the party and the cause of socialism, communism, freedom and independence! Here, in Romania, the working people, irrespective of nationality, and in close unity, must shape, under RCP political leadership, a new and free life based on full equality and fraternity. Let us jointly build communism here! (loud applause)

To ensure cooperation and the organized participation of all citizens in building a new life, well-being and happiness, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] should ensure the organized participation of all non-party members in political and social activity. Let us do all we can to ensure the complete unity of all working people and all our people within the SDUF. This is a fundamental requirement of our fatherland's firm progress on the road to socialism and communism, of raising Romania to new peaks of progress and civilization, and of strengthening its independence and sovereignty. (applause, cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP")

VII. The Dynamics of Social Structure in Romania and Improving Social Relations

Esteemed comrades, the victory of socialism, the construction of a unitary socialist economy and the forceful development of the forces of production brought about deep changes in the structure of Romanian society and the achievement of new relations based on common interests between the new classes and social groups.

During the years of socialist construction, the working class developed, and new detachments emerged as a result of the creation of new and highly technical productive branches. The level of professional and technical

training improved, as did the workers' awareness. The working class became the most numerous and powerful class in the Romanian socialist society, representing 50 percent of the total active population. All this led to a constant increase in the role of the working class in society and to its honorable fulfillment of its mission as leading class of the entire nation in building communism.

Important changes have taken place in the structure of the peasantry. This class, for centuries, was the main numerical force and the main force in the struggle for our people's and nation's formation and development and for achieving our country's independence.

As a result of the development of the forces of production and the forceful growth of industry and other sectors, the share of the peasantry decreased from some 80 percent to less than 30 percent. The peasantry continues to be the second most important social class, both as concerns its number and its importance in the country's socioeconomic activity. The mechanization of agriculture and introduction of scientific achievements into it has led to an improvement in agricultural and technical knowledge, professional training, and the peasantry's general cultural level.

Due to the forceful development of the forces of production, due to the progress of science, education and culture, the intelligentsia experienced a noteworthy development, especially the technical intelligentsia. It is worth mentioning that today the intelligentsia represents the third social force in the Romanian society and holds a particularly important place in the overall material production process and cultural creativity.

The unity between the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals has risen to a new level, thus constituting a guarantee for the resolute implementation of the party program of raising our fatherland onto new peaks of progress and civilization and of improving the people's material and cultural well-being.

We can state that the current social structure of the Romanian society expresses the development level of the forces of production, the place held by various branches in the material and cultural production process.

In perspective, one can state that for a long time to come the working class and peasantry will be the two major classes of Romanian society. Although the share of the working class will further increase and that of the peasantry decrease within the framework of the active population, in 1990 the peasantry will probably continue to represent at least 20 percent of the active population. The number of technical intellectuals will increase to a certain extent, but, especially, the role of intellectuals in developing the socialist society and implementing the party program will increase.

VIII. The Communist Party--A Vital Center of Society, the Dynamic Force Behind the Creative Energy of All Our People on the Road of Socialism

Esteemed comrades, the great revolutionary transformations in our fatherland are the result of the devoted work performed by the working class, the

peasantry and intelligentsia and all working people, irrespective of nationality, the result of the work performed by all our people who are resolutely implementing the RCP's domestic and foreign policy.

The successes achieved clearly demonstrate our party's just policy of creatively applying general laws to the concrete conditions in Romania.

It is well known that in our country the revolutionary movement developed and the ideas of scientific socialism widely spread with the appearance of the working class on the historical scene. The Romanian socialists actively participated in the most important events in our people's life and in the significant events of the international workers' movement, having been present at the first communist international on the barricades of the Paris commune. As a matter of fact, as is known, the problems of the Romanian principalities especially drew the attention of Marx, who examined a number of events in the 19th century linked with their development and with the policy of the great empires and especially with the policy of the Tsarist empire toward Romania.

The creation in 1893 of the Romanian Social-Democratic Workers Party was an important moment in the political organization of the workers class and in increasing its role in Romania's social and political life. I do not now want to refer to other important events and moments in the activity of the working class before World War I. What is worth stressing is that the appearance and assertion of our socialist, workers, revolutionary movement stems from the life and struggle of the working class and that it was born closely connected with the development of the forces of production and of the workers class in Romania. (loud applause)

The socialist workers movement took an active stand in the struggle against the imperialist World War II; at the same time, it firmly advocated the elimination of foreign domination and the creation of a unitary national state.

Another important moment in the history of the revolutionary workers movement in Romania was the creation of the RCP in 1921. In all class battles against the bourgeois-landowner regime, during World War II and in carrying out the antifascist, anti-imperialist and national revolution for social and national liberation, the RCP played an important role, it organized and led the struggle waged by the people's masses, thus fulfilling its historic mission of leading the working class and the progressive forces in Romania in eliminating the old social system and proceeding to building the socialist society. Now, as we examine the stage the Romanian society has reached, we are entitled to proudly state that our communist party has honorably fulfilled its historic mission, has ensured the leadership of all our people in the tumultuous activity of building the most just and humane society in the world, the socialist society. (loud and lively applause)

The RCP represents the leading political force of all our society. It has won the trust and love of the people's masses and of all people as a result of its serving--without sparing any efforts--the interests of the working class and of the entire nation and as a result of the firm application in practice of the socialist principles and of its constant concern with constantly improving the material and cultural living standard of our people and with strengthening the country's independence and sovereignty. Our party is closely linked with the working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia and with all working people, irrespective of nationality, and with all our people. It has had and has one single goal--the goal of serving the cause of the people, of socialism and of the fatherland's independence. (loud, prolonged applause)

In the current stage of development of the Romanian socialist society, in the process of developing socialist democracy and of improving the democratic framework for the participation of the people's masses in the leadership of all sectors of activity, our party has the noble mission of constituting the organizing and dynamizing of political force of the overall socio-economic activity. It represents and will continue to represent the vital center in the operation of our socialist society.

We must never forget that our party was born and developed among the ranks of revolutionary forces, among the ranks of the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals, among the ranks of the people and we must not forget that it is the continuer of the most progressive traditions of the struggle for the formation and development of our people, of our nation and the unitary national state and of the struggle for socialism. (loud applause)

Basing its overall activity on the dialectical-materialist, historic revolutionary concept, and on scientific socialism, the party must also draw thorough conclusions from the history of our people and fatherland, from the history of the revolutionary struggle, thus ensuring a constant strengthening of the material and cultural force of our whole nation. Let us never forget that the force of the party lies in its close link with the working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia and with all people and that its domestic and foreign policy must be drawn from the realities of the Romanian society and must satisfy the aspirations of all our people.

The construction of socialism and of the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism must take place together with the masses and with all our people. Everything we achieve must serve the people, their well-being and happiness. The party has not had and will not have any other goal than ensuring a constantly better material and cultural level for our people under conditions of independence and sovereignty, peace and international cooperation.

Although theoretically we believe that the party ought to disappear at a certain stage in the communist development of society, we can state without risk of error that it still has a long life and activity before it. Therefore,

we must continue to pay the necessary attention to strengthening the party, to improving its ideological and political level, to increasing its organizational capability and its unity so that it is able to appropriately fulfill the historic mission it has and will continue to have for a long time throughout the period of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and communism in Romania.

Proceeding from these conclusions, we must not believe that the party's organizational framework and activity will always be the same. From its creation and up to now--especially during the years of socialist construction--the party has gone through many changes in its organization and work style and in the manner in which it fulfills its role as the leading political force of the socialist society's.

The party will continue to represent the vital center of society and the force that activates the creative energy of the people's masses and of all our people. However, we must keep in mind that its functions, role and forms of organization and its activity will undergo changes in keeping with the historic development stages of the Romanian socialist and communist society.

It is obvious that the development of the forces of production at a new level, the achievement of a new work quality, the great increase in the role of science, education and culture as decisive factors for proceeding toward communism, the improvement and constant development of the democratic framework, of socialist workers' democracy, the more and more active and direct participation of the people's masses in leading the various sectors of activity and the conscious shaping by the people of their history will require new targets and will need appropriate changes in the party's function and activity.

We must understand that as any social body, the party must improve in order to be able to fulfill its historic mission of great responsibility in the socialist society, it must be in line with the great social and revolutionary changes. It must always be the force that will ensure the elimination from socioeconomic life of everything that is old and outdated and no longer corresponds to the new conditions and new development stage, and must boldly promote what is new in all sectors of activity. The party must spread the light that will guide the whole nation on the bright road to communism. It is, therefore, necessary that the party should constantly stay young, that it should always be permeated by a revolutionary spirit, a new spirit and that it should draw conclusions from social realities, from the new achievements of science and human knowledge.

We must constantly act to continuously improve the activity of the party organizations and bodies. Let us do all we can so that each party organization fulfills its mission at its work place under favorable conditions and its mission in uniting the forces of the working people and in achieving workers' self-management and self-administration.

As I have mentioned more than once, in their overall activity the communists must serve the interests of the masses and of the people. They do not have and cannot have special rights in the socialist society. However, as revolutionaries who have consciously engaged themselves to act to achieve the ideals of socialism and communism, they must honorably fulfill their duty in all fields of activity. (loud, prolonged applause)

Special attention must be paid to improving responsibility and discipline in resolutely fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them by the party and people. Whatever position they may hold, communists must show high principledness, great responsibility and exactingness; they must act with great determination to implement the country's laws and the party's decisions. Communists must never put up with shortcomings; they must always be intransigent with themselves and with their comrades.

Considering the important role of the party in the Romanian socialist society, it is necessary to constantly develop the party's internal democracy as part and parcel of workers' socialist democracy. It is necessary to ensure broad discussion and active participation of the communists in formulating the party's domestic and foreign policies. Only by ensuring broad democracy within the party, the active participation of the party organizations and bodies and of all communists in formulating the party's general policy will we create the necessary conditions for strengthening workers' democracy, uniting the people's masses' efforts, and increasing their role in formulating Romania's domestic and foreign policies.

At the same time, let us not forget that we must have a firm attitude toward shortcomings--toward mistakes--and we must decisively combat any violation of the state's laws and decisions; we must strongly develop a critical and self-critical spirit. Let us expose, without fear, shortcomings and mistakes and let us take determined action to eliminate them. The development of criticism and self-criticism and a combative attitude toward violations of laws and decisions is an indivisible part of the party's inner democracy and workers' democracy. It is a guarantee for improving and constantly renewing the party's activity and increasing its role as leading political force of the Romanian socialist society. (loud applause)

Our party numbers some 3.2 million members. We can state that at this time the major problem is not attaining a numerical increase, but increasing the quality of party members. We must focus our attention in the future--when admitting the best working people in all fields into the party ranks--on increasing the exactingness toward the statutory requirements to be fulfilled by each party member. We must see that party members--those who will be admitted to the party ranks--properly understand our party's ideological and scientific concept and the duties and obligations they will assume as consistent revolutionary fighters for the triumph of socialism and communism, for the defense, under any circumstances, of the people's supreme interests, of the country's independence and sovereignty.

Special attention must be paid in the future to the party aktiv and to increasing its role in the proper organizations of the party's life and activity and in overall socioeconomic activity. We must especially make sure that a just cadres policy is practiced in keeping with the current requirements of this stage of development. The activists and the party and state cadres must meet professional, technical and political requirements. They must be permeated with a lofty revolutionary spirit, must be good organizers and must be good at implementing party and state policy. Let us pay greater attention to strengthening party control and the control by communists and the masses in the activity and life of party and state cadres. The activity of all party and state activists and cadres must always be in close connection with the party members and with the masses of working people; they must be under their control. Each one must account for and be responsible to the party and the peoples' masses for the manner in which he has carried out the mission entrusted to him. This is one of the important aspects of party democracy and workers democracy and a condition for the party's strength and vitality. It is necessary for us to concern ourselves constantly with improving the professional, technical and scientific level of the party and state cadres and to always ensure the application of the principle of rotation. Let us do all we can to ensure that in all fields there are activists and cadres who enjoy the masses' and people's trust and who are determined to serve the people, socialism, Romania's independence and sovereignty under any circumstances. (loud, prolonged applause)

IX. The Ideological, Theoretical and Educational-Political Activity--A Powerful Force in Uniting All Working People, in Constantly Developing the Forces of Production and Improving Social Relations and the Forms of the Society's Leadership

Esteemed comrades, the forceful development of the forces of production, the changes that have taken place in the structure of social relations as a result of achieving a uniform socialist economy, the victory of socialism and of the transition to building the comprehensively developed socialist society--all this required broad theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity for shaping the new man, the conscious builder of socialism.

In all its theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity, our party bases itself on the revolutionary concept of dialectical and historic materialism and on the progressive ideas of scientific socialism. Our party has proceeded and proceeds from the need of knowing and creatively applying the objective general truths and laws to the concrete conditions in our country. Life, realities and the great achievements recorded by the Romanian people in socioeconomic development and socialist construction clearly demonstrate the correctness of the general policy practiced by our party and the all-conquering force of dialectic and historic materialism and scientific socialism. The practice of socialist construction forcefully and undeniably proves that the construction of socialism must base itself both on general laws and on each people's and each country's economic, social, historical and national realities.

Not taking into account the general laws and principles of socialism can be very harmful and even endanger socialist construction. Likewise, not taking into account realities and the application of certain models and patterns which do not take into consideration those realities can lead to great difficulties and endanger the country's socialist development itself. It is therefore necessary for us to constantly watch over the smooth blending of and dialectic unity between general truths and concrete socioeconomic realities. This will ensure a successful construction of socialism and the implementation of the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. We can state that our party has taken into consideration in its activity both the general laws and the concrete realities of Romanian society.

The great revolutionary changes in our country have also brought about profound changes in the way of thinking, the level of social and political awareness of the working people and broad people's masses. The theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity has played a very important role in arming the party, the workers class, the peasantry and intellectuals and the broad people's masses with a scientific understanding of the realities of the Romanian socialist society and the current international realities. This activity has contributed to improving the general level of knowledge of the working people, broadening their cultural horizon, and shaping the awareness of the new man. The party's theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity, one could say, has turned into a powerful force in uniting the working people's efforts and those of all people building the socialist society. It has exerted a powerful influence in the development of the forces of production and in improving social relations and the forms of our society's leadership.

At the same time, we must state openly that we can note a certain lag in the theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity compared with the development of the forces of production and compared with the changes in the social structure and in the relations of production. One can state that our socialist society's material base has advanced to a greater extent, has developed more than social awareness, than the theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity. This has, undoubtedly, certain negative consequences and we must take action to achieve a better balance between the two sides of social development. Let us turn theoretical, ideological and educational-political activity into a force that will bring about the further development of the forces of production and will improve the social structure and social relations.

X. Let Us Make Room for What Is New in Revolutionary Theoretical Thought, Let Us Act Consciously in the Direction of Improving the New Society

We have examined and drawn a number of conclusions from the practical activity carried out by our party and people in socialist construction. Life has confirmed many laws and general theses regarding socialist construction, but

has also refuted a number of theses, thus making us understand that certain laws and general theses are no longer in keeping with the new development stage of the Romanian socialist society. From this we must draw and have drawn appropriate conclusions.

As is known, we have drawn a number of theoretical, ideological and practical conclusions as regards the democratic leadership of socioeconomic activity by renouncing the concept of a one-person leadership and by introducing democratic leadership bodies, workers councils and the working people's general meetings. We have drawn the conclusion that it is necessary to develop workers democracy and to ensure the participation of the people's masses and all people in society's leadership. This is a sure means of successfully implementing the party program. We have reached the conclusion that socialism and democracy are inseparable, that the socialist society must achieve the highest form of democracy based on the direct participation of the masses in society's leadership.

The new development stage of our society makes it necessary for us to thoroughly examine realities to draw the necessary theoretical and practical conclusions for our future activity. I have referred to a number of problems regarding history, the state and its role in our society, regarding the party and other questions. These questions have to be studied thoroughly in keeping with the experience and practice of socialist construction and with the new development stage of our society.

In this respect it is necessary to pay greater attention to theoretical and ideological activity and to the general application of the experiences gained in socialist construction by resolutely promoting what is new in all sectors. As is known, our party has drawn attention to the workings of the law of dialectics--of the struggle of opposites in socialist and communist societies. As I mentioned in the first part of my speech, we must constantly keep in mind that the law of dialectics forcefully acts also in a socialist society and probably in communism, too. It is, therefore, necessary for us to study, to understand and to note in time the emergence of contradictions and to act to eliminate them. In this respect, we must eliminate everything that is old and no longer suitable and to make room for what is new; we must consciously act in the direction of renewing the society.

I believe it is necessary for us to formulate a comprehensive program of theoretical, ideological and study activity in the spirit of the concept of dialectical materialism. We must examine all domestic and international phenomena and draw appropriate conclusions for our future activity. I think this is of importance for our party's future activity and for socialist construction. At the same time, this is essential for understanding the world revolutionary process, the changes that are taking place in the world and the new problems raised by the progression of other people on the road of socialism, by their elimination of colonial domination and by the establishment of scores of countries struggling to strengthen their independence.

Certain comrades abroad and even some in our country ask the question: Why our party program has formulated the thesis of building the comprehensively developed socialist society while other socialist countries have formulated the thesis of building the developed socialist society. Certainly, the question of formulating a strategic goal is the task of each party. Each party establishes this by proceeding both from general laws and from the given concrete realities. When the 11th party congress adopted the party program, I stressed that we were thinking of establishing the strategic goal of building the comprehensively developed socialist society by taking into account all aspects of social life--the material base, the leadership and development of democracy, the increasingly important role of science, ideological and educational-political activity. We used the term "comprehensively developed" for our future society so as to avoid misunderstandings, to not neglect any aspect of our activity, and to avoid the conclusion that by talking about the developed socialist society we were referring only, or especially, to the development of the material base.

We have also been asked: Why do we not use the thesis of real socialism. Here, too, we proceed from the fact that it is each party's right to describe, in one and another form, the socialism it is building. As far as we are concerned, we believe that the general formulation and the strategic goal of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism is fully in keeping with the principles of scientific socialism. This is all the more so because we are living at a time when more and more people proceed to or speak out for socialism. Each of those peoples act in accordance both with general laws which remain valid and with the concrete realities in the given country. We believe that the thesis formulated by Marx and Lenin according to which the peoples' transition to socialism will take place in a great diversity of conditions and will lead to new forms and practices is still valid and has been fully confirmed by life. Certainly, the transition to socialism in a number of developed capitalist countries and in developing countries will take place in various forms. This will enrich the heritage of revolutionary theory and practice. Were we to use the form "real socialism" for our country, certain comrades might draw the conclusion that we consider our form of socialist construction the absolutely correct and only valid one. This would negate, in one way or another, the realism of other forms of socialist construction that is taking place in a given country is real and in keeping with historic requirements. (loud applause)

Recently we have been witnessing an intensified anticommunist campaign against the socialist countries and socialism generally. Proceeding from certain difficulties and events in some socialist countries, certain circles try to draw conclusions regarding the so-called crisis of socialism; they even go as far as to state that socialism is no longer the only valid alternative to capitalism, a system based on exploitation and the oppression of the people's masses and other peoples.

Unfortunately, even in certain communist parties theses have appeared that question the validity and nature of socialist development in one or another country. These theses have appeared at a time of great international tension, of accentuated global contradictions, of an accentuated world economic crisis. They are a result of the political, social and moral crisis of the capitalist system.

It is true that in the process of socialist construction, along with the great successes recorded, a number of mistakes and excesses have been made. This is well known in our country as well. They have been discussed and debated--I am referring to our country--and the necessary conclusions have been drawn. However, a scientific analysis, on the basis of a dialectical-materialist and historical concept, clearly shows that the socialist countries have achieved tremendous results in a short time. They have thus demonstrated in practice the superiority of socialism as the only system opening for mankind the road to eliminating social and national inequalities and establishing social and national justice. (lively and loud applause) The mistakes and difficulties that emerge in one or another country show that by not taking account of certain general laws and by not taking account of concrete conditions serious problems may arise in socialist development. However, this shows the very necessity of firmly applying socialist principles in keeping with the realities in each country, thus actually demonstrating the validity of the basic principles of scientific socialism. The difficulties that have emerged are not linked to socialism or to too much socialism, but to infringements and mistakes and to the violation of certain basic principles of scientific socialism, to the fact that certain general laws or concrete realities in one or another country were ignored. Thus they stem from the fact that the principles of socialism are not consistently implemented. The logical conclusion that can be drawn is the need to always act, when building a new social system, closely in keeping with the realities in each country, to take into consideration the people's interests, and to always stand alongside the working class and the people.

We are firmly convinced that the difficulties in our country and in other socialist countries will be surmounted, that socialism will forcefully assert its viability and its renewing power. Socialism is the only alternative to the society divided into exploiting and exploited classes. It is the only means for socioeconomic progress and for achieving a better and more just world. (loud, prolonged applause)

I have stressed all this because I want everybody to better understand that it is our duty to improve our activity; to successfully develop our socialist construction by carrying out comprehensive theoretical, ideological, political and educational activity; to arm the party and people with clear prospects; and to contribute to enriching the common heritage of revolutionary theory and practice rejecting the propaganda aimed against socialism and communism and increasing the prestige of socialism and communism in the world. (loud, prolonged applause)

XI. Let Us Always Have Firm Trust in the Lofty Ideals of Socialism and Communism, Let Us Carry Out a Broad Theoretical Activity for Becoming Knowledgeable in History and for Understanding the Laws of the Development Process in Society and Nature

Esteemed comrades, the complex world situation, the difficulties that have appeared in certain socialist countries have led to the appearance of question marks, of confusion and signs of distrust in the prospects for the revolutionary struggle and the struggle waged by the workers class and the peoples. All this is used by reactionary, imperialist circles against the revolutionary workers movement, the socialist countries, and the communist movement. It is used against the struggle for national and social liberation and for independence and peace.

Taking this into account, it is necessary to carry out a broad theoretical and ideological activity and to intensify political-educational activity. This should be done so that all working people may understand the course of events and the fact that within the revolutionary process, including the process of socialist construction, difficulties and failures may emerge. But the communists, the builders of socialism and the revolutionary forces are dutybound to act to eliminate difficulties and to successfully struggle for revolutionary transformations in the world. Hesitations have always appeared in the more difficult moments in history: there have been people who were unable to keep abreast of the revolutionary struggle, who regressed.

Perhaps this is also due to the fact that sometimes we have idealized and termed the development of the socialist society as the absolutely correct one. This gives the wrong impression that socialism presents no difficulties, and cannot present any difficulties or economic crisis. It wrongly suggests that the establishment of the political power of the working class and the progression to socialist construction solve problems automatically and automatically implement socialist principles. Life and reality have demonstrated that such an idyllic presentation of the socialist society, understandable to a certain extent during the struggle against the old social system, is dangerous and harmful. The construction of the socialist society is taking place in certain economic, social and historic conditions, including the existence of imperialism. Therefore, the difficulties inherent in building the new social system must be surmounted.

As I have mentioned on other occasions, too, the road on which we have embarked, leading to the lofty peaks of communism, is not at all easy. Many difficulties have to be surmounted and, proceeding toward those lofty peaks, it is necessary for us to be ready for any sacrifices, to act with great determination and boldness to conquer those peaks. Even if certain people stop halfway, feel dizzy and fall, lacking the courage to climb higher toward the bright peaks of communism, we must always firmly trust the lofty ideals of socialism and communism, we must act to choose the best means of making mankind's golden dream come true--communism! (loud, prolonged applause)

As I have mentioned before in this connection, it is necessary to proceed to formulating certain theoretical and ideological works on the current stage of the Romanian society and on the prospects of implementing the party program. We have to pay special attention to the problems of the society's leadership, to developing revolutionary workers democracy and the most appropriate forms for the masses' participation in the society's leadership, and to achieving the most democratic society in the world. It is necessary to write a number of works on problems regarding socialist economy, the action of economic laws in socialism, the new economic mechanism and strengthening workers' self-management and self-administration.

It is also necessary to intensify the writing of the Romanian people's history in the spirit of the historic and dialectic-materialist concept by depicting--on the basis of information, documents and reality--the life, work and struggle of the people beginning with ancient times and going up to the years of socialist construction. We must have a unitary history that will appropriately depict each economic and social development stage, each historic period, the social struggles and the political activity and that will describe--in the light of reality based on facts and documents--the role of social classes, of the people, of the various leaders of our state and of political, scientific and cultural figures. In this concept of a unitary history, the history of the Romanian people must also include the history of the revolutionary workers movement, of the Social Democratic Workers Party and the RCP. There cannot be two histories: one of the people and one of the party. Our people have one single history, and the activity carried out by the RCP and by other parties in various periods is an indivisible part of the fatherland's history. We have to unite the forces in the field of history in a single national history institute that will also include the society of historical sciences.

At the same time, it is necessary to unify our museums so that we have one single central museum of national history that will contain all important documents. The museums in other centers should carry documents referring to the given area and certain copies of documents that are in the national museum.

Since writing the Romanian people's history takes a long time and will need a great amount of work, it is necessary to proceed to editing certain widely circulating history works, both in Romanian and in international languages. In certain countries, including certain socialist countries, a number of historic events which are directly linked to our people are presented in an unrealistic, sometimes even distorted, manner. Therefore, it is necessary to organize joint discussions with the historians of the respective countries, proceeding from the need to clarify and present problems in the spirit of historical truth and to stress those moments and events designed to contribute to strengthening cooperation and friendship among peoples and in the policy of solidarity and peace. (loud applause)

As for the history of the RCP and of the revolutionary workers movement, as I have mentioned, it must be part and parcel of our national history. Writing one or another special work on that subject would contribute to the history of the Romanian people by depicting certain events that cannot be included in the national history in great detail.

I want to be well understood, comrades. We must understand that our party does not stand apart from the nation and the people, that our nation has one single history, that our party was born in social struggle and within the framework of the people's history; its history is the history of our nation and, thus, the history of our nation is the only history that should depict the overall development process of our people. (loud applause)

I believe that our former idea of having two histories, one being a history of the party, is a vestige of the old concept of the Third International according to which the communist parties have their own history--that this history must not necessarily take into consideration national interests and sometimes may even neglect them. We must completely eliminate this past idea that was very negative for our party and people! (loud applause)

It is also necessary to write a world history in which we will depict also certain questions of the history of the international workers movement and the national liberation struggle. At the same time, taking into consideration the great revolutionary transformations in the world, it is necessary to write works on those changes and the new international balance of forces. We must do this by stressing especially the elimination of colonialism and the development of scores and scores of independent states, the increased struggles by peoples to strengthen their independence and to completely master their destinies and organize their lives as they desire, without any outside interference. It is all the more necessary to write such works since some circles at an international level show a tendency to ignore and minimize the importance of the national liberation struggle and since according to them the formation of nations would not be of very great importance under current conditions; these are, in fact, concepts promoted formerly by imperialism and which serve the plans of domination and oppression by the great imperialist countries.

At the same time, we have to proceed to writing scientific and philosophic works on the origin of the world and society. We must supply answers based on the historic and dialectical-materialist concept to metaphysical concepts in the world. Respecting and guaranteeing religious freedoms must not be understood as the communists' accepting religious and idealistic concepts of the world. Proceeding from the achievements of science and of human knowledge, communists are guided by the scientific concept of the world and society. They cannot accept the theories about the existence of some supernatural forces which have guided and still guide the universe.

This is true all the more so today when the basic sciences such as chemistry, physics, biology, genetics and other sciences have given new answers to the problems of knowing the universe and the world's material nature and development. Under such conditions it is all the less understandable that certain

retrograde and mystic concepts can still appear and can still capture some people--unfortunately even some communists. I am stressing this because it is necessary for us to draw all necessary conclusions about certain shortcomings in our ideological, political and educational activity. It is necessary to act so that such states of affairs cannot be repeated under any circumstances. It is, therefore, necessary--by using the achievements of science and of the historic, dialectical-materialist philosophy--to arm the communists and the working people and to carry out extensive activity so that they acquire a scientific understanding of the origin of the world, of society and the laws that govern the universe.

Let us especially expose the mystic activity of certain religious sects which are used as an instrument by the imperialist reactionary circles and by some fascist circles and crooks who want to divert mankind's attention from the basic problems of the present-day world and want to use this means for diversion and for espionage against other countries.

At the same time, our political-educational activity must firmly combat and expose any nationalist, chauvinist, racist and anti-semitic manifestations and any attempt to stir enmity among the working people of various nationalities, especially among the youth. We must not forget that, especially under difficult international circumstances, imperialist reactionary circles and fascism resorted to such concepts to promote their policy of domination and oppression of peoples.

XII. Central Tasks in the Ideological, Political and Cultural-Educational Activity and in the Development of Literary-Artistic Creation

Our ideological, political and educational activity should always proceed from and be based on the noble ideas of scientific socialism and revolutionary humanism. Our political and educational activity should give priority to developing love for the country, people and the cause of socialism and enhancing revolutionary patriotism. At the same time, we should instill in the working people the spirit of friendship and cooperation in the struggle for a new social system, a better and more just society, socialism, communism, peace and national independence.

Particular attention should be paid to educating the younger generation. We must bear in mind that reactionary circles have singled out the youth, which is less experienced, as a subject to be influenced and to set at loggerheads, so as to use it for their policy of domination and oppression. Let us educate our fatherland's youth, regardless of nationality, in the spirit of brotherhood and friendship; let us ensure that our youth masters the most noble ideals and the latest achievements of science and human knowledge. The youth must learn and master all valuable achievements in all fields of science and culture. Let us blend teaching with work, and train our youth for life and work, for continuing the socialist and communist construction and for raising our socialist fatherland onto higher peaks of progress and civilization. (loud, prolonged applause)

In our educational activity of molding the new man and educating the youth, a particular role devolves on schools and all grades of education. Beginning with preschool education and up to university education, the children and youth must be raised and educated in the spirit of love for the fatherland, devotion to socialism and to the party and work, by arming it with the latest achievements of science and human knowledge. All school grades must shape a bold, passionate and revolutionary youth, ready to make any sacrifice for the interests of the fatherland and socialism, for defending the country's independence and for peace. (loud applause)

A very important role in the educational, cultural and artistic activity of molding the new man devolves on the council of socialist culture and education and all art and culture bodies and institutions. They must thoroughly organize the entire cultural mass activity, including entertainment, and install into it a revolutionary and combative spirit, so that it can contribute to developing the high moral traits of all members of the socialist society.

The "Song to Romania" festival has turned into a powerful cultural-artistic movement of the broad people's masses. We attained wonderful results: the working people and the broad masses in towns and villages are the creators, participants and direct end-users of the mass cultural-artistic activity. The "Song to Romania" national festival has clearly highlighted the creative talent and force specific to our people. It is necessary to continuously improve the contents of the "Song to Romania" national festival, to increasingly expand its mass character and to perpetuate the forms of mass artistic-cultural creation. Within the "Song to Romania" national festival we must ensure the continuity of the wonderful traditions of the Romanian people who, throughout the centuries, have been the creator of wonderful doinas [Romanian folk songs] and ballads, folk culture and art--of unique beauty, patriotism and humanism. (loud applause) Let us better use the houses of culture, workers clubs and cultural institutions to organize the political and cultural-educational work and carry out continuous educational activity.

Important tasks are assigned to the movie industry and theaters. We have a number of positive results in this field. It is necessary, however, to pay more attention to the contents of films and theatrical plays and to their educational message. The cinema and theater are important means of educating the revolutionary consciousness of the working people and youth and we must ensure that they commendably fulfill their role in society.

In the cultural-educational activity of molding the new man, a very important role is played by literature, music and the plastic arts. One can say that our literature has reached a high level. Much is being published and written. We also have musical creations and plastic art works of great value. All this makes a significant contribution to the cultural-educational activity of raising the consciousness of the broad masses. However, we must say that the working people expect more literary works with a rich content, works that should depict the work, life and achievements of our people. We need a

literature with a more combative, patriotic and revolutionary spirit, thoroughly permeated by the high ideals of socialist humanism and the notion of social and national justice. This literature should instill in the consciousness of adults and youth the feeling of love for the fatherland, socialism and the party. The only source of inspiration must be our people's life and work. As I said on other occasions, too, we must drink water only from the fresh spring bursting out of the earth full of the sweat and blood of our forefathers; only this spring gives life and inspiration. One should not hurry to drink from jugs of stale water in which one may also find drops of poison from retrograde and foreign concepts, whose purpose is to lull to sleep the patriotic and revolutionary awareness of the creators, the broad masses and the people. The literary-artistic creation in our fatherland must be original, patriotic and humanist. Only thus can it meet the requirements of our people and also contribute to enriching world culture and art. It is not imitation and uniformity that make a true artistic-literary creation, but diversity and the rendering of each people's specific characteristics. As I said on other occasions, too, a literature with a high educational content must powerfully reflect each writer's personality and originality. The diversity of artistic styles and manners must never be mistaken for tolerance toward those concepts and mentalities that are foreign to our socialist society's ideals. We need poems, music and plastic arts that reflect the reality and life and immortalize our people's heroic work and creation. (loud and prolonged applause) Literature, music and art must be an integral part of the great saga of our people, who are consciously building socialism and communism, and it must give new dimensions and broad perspective to our people.

The press, radio and television must also fulfill, under better conditions, their role in shaping socialist consciousness, promoting political-cultural education and molding the new man. They must show more combativeness and revolutionary spirit and powerfully reflect our people's work and achievements in socialist construction, they must firmly combat retrograde concepts and states of affairs and any violation of social laws and norms. And they must work to continuously strengthen the unity of all the people within the socialist democracy and unity front, under the RCP's leadership.

The entire theoretical, ideological, political, educational and cultural-artistic mass activity must always proceed under the political leadership of the party and its bodies and organizations. The communists working in these fields are dutybound to firmly act to guide the ideological, political and educational activity toward implementing the party program, the materialist-dialectical concept, the principles of socialism and revolutionary humanism and the party's domestic and foreign policies. Party bodies and organizations are dutybound to thoroughly organize this activity and ensure its permanent political-ideological guidance. It is necessary to ensure that the entire theoretical, ideological, political, educational and cultural-artistic activity should increasingly develop the spirit of responsibility and the determination of the masses and all the people to unflinchingly implement the party program and the domestic and foreign policies of

socialist Romania. Let us ensure that ideological, political and educational activity becomes a powerful force that determines the greater development of our socialist society, raises our people onto higher peaks of civilization and increasingly strengthens Romania's independence and sovereignty.
(loud, prolonged applause)

XIII. The Great Revolutionary Changes in the World, the Characteristic Features of the Current International Situation

Dear comrades and friends,

In order to better understand the complex problems of the new development stage of Romanian society, we must take into account the great revolutionary changes that have occurred at the world level and the characteristic features of the present international situation. In doing so we proceed from the fact that there is a close dialectical unity between our fatherland's domestic and foreign policies, which actually condition each other. One can say that events have fully proved the general conclusions of the party program and the guidelines established by the 12th congress concerning international life.

Particularly serious tensions have been reached in international relations, leading to an increased danger of new military conflicts, including the outbreak of a new world war. Two completely opposed trends are evident today in international life: on the one hand, the imperialist policy of force and diktat, of preserving the redivision of spheres of influence and accentuating the arms race; on the other hand, the ever more powerful orientation toward a new policy which aims at putting an end to the use and threat of force, to diktat, to spheres of influence and the arms race and at ensuring the independent development of peoples and their cooperation based on the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs.

One could say that we are living in a very complex period of the international life. The old balance of forces established after World War II no longer corresponds to the new international realities. Colonialism has been practically eliminated and scores of independent states have emerged. Together with other small and average countries they represent an important force of the international life. New states and groups of states demand a more important role in international life and want to assert their independence. The balance based on military blocs no longer corresponds to current historic realities. Old contradictions have accentuated at the world level and new socioeconomic contradictions have emerged.

The contradiction between socialism and capitalism continues to be apparent, in one form or another, although it must be stressed that there is a better understanding of the need for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. A new contradiction which is becoming increasingly sharper as a result of the world's division into developed and developing countries, into rich and poor ones, has emerged parallel to the one mentioned

beforehand. All attempts to reach certain understandings on the need to eliminate underdevelopment and attain a new international economic order thus far have not led to the expected results. On the contrary, the gaps between rich and poor have deepened in this period. This has led to the accentuation of this contradiction. One can state that it has become one of the basic contradictions of our period.

We are actually living in a period of readjustment of the balance of power and the world balance between various states and groups of states. One could say that this new balance will be based on a greater diversity of the centers of power and will better take into account the role of developing and non-aligned countries. For this new balance of power and equilibrium to be viable, it must be based on principles of equality, respect for independence and noninterference in domestic affairs of other peoples.

The seriousness of the current international situation is also determined by the accentuation of the world economic crisis, which is like a high-intensity storm practically unguilfing all states. The effects of this crisis are also accentuated by the policy of high interest rates, which creates huge obstacles to the development of economic activities and increasingly worsens the situation in developing countries.

The great increase in unemployment in the developed capitalist countries highlights the crisis of the capitalist system. It shows the system's instability and lack of prospects. It powerfully affects the working masses and the entire society and sharpens the moral and political crisis of capitalism.

A huge negative influence on international life, the economic crisis and world instability is being exerted by the arms race, which has reached a level that can no longer be borne by any people. Military expenditures are expected to reach about \$600 billion this year. The accumulation of new weapons, including nuclear ones, increases the danger of a catastrophic world confrontation.

There are a number of conflicts and military confrontations in the world, and one can say that new ones appear almost every year.

More than ever before all this requires unity in the efforts of peoples to put an end to international tension, halt the course toward confrontation and war, and resume and continue the policy of detente and respect for national independence and peace.

Life and events prove that it is easy to start a conflict and to provoke a state of tension in one or another place in the world, but that it is much more difficult to halt and resolve them. It is, therefore, necessary to do everything possible to no longer resort to military means and force in resolving various differences between states, but to act to put an end to the current conflicts and resolve them through negotiations. No matter how long the negotiations may last, it is much better to choose the peaceful way of negotiations to resolve them, this being in the interest of the respective countries and of the cause of peace and detente.

In this spirit, it is necessary to intensify efforts for an overall peace in the Middle East, which should lead to Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 and the resolution of the problem of the Palestinian people, on the basis of their right to self-determination and the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

The establishment of peace in the Middle East must ensure the independence and integrity of all states in that area. Romania considers it necessary to organize an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all interested states, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the only representative of the Palestinian people.

It is also necessary to do everything possible to stop the war between Iraq and Iran and to resolve all problems between the two states through negotiations.

In the same spirit, it is necessary to resolve all current conflicts or contentious problems between states.

Taking into account the many existing problems, it is necessary to create a special body within the United Nations which should act to organize negotiations and resolve interstate problems only in this way. States which will not appeal to this body or will ignore its activity should be considered as the aggressors.

1. The Vital Issue of International Life--Halting the Arms Race, Attaining Disarmament and Ensuring Peace

The main current issue of the international life is the struggle to halt the arms race, proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear, and ensure lasting peace in the world. Armaments have reached such a level that a new world war could cause incalculable destruction and endanger the existence of mankind itself, the highest creation of nature. It is all the more obvious, as has been asserted at various international bodies and conferences, particularly of scientists, that a new nuclear war would have no winners or losers; mankind would be destroyed. Therefore, it is necessary for all peoples to pool their efforts to halt the course toward disaster and to ensure peace.

Romania firmly speaks out for immediately halting the arms race, freezing military expenditures at this year's level and gradually proceeding to their reduction by at least 10 percent until 1985.

We believe it necessary to renounce actions of force and military maneuvers and exercises of any kind at state borders. The organization of such military actions does not show a desire for peace but rather an orientation toward military confrontation.

We firmly advocate a disarmament which should secure a balance of power at the lowest possible level. We welcomed the proposals made by USSR President Leonid Ilich Brezhnev on reducing nuclear weapons. We also welcomed the proposals made by U.S. President Reagan in connection with the start of negotiations on reducing strategic nuclear weapons. We welcome the understanding reached between these two countries on starting talks on strategic weapons this month. Of course, there are differences between the USSR and U.S. proposals, but we consider that all proposals should be taken into consideration and that one should begin negotiations in order to reach a joint agreement.

We are particularly worried about the deployment and development of medium-range missiles in Europe, which can endanger the life and existence of all European peoples. Before it is too late, we must halt the deployment of the new missiles, bring about the withdrawal and destruction of existing ones and ensure a Europe free of nuclear weapons. In view of the danger to the very existence of all European peoples, it is necessary for all European states to participate in negotiations and reach an appropriate agreement. We deem it necessary to take into account the desire of European peoples to live in peace and devote their forces to socioeconomic development. (loud applause)

Romania firmly speaks out for security and cooperation in Europe and for a united Europe, based on diversity and respect for each country's social system. We consider it necessary to do everything possible to ensure that, when it resumes, the Madrid meeting on European cooperation and security should conclude with ever better results, lead to the convening of a special conference on disarmament and trust in Europe, and ensure the continuity of meetings and conferences begun in Helsinki.

The European peoples have many common problems. They must use the framework of meetings on cooperation and security to jointly discuss the questions of strengthening trust and cooperation and ensuring the peace and independence of peoples in Europe and throughout the world.

Romania attaches great importance to cooperation and collaboration between Balkan countries. We believe that we must find new ways and means to expand meetings and cooperation and to proceed to organizing a high level conference on turning the Balkans into an area of peaceful cooperation, without nuclear weapons.

We highly assess the peace movements and manifestations in Europe and throughout the world. The Romanian people have forcefully engaged in these manifestations, with the conviction that they are very important for halting the arms race, saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe and ensuring peace in the world. We believe that all mankind is faced today with the problem of choosing between war and peace. Nothing justifies or can justify the policy of arms and war. It is necessary to tell the peoples the truth and to show the greatest responsibility for the fate of the peoples and mankind. Everything possible should be done to ensure peace. (loud, prolonged applause)

The June UN session on disarmament is called upon to adopt concrete measures and to bring about a resolute transition to disarmament, primarily nuclear. Let us proceed to disarmament while the first nuclear bombs have not yet fallen! When they start falling, it will be too late.

We believe that the socialist countries have a great responsibility and must jointly act along with all other peoples to bring about disarmament and peace.

The Grand National Assembly granted a mandate to the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania which will participate in the special UN session on disarmament. This mandate reflects our people's desire to responsibly act and cooperate with all peoples to reach an agreement among all states for a transition to taking disarmament measures, primarily nuclear ones, and for attaining lasting peace in the world.

We appeal to all states and peoples to ignore all other considerations, to overcome obstacles and to decide to halt the arms race and primarily to bring about nuclear disarmament. We are living in a period in which peace is the key issue. Let us do everything to ensure peace for mankind! (loud, prolonged applause)

2. An Ardent Imperative Requirement--To Eliminate Underdevelopment, To Build a New International Economic Order and To Ensure the Equal Participation of All States in International Political Life

Another problem concerning mankind is underdevelopment and the struggle for a new international economic order. The existence of rich and poor countries is the result of imperialist and colonialist policies. The elimination of colonial domination as such is only one side of the decolonization process. It is necessary to take further action to achieve a complete solution that will bring about the elimination of underdevelopment, the accelerated socioeconomic progress of poor countries, the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity and mutually advantageous economic exchanges, thus ensuring the access, under advantageous conditions, of the developing countries to modern technology. Without eliminating underdevelopment and achieving a new international economic order--a problem that concerns two-thirds of mankind--it is difficult to talk about world economic stability and a world of peaceful cooperation.

There is a close interdependence between the problem of disarmament and that of the new international economic order. The cessation of the arms race and the transition to cutting back military spending would create conditions for allocating the necessary means--financial and material--to help solve the grave problems linked with the situation of poor countries. This would exert a forceful influence on the overall world economy and would favor international exchanges and political and economic stability.

As a developing country, Romania will act in close unity with the other developing countries and will do all it can to contribute to strengthening their solidarity and unity in the struggle for achieving the new world economic order.

To solve the existing complex problems in the world arena, it is necessary to ensure the active participation of all states. It is especially necessary for the small and medium-sized countries, for the nonaligned and developing countries to participate actively since they are vitally interested in a democratic solution to problems and in a new policy that will ensure the independence and security of each nation.

An important role devolves on the United Nations and other international organizations since they offer the necessary organizational framework for the participation of all peoples in resolving international problems. It is necessary to observe the UN decisions. It is necessary to improve the United Nations so as to ensure the fulfillment of its functions in resolving problems by negotiations, in ensuring cooperation among all countries, irrespective of social system, and in achieving a lasting peace in the world.

XIV. Romania Will Continue To Promote an Active Policy of Cooperation and Friendship With the Socialist Countries, With the Developing Countries, With All Countries in the World, Irrespective of Social System

An important role in the international arena is played by the socialist countries. Romania firmly acts to develop cooperation with all the socialist countries, to strengthen their solidarity and to surmount existing differences. Life has demonstrated that contradictions and divergencies can also emerge between socialist countries.

What we must keep in mind is not to ignore them, but to solve them by negotiations, by taking into consideration the need to strengthen cooperation and unity among socialist countries and the need to increase their role in the international arena, as well as the prestige of socialism throughout the world. We believe that socialism creates conditions for such a solution of problems and we are firmly convinced that it is possible. We must ensure broad cooperation and unity among socialist countries based on respect for independence, equality and non-interference in internal affairs. Relations among socialist countries must constitute a model of mutual respect and mutually advantageous cooperation. They must set an example for the relations of all countries in the world.

Within the framework of these relations, an important role is played by economic cooperation, and in the case of the socialist member countries by CEMA. Taking into account the share of socialist countries in the world economy, we can state that they have the possibility today to solve many of the problems of socioeconomic development and socialist construction, and to improve their peoples' well-being. Certainly, the socialist countries are not able to avoid the international division of labor. Life has refuted the

thesis on the existence in the world of a capitalist world economy and an opposed socialist world economy which are developing side by side. One can state that there exists a single and increasingly interdependent world economy. The economy of the socialist countries, as well as the economy of the capitalist countries are part and parcel of the world economy. And the problems that emerge in the world economy, including the economic crisis, is reflected in one form or another in those countries. We must admit the existing interdependence within the international division of labor, among countries with different economies and social systems. We must admit that active and broad cooperation among all countries in the world in the spirit of equality and mutual advantage is a factor of basic importance for the peoples' general progress, for security and peace.

Proceeding from this, Romania believes that it is necessary to somewhat improve CEMA activity, so that mutually advantageous cooperation and collaboration will permit the member countries to jointly resolve--in conformity with the statute provisions and with those of other documents--a number of problems in socioeconomic development and the successful construction of socialism. We believe that we have reached such a stage of CEMA activity that it is necessary--and this is an objective necessity--to improve its activity and broaden multilateral cooperation in all fields among the member countries by unswervingly proceeding to ensure the independent development of each national economy.

As I have mentioned, Romania pays great attention to its relations with the developing countries in the belief that those countries represent an important factor in the world economy and politics, and that they play and will play an increasingly greater role throughout the international arena. We, therefore, believe that it is necessary to strengthen solidarity and cooperation among those countries, and to overcome certain differences and misunderstandings among them which, undoubtedly, are vestiges of imperialist and colonial domination. It is necessary for all developing countries to act by means of negotiations alone to resolve various disputes, strengthen their unity and solidarity, and strengthen their broad cooperation with a view to their rapid socioeconomic development. It must be said that today the developing countries have many possibilities to resolve, with united efforts, many of the problems of their socioeconomic development.

Romania highly appreciates the role played by the nonaligned movement in resolving the complex problems of the international situation and in the struggle for independence, for stopping the arms race and for peace.

Proceeding from the realities of the present-day world and from the existence of countries with different social systems, Romania takes firm action, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, to develop relations with the developed capitalist countries and with all countries, irrespective of social system. We believe that expanding cooperation and participating in the international division of labor is an objective necessity for all nations.

In this spirit it is necessary to renounce any discriminating economic measures and the policy of economic sanctions against some countries and groups of countries. In the interest of surmounting the world economic crisis, it is necessary to renounce high interest rates and to set reasonable interest rates that do not exceed 8 percent. Credits must be an instrument of economic cooperation, of stability and socioeconomic development in all countries.

Life and events have forcefully and undeniably demonstrated that the development of relations of peaceful cooperation among all world countries can be achieved only on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, renunciation of the use or threat of force, respect for each people's right to free development--without any outside interference--and each nation's right to the social system it desires. (loud applause)

XV. We Will Constantly Strengthen Solidarity With the Communist Parties, With All Revolutionary and Progressive Forces in the Struggle for Achieving the Basic Aspirations for Peace and Progress of Mankind

Esteemed comrades, in the spirit of traditional international solidarity, our party is developing broad relations with all communist and workers parties, and will continue to act to strengthen solidarity in their joint struggle proceeding from the fact that under current international circumstances, cooperation among communist and workers parties is an important factor in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Taking into consideration the diversity of conditions in which the communist and workers parties are carrying out their activity, there are a number of different opinions regarding certain problems. We believe that solidarity and cooperation must be achieved on the basis of the principles of full equality, and respect for each party's right to formulate its political line in keeping with the realities in the given country. It is necessary to take into consideration that each party is carrying out its activity in an independent manner, and is responsible only to its own workers class and people for what action it has taken to defend their interests. The new unity must proceed from this reality and must ensure broad international cooperation on basic problems of the present-day world.

As I have mentioned, the transition of one or another people toward socialism is being achieved and will be achieved in conformity with the social realities in each country. There is no model for building socialism. General laws are applied differently in various countries and stages of socioeconomic development. Proceeding from those principles, one cannot deny the socialist nature of one or another country. Socialism in one country cannot be opposed to that in other countries, or to the socialism that will be built in the future. The diversity of ways to proceed to socialism, to building the new social system and to applying general laws to the specific conditions in each country gives new scope and offers new prospects for the world's socialist development, and enriches the heritage of revolutionary practice and theory.

More than ever before, we believe that it is necessary to do everything to surmount differences, to stop any blaming and any interference in the activity of one or another party. It is necessary to act with the greatest responsibility in the direction of developing cooperation, of achieving a new solidarity and unity in the struggle for peace, independence and socialism. (loud, lively applause)

At the same time, our party has broad relations with the socialist and social-democratic parties, proceeding from the need to strengthen the unity of the workers movement and of all forces advocating the socialist transformation of the world. There are, of course, differences of opinion on certain problems. But there are also many problems of common interest on which the communist, socialist and social-democratic parties can and must take joint action especially with regard to the basic problem of stopping the arms race, of achieving peace, complete cooperation is necessary. Our party will constantly act to strengthen cooperation with the socialists and social-democrats, proceeding from the need to achieve conciliation in the future that will lead to a new unity of the working class and of the forces advocating socialism. We have hailed and do hail the options toward socialism in a number of countries. We believe that any step taken in that direction must be supported since it is in keeping with the development of human society and with the need to achieve a better and more just world.

At the same time, our party is developing broad cooperation and solidarity with the national liberation movements, and with the ruling parties in countries that have shaken off imperialist domination and are struggling to strengthen their independence. Our party is also developing cooperation with democratic parties in all countries. We proceed from the need for constant contacts with all democratic parties in the belief that this is in the interests of cooperation among peoples, and of resuming and developing the policy of detente and the struggle for disarmament and peace.

Under the current international circumstances, the role of the masses and of peoples in the international arena is increasing even more. It is, therefore, necessary for us to broadly develop solidarity and cooperation with peoples everywhere. Through their struggle, the masses and the peoples may determine the cessation of the arms race and ensure a new, democratic policy, respect for national independence and a policy of peace and international cooperation. We are fully convinced that the peoples, anti-imperialist and progressive forces everywhere have the necessary power to stop tension in the international arena and to stop the arms race, in order to ensure the triumph of reason and peace. The future belongs to a better and more just world, to social and national equality and to respect for each people's right to free and independent development. (loud, prolonged applause)

In keeping with the supreme interests of our people, of the cause of social progress, detente, national independence and peace, our party and state will spare no effort to contribute to achieving the aspirations of all mankind: to live in peace and build a better and more just life. (loud, prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu and the people")

Esteemed comrades, the discussion at the Central Committee and throughout the party of the theoretical and ideological problems, of the educational-political activity of shaping the new man, must bring about a better understanding of the stage the Romanian socialist society is going through. It must lead to intensified efforts by the party and all people to resolutely implement the party program and the 12th congress decisions. We must give priority to improving our leadership, to better organizing work, increasing the sense of responsibility and strengthening discipline and order in all sectors of activity.

We must focus our attention on resolutely fulfilling the 1981-1985 5-year plan by channeling all forces in the direction of improving the quality and technical level of production, increasing labor productivity, cutting back material expenditure and increasing economic efficiency. Special attention must be paid to implementing the programs on developing energy and raw material sources, and the programs on agriculture, so as to properly meet the requirements of the national economy from own resources, constantly improve proper supplies to the people and accentuate regional self-supply and self-management.

Discussing ideological problems, the educational-political activity and mass cultural work, we must pay special attention to achieving proper international cooperation and a foreign trade based on complete equality. We must pay special attention to achieving an increase in exports so as to create the necessary conditions for imports of raw and other materials needed by the national economy, and for paying back credits and achieving an even balance of payments.

The theoretical, ideological, political, educational and cultural activity must increase social awareness and lead to an ever higher cultural level of our fatherland's citizens. This activity must increase the degree of conscious participation of the working people--irrespective of nationality--and of all our people in implementing the party program and consciously shaping the communist future, in raising our fatherland onto new peaks of progress and civilization, in achieving our people's material and cultural well-being, in strengthening the force and unity of all our people within the SDUF--under RCP leadership--and in strengthening our fatherland's economic and cultural potential and Romania's independence and sovereignty.

(Applause and loud, prolonged cheers; long chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-RCP!" strongly united, all participants in the plenum give long ovations to the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

CSO: 2700/290

ROMANIA

PREMIER DASCALESCU ADDRESSES RCP PLENUM

AU081228 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Jun 82 p 2

[Speech by Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu at the 1-2 June expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee]

[Text] Much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

Esteemed comrades, I am convinced that the contemporary history of our fatherland will mark this Central Committee plenum, which is discussing theoretical and ideological issues and the political-educational activity of molding the new man as an event of the greatest political importance and significance.

The exceptional value of this event is primarily due to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, which is a brilliant theoretical summary of the practical revolutionary experience of our party and the international communist and workers movement.

This speech is a programmatic document which--on the solid foundation of the creative and scientific policy of our party--lays down the basic long-term principles of our overall activity and gives new perspective to the bolder tackling of Romania's development goals, in accordance with requirements of the current stage.

Reiterating the humanist nature of the entire party policy, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech places man--the true owner of the national wealth, the creator of material assets and intellectual values of our society and the main end-user of the results of our fatherland's progress along the road of socialism--at the center of all concerns with improving the social and political life.

The militant and revolutionary spirit, the principled and realist boldness and the clarity and objectivity with which the party-state leader's speech broaches the basic issues of the social, political and ideological life of our country and contemporary world in their ceaseless social progress, the new contradictions that have emerged at the world level as well as the lasting

realist solutions proposed derive from the clear, brilliant and profound thinking and from the great personality of our party's secretary general, who makes a priceless principled contribution to the development of the revolutionary theory.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative to submit these cardinal political, ideological and educational problems of the fatherland's continuous development to the discussion of such a high representative forum as our plenum again proves the great theoretical capacity of our party and secretary general to find clear scientific answers to key aspects and factors on which the faster socialist development of our society depends.

Indeed, the clarification of the current stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of the ways and means to continuously strengthen all the people's property and the broad democratic framework in which they are exerting their leading role in society as well as the assertion of the need to continuously increase the role of the party and state prove the party's fidelity toward the universally valid truths of the socialist revolution and construction and its consistent concern with applying general laws to particular national-historical conditions prevailing in Romania. Therefore, I fully endorse the theses, ideals, assessments and conclusions included in this document, and I express my firm resolution to fully contribute to implementing all measures adopted by the party Central Committee plenum.

Comrades,

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech pays particular attention to strengthening the role of the socialist state in the current stage of our society's development. Being directly engaged in implementing the political line established by the party in the field of economy, science, culture, education, health protection and all fields of social life, the state and its institutions and bodies have to resolve tasks of great scope and complexity in this period.

As the speech rightfully stresses, the main task of our socialist state's bodies is to ensure, in close cooperation with the bodies of the workers democracy and on the basis of judicious planning, the balanced development of the national economy, the attainment of an appropriate relationship between various fields and sectors and the increase of the forces of production, in order to increase the national wealth and raise all the people's overall well-being. This means that the unflinching implementation of this year's plan tasks--particularly in attaining item-specified production; developing the raw material base, primarily coal and oil; markedly reducing the consumption of raw and other materials, energy and fuel, so that all units strictly observe established norms and even make substantial savings; and fulfilling all export tasks--should become a daily concern of the government, which must devote all its attention, capacity and resolute efforts to this task.

Proceeding from its prerogatives as laid down in the country's constitution, the government is called upon to take appropriate measures to ensure that economic activity proceeds smoothly and to take consistent action to properly organize work in all enterprises, ensure the observance of production and technological discipline and train and improve manpower--key factors in the maximum utilization and functioning of all installations, machines and equipment.

In this highly responsible process, we are dutybound to fully utilize the limitless capacity available to our socialist democracy institutions to draft and apply appropriate measures so that the society can harmoniously organize and better utilize its material and human resources and establish equitable relations of cooperation and mutual assistance in work and life.

It is a real fact that, from the initiative and with the direct participation of the party secretary general, a broad democratic framework from top to bottom was created in our country, a framework which is unique in its way and which allows the workers class to fully exert their rôle as leading class in the society and all working people to participate in taking decisions and in the entire social life. Consequently, the government has the obligation to always see to it that all our socialist democracy bodies--the collective management bodies, the general meetings of the working people and the higher forum of workers self-management--efficiently function in accordance with prerogatives given by the law, thus fulfilling their important role in our society.

At the same time, as you stressed esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the government's task is to take appropriate measures to provide competent cadres to all fields of state activity--cadres of high political and moral integrity, with a high ideological level, profoundly attached to the party and capable of fulfilling on time all party-state decisions in their field of activity.

An important conclusion in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech to the plenum is of particular interest to the government, namely the imperative need to resolutely work to introduce a revolutionary spirit of combativeness and intolerance toward shortcomings, deficiencies and excesses in the work and behavior of cadres employed by state institutions, ministries, centrals and scientific, cultural and educational institutions.

It should be clear to the entire government that it must concentrate its main efforts upon establishing a propitious climate for strict observance of legality and discipline and ensuring a high spirit of order and responsibility in all sectors and at all levels, in the work of the collective management bodies of ministries, centrals, enterprises, local state administration bodies and all apparatus workers, regardless of their position.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has often drawn attention, a prerequisite for success in task fulfillment is the exertion of firm, exacting, operative, efficient and direct control in basic units. When I say this, I do not mean a formal and bureaucratic control at random, but a control which should lead to uncovering shortcomings and finding appropriate solutions for the commendable development of the activity.

Hence, in its concern with improving the style of leadership, the government will strengthen its organization and control prerogatives, so that the Council of Ministers can directly participate in directly resolving problems that appear in ministries, centrals and production enterprises, thus systematically controlling the activity of ministries and central institutions, attending the meetings of their collective management bodies and general meetings, actively participating in their efforts and assisting them to better organize their affairs and increase the efficiency of their work.

We want to immediately implement your recommendation to ensure that each government member and each worker in the central state apparatus should feel dutybound to firmly contribute to overcoming difficulties, eliminating shortcomings and properly fulfilling the tasks devolving upon economic units or subordinated institutions.

The guiding idea is that each government member should be an example of prompt, conscious and competent fulfillment of the great responsibilities entrusted to him. A better system of organizing and unfolding activities, a more rigorous control of and systematic reports on activities should become the strict working style of the government and its members, since we are convinced that, on this basis, we will succeed in raising the work quality of the supreme body of state administration to the level of high exigencies recently laid down by the higher party leadership.

The broad and powerful democratic system, which we were called upon to continuously strengthen by endowing it with an ever more lasting content, does not exclude strict order. On the contrary, it implies it. Each working man, each citizen and, all the more so, all responsible cadres in the state and economic fields should unflinchingly observe party-state decisions and the country's laws.

Proceeding from the recommendations made by the party secretary general, it is necessary for militia, security, justice and prosecutor's office bodies to also increase their contribution to ensuring public order and tranquillity and strictly observing the laws. They must show intransigence toward any attempt to violate our socialist legality and the legal norms which are equally compulsory for all members of our collectivity and society, regardless of their place in the social hierarchy. Through our actions we aim at making clear to all state bodies and their cadres that all men are equal before the law, state discipline and order. Everybody must bear the consequence of their violation of the law.

In this context, the state bodies, cultural institutions and state educational cadres should closely correlate their efforts with those of trade union, youth and women organizations belonging to the government and all bodies belonging to the socialist democracy and unity front in order to jointly carry out efficient preventive actions and to form and develop a powerful mass opinion against tendencies to evade the law and against any violations of party-state decisions and social coexistence norms.

General speaking, it is necessary to better utilize our well-structured framework characterized by the presence in the government of leading cadres of the main mass and public organizations of our country. Their participation in the decisions we adopt is a wonderful opportunity not only to quickly disseminate them among the masses but also to powerfully mobilize these organizations and unite their efforts in the common struggle to implement the measures adopted.

The attainment of this requirement will be made easier by the fact that we will immediately proceed to implement in our daily practice the task of placing the entire state apparatus and its workers under the close scrutiny of the masses, whom they are actually dutybound to serve faithfully and with devotion, the supreme duty of each state activist being--as the party secretary general clearly said--to wholeheartedly serve the people, the supreme and sovereign master of the country's entire national wealth.

In its capacity as organizer of the life of all the people and nation, the state and its bodies are naturally called upon to watch not only the proper activity of central institutions but also the development of the local economy, the proper administration and improvement of towns, the better utilization of resources, the regional self-administration and self-management, the proper functioning of educational, art and cultural institutions and the commendable development of the entire socioeconomic life in counties, municipalities and towns.

In its working style, the government will establish the practice of periodically meeting with leading cadres of local state administration bodies to jointly examine the way in which party-state decisions are being implemented at a regional level and to jointly adopt the necessary measures to carry them out.

Esteemed comrades, the phenomena which are occurring in international life and which were brilliantly presented in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, have acquired a particular urgency and left a powerful imprint upon relations between states.

We all feel great patriotic pride in noting now, almost 3 years after the 12th congress, that the orientations and assessments made then on international events, the development of contradictions between the main groups of states, the confrontations of ideas, the intensification of the struggle

of peoples from poor countries for their political and social emancipation and the need to establish a new world economic order have been fully confirmed by events that have occurred in this period.

The time will pass, but the theses, concepts and ideas of great theoretical and perspective value will stay deeply rooted in the thesaurus of universal social and political thinking as an overwhelming contribution of the creative and original position of great scientific realism of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

The huge authority enjoyed throughout the world by Romanian foreign policy and its creator, the country's president, is a stimulant for the government to steadily work to implement the recommendations and assessments on recent changes in the world balance of forces in the practice of its international relations, thus strengthening and diversifying cooperation with all socialist states and expanding contacts with developing and nonaligned countries and other states, regardless of their social system.

We will continue to work perseveringly to increase Romania's participation in the world exchange of values, on mutually advantageous bases, and in the common struggle of peace-loving states.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recent initiatives gave an even more powerful impetus to the struggle for peace, disarmament--primarily nuclear--security, detente and understanding among peoples. These initiatives made known throughout the world the Romanian people's resolute and passionate desire to shape their own destiny in peace and security, confident in their fatherland's happy future.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, a programmatic document of great theoretical, ideological and political value, sets very important tasks for the government and the entire state apparatus.

I again fully endorse the valuable orientations and recommendations included in the speech and I would like to assure the Central Committee plenum and you much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu that the government will do everything possible to fulfill all its tasks, thus contributing enriching the ideological and cultural life of the fatherland and powerfully asserting the revolutionary spirit, party combativeness and principled position in the field of political-educational activity and in the entirety of intellectual creation.

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ANDREI SPEECH AT RCP PLENUM

AU081140 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Jun 82 p 3

[Speech by Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei to the 2 June RCP Central Committee plenum held in Bucharest]

[Text] Much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, esteemed comrades, I also want to stress the particular importance of the proceedings of the current plenum which is discussing, on the basis of the noteworthy report by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the major questions of the current stage and the prospects of socialist construction in our fatherland. It is the merit of the party secretary general to note and to draw the party's and people's attention, in a timely manner, to the problems raised by the country's socioeconomic development, and to formulate under new and concrete conditions answers meeting the requirements of implementing the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

Now, as so many times in the past, the answers supplied by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the new problems regarding both our fatherland's development and developments in the international arena stem from the scientific analysis and thorough knowledge of the life and aspirations of the Romanian people and of all world peoples, and from the fervent pursuit and comprehensive knowledge of the current Romanian problems in close connection with world problems. These answers are permeated with love and devotion toward the people, with trust, and with his capability to understand what is historically necessary and to do what is humanly possible in order to ensure the advance of our free and sovereign fatherland on the road to economic and social progress, so as to contribute to implementing the aspirations for peace and well-being of all mankind.

Strongly anchoring Romania's image in peoples' awareness as an active and constructive factor constantly, fully engaged in the process of seeking positive solutions to the complex and pressing problems raised by the current international situation, and to deciphering the direction of development of the present-day world, Romania's fruitful presence in all struggles for peace, disarmament, cooperation and international security is in close and

indestructible connection with and bears the seal of the deeds and thoughts of the president of socialist Romania and the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech impresses one by its clarity of assessing the very complex and contradictory development of the current international situation, and once again confirms the capability of the party secretary general to reveal the meaning and major development trends of international relations, and to offer just and realistic solutions. Developing the assessments--confirmed by life--made at the 12th congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses the fact that the old balance established in the wake of World War II based on the carcass of military blocs is no longer in keeping with the social, national, economic and political realities of the present-day world. He also stresses that at present, on a world level, a process of reestablishing the balance of forces and of achieving a new balance is taking place as a result of the deepgoing revolutionary, national and social transformations, a balance that is being rebuilt on a broader diversity of centers of power, and that is especially built on the basis of the more forceful assertion of countries struggling for strengthening national independence and sovereignty, on the basis of the increasingly active participation by small and medium-sized countries and the increased role of progressive and democratic forces, of the people's masses in resolving the problems confronting mankind.

Of great theoretical and practical importance for the revolutionary struggle is the stress placed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the fact that at world level, along with the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, the contradictions between rich and poor countries are constantly developing and becoming more serious.

Under such circumstances, the conclusion drawn by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the 12th party congress regarding the gigantic struggle that is taking place at world level between the diametrically opposed tendencies is of even greater importance. In the present-day world, this struggle represents the major proof of the struggle between what is old and new, and it is waged in multiple forms--political, economic, military and ideological. Thus the importance of the ideological struggle for the assertion of the ideas of socialism and communism, for defending and promoting the peoples' aspirations for freedom, democracy, equality and progress, is constantly increasing. The accentuation of the imperialist policy of force and domination is coupled with the revival of promoting certain retrograde theories and doctrines which are antihuman, are against people, try to discredit socialism, slander national liberation movements. Slander anti-imperialist, progressive and democratic movements and try to revive old reactionary and anticommunist concepts going as far as attempting to rehabilitate and justify colonialism and neocolonialism and to protect the activity of certain extreme rightist groupings and organizations, some of which are neofascist in nature. The same forces whose activity is essentially aimed at confiscating their own

peoples' democracy and freedoms, and who have pushed scores of millions of people into the ranks of the jobless, falsify the real content of human rights and carry out noisy and demagogic activity against the ideas of socialism. They capitalize on the mistakes and difficulties in one or another socialist country, and draw general conclusions on socialism generally, thus trying to avert the attention of the people's masses from the serious socioeconomic problems they are confronting and to shake their conviction that socialism is the only alternative to a capitalist society based on exploitation and domination. Reviving problems left by colonial domination, those forces open disputes between recently freed countries. They promote the idea of renouncing national independence and sovereignty, and accepting the dictatorship of multinational companies and interference in the internal affairs of small, medium-sized and developing countries.

Very aggressive and harmful is the propaganda placed in the service of the military-industrial complex that is trying to justify to the people the policy of force and arming, primarily nuclear arming; and the increase in military expenditure which is an unbearable burden for all world peoples, deeply affects, distorts and hampers socioeconomic development and contributes to deepening the world economic crisis.

The asserting of the peoples' will and the fulfillment of their aspirations for independence, democracy and progress imperatively requires an intensified struggle against such old and reactionary concepts, the firm rejection of the policy of force, confrontation and armament and any forms of pressure, domination and interference in the internal affairs of other peoples.

In thoroughly examining the very complex development of the current international situation, in his exceptional plenum speech, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu outlined the basic and decisive factor for mankind's peace and progress--respect for national independence, for each people's inalienable right to freely choose their socioeconomic development road, without any outside interference. In the mind of the world peoples, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's name is inseparably linked with promoting and defending each nation's inalienable right to live protected from any aggression or threat, with the firm and consistent position of rejecting pressure, diktat and any form of interference in the domestic affairs of a people, and with placing respect for national independence at the foundation of current international relations. The systematic assertion of the need to respect those principles, and consistently promoting them in the international arena, does not proceed from an exclusively legal concern but from a profound understanding of the fact that the necessarily democratic future organization of interstate relations has to be constantly in keeping with a unanimously acceptable political and moral code which should materialize in the content and mechanism of international cooperation.

Proceeding from an improvement in people's awareness and in their role in international life, the speech delivered at the plenum and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's overall foreign policy concept is permeated with a boundless trust in the wisdom and capability of peoples to bring about the necessary changes, to make them possible and to implement them. The current development of events once again confirms, with the undeniable power of facts, the increasingly firm progressive role played by the

peoples and public opinion in determining the course of events. The big peace and disarmament demonstrations which are taking place in Europe and in countries on other continents exert a recognized influence on the government's determination to proceed to negotiations to stop the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles, and to withdraw and destroy existing ones and achieve a Europe free from nuclear weapons.

In this spirit, of great importance is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's stress on the need to resolve the pressing problems of peace, disarmament and cooperation in Europe, and of building a Europe in which European countries, irrespective of their social system, will be able to cooperate in peace, understanding and security on a completely equal footing and with respect for national independence and sovereignty. Also of great importance is his stress to act determinedly to conclude the Madrid meeting with positive results, and to continue to struggle for turning the Balkans into an area of peace, trust and cooperation, and an area without nuclear weapons.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech bestows new power on the mandate given to the Grand National Assembly delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the upcoming UN General Assembly special session devoted to disarmament, whose proceedings already are the focus of world public opinion.

In response to the most powerful imperative of the current time to defend peace against war, to avoid and extinguish any conflict between countries, in his speech Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has given a new and forceful scope to the appeal to reason, and to resolving all interstate conflicts by peaceful means, by proposing the creation within the United Nations of a body that will act in the direction of resolving problems by negotiations, and any state that would not appeal to that body or would not take into consideration that body's activity should be viewed as an aggressor.

Along the same line, to strengthen international legality, the power of law and the authority of international understandings, the secretary general's speech stresses the need to strengthen the role and contribution of the United Nations in resolving world problems and strengthening peace and security in the world, and the need to respect and apply the resolutions of that international forum.

In his speech, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu once again demonstrated the urgency of resolving one of the basic problems of mankind--eliminating underdevelopment and building a new international economic order. We can state with good reason that the activity that is being carried out at an international level to achieve this desire is widely marked by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept, whose ideas have become essential points on the platform of the forces struggling for a just and equitable new economic order.

Esteemed comrades, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's new and excellent speech arms all of us with a clear vision of the current situation and future development, with a clear position based on the dialectical-materialist and historic concept toward the essential problems of our fatherland's development on the road to socialism and communism, and toward the complex problems of the present-day world. It is our honorable duty to struggle with determination to implement the theses of particular theoretical and practical value included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech. It is also our duty to struggle to defend and promote our people's interests and to firmly and in a principled manner combat--without tolerating any compromise--antisocial and anticommunist actions and attempts to slander socialist Romania's relations, to falsify our people's history. Let us act to implement the party's and state's domestic and foreign policy.

By actively responding to the appeal of the party secretary general I understand struggling to eliminate shortcomings in my overall activity and to try to enrich my theoretical, political and ideological horizon, to apply and resolutely follow in my overall activity the ideas and comprehensive theses included in the excellent speech Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has given.

Here, too, in front of the Central Committee plenum and before Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, I want to express the solemn pledge of the communists and of all working people in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in our country's diplomatic missions to promote with revolutionary and patriotic determination our party's and state's foreign policy, and to contribute to the defense of promoting the Romanian people's interests, to developing Romania's bilateral relations with all socialist countries, with the developing countries and the other countries, and to struggling for lessening international tension and resuming the policy of peace, detente, national independence and cooperation among nations.

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MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS IN BEHAVIOR OF YOUTH

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 82 pp 104-107

[Article by Ioana Petre and Maria Bacanaru of the Center for Sociological Research]

[Text] Creating an ideal for life and seeking to reach it through continued efforts, through sacrifice and work are a definitive feature of all human beings. However, in our opinion, the creation and shaping of certain ideals and aspirations in life have as a focal center the professional ideal. Along with the other conducts of the ideal for life (moral, aesthetic, political ideals) this is a basic motivational factor for all the social behavior of individuals, including young people, as a definitive source of activity, of orientation and, in the end, of social integration.

In this regard, we have proposed to see how young people, particularly the rural young people, think, whether they work in agriculture or nonagricultural sectors, what the content and level of their social-professional aspirations are, what the motivational supports are which lead them toward one behavior or another. The several conclusions we shall show are based on the results of sociological investigations made between 1977-1980 in rural locations from Buzau, Dimbovita, Mures, Tulcea (Danube Delta) and Vaslui Counties, with the following characteristics: [See Tables a. and b.]

We must stress that the rural young people's aspirations were established and are continually experiencing changes depending on the three big social processes which are being carried out in the rural locations in a more advanced or incipient degree: urbanization (or, perhaps more correctly, modernization), industrialization and the process of disseminating information. Of course, by urbanization we do not mean just the changes in material life and in behavior but also the appearance of new forms of thinking, new value systems which develop as there is a progressive move from the traditional rural culture to the one with powerful urban marks. With regard to the broad dissemination of information in the rural environment, we are referring to the fact that information in the broad sense of the word among the rural population as a whole and perhaps more emphatically among the young people takes on an increasingly greater spread through mass means of communication to which more and more individuals have access (press, movies, radio, television), through the broader and broader contacts of the rural with the urban (including through the commuting). Nor should we omit the important role of the school in extending

a. Structure of Pattern According to Age Group and Occupation

1. Ocupația	2. Total		3. Grupa de vîrstă					
	N	%	15-19 ani		20-24 ani		25-30 ani	
			N	%	N	%	N	%
4. Țărani cooperatori	43	7,1	20	3,3	12	2,0	11	1,8
5. Țărani individuali	7	1,2	—	—	—	—	7	1,2
6. Muncitori agricoli	70	11,5	16	2,56	29	4,8	25	4,1
7. Muncitori în industrie și alte sect. neagricole	194	31,9	49	8,1	77	12,6	68	11,2
8. Tehnicieni, maștri	61	10,0	2	0,4	19	3,0	40	6,5
9. Funcționari, învățători, educatori, alte cadre cu studii medii	77	12,7	10	1,6	32	5,3	35	5,8
10. Cadre cu studii superioare	75	12,3	—	—	8	1,3	67	11,0
11. Casnice	45	7,4	10	1,6	3	0,5	32	5,3
12. Alte	36	5,9	15	2,5	10	1,6	11	1,8
13. Total	608	100,0	122	29,2	190	31,1	296	48,7

Key:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Occupation | 8. Technicians, foremen |
| 2. Total (N=number) | 9. Office workers, instructors, educators, other cadres with secondary studies |
| 3. Age Group (— years) | 10. Cadres with higher studies |
| 4. Cooperative peasants | 11. Housewives |
| 5. Individual peasants | 12. Others |
| 6. Agricultural workers | 13. Total |
| 7. Workers in industry, other nonagricultural sectors | |

b. Grouping of Pattern According to Sex and Age

1. Sex	2. Total		3. Grupa de vîrstă					
	N	%	15-19 ani		20-24 ani		25-30 ani	
			N	%	N	%	N	%
4. M	295	48,5	60	9,9	91	14,9	144	23,7
5. F	313	51,5	62	10,3	99	16,2	152	25,0
6. Total	608	100,0	122	20,2	190	31,1	296	48,7

Key:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Sex | 4. M=male |
| 2. Total (N=number) | 5. F=female |
| 3. Age Group (— years) | 6. Total |

the level of information. It is precisely this spectacular extension of the opportunities for the young rural population to get informed which has led to a corresponding broadening of the limits of the field of aspiration, the field of decision-making and actions, but in particular the field of aspirations. The latter aspects partially also explains the reason for which the young rural people's level of aspirations (professional, cultural) almost always is over the specific opportunities of satisfaction at local and sometimes even zonal level.

Since the spread of occupations (both at the level of aspirations and the actual options) is extremely broad, we do not feel it is necessary to put this into concrete form. However, it is necessary to bring out the quasigeneral option of the young people for the trades which require a high qualification, particularly a qualification through various types of schools. Unfortunately, the option for qualified trades is carried out in particular in favor of the nonagricultural areas, particularly industry and, to a much smaller extent, agriculture. The absence of coincidence between the aspirations, options, and young people's professional decisions, on one hand, and the needs and real social-economic opportunities of the rural zones and locations, on the other, has led to the appearance of certain demographic and social-economic imbalances in the rural environment. The aging of the agricultural work force and even of the rural population in some zones (the Danube Delta, for example) and the fact that it is mostly women have become, why not say it, acute. The reasons for these situations are many and complex and must be sought both in the psychosocial as well as economic area (the content of agricultural activities, the context of work and the results). Perhaps, also added to this should be the fact that many times neither the activity of school or professional orientation taking place in the rural schools and, in general, in favor of agricultural activities (not only in the schools but also in the press, radio, television and so forth) has been at the level of current and future social-economic demands.

In order to take successful action at the level of education and formation of the young personality, it is necessary to know the motivational supports for its options and behaviors. In this regard we show the results of an opinion survey made among more than 600 young people from rural areas (working in production, either rural or urban) regarding the motivation for selecting their current profession, the motivation for any wish to change it and, finally, with regard to motivation for the wish for professional advanced training.

a. Why did you select your current occupation? In order of frequency of answers, the motivations are organized as follows: 1. well-paid trade; 2. aptitudes, inclinations for the trade chosen; 3. wish to continue professional training within the same occupational profile in college or post-secondary school; 4. schools in evening or correspondence courses; 5. a nice and easy trade; 6. the express wish of the family; 7. professional tradition in the family; 8. I found a job here; 9. by chance, without special motivation; 10. other reasons.

b. Why do you want to change your current occupation? A variety of answers, also in the order of frequency, were given by 22.5 percent of the young people surveyed, persons who expressed their intention to change their current occupation. These varieties are: 1. he is paid poorly compared with other occupations;

2. it is below his own abilities; 3. practicing this occupation does not offer me too great opportunities for advancement in the professional hierarchy; 4. it does not offer me too much satisfaction; 5. it is hard and tiring; 6. it is not interesting; 7. it does not offer me the opportunity to be original, creative, inventive; 8. it is not what I wanted, but at the start I did not have any other opportunity; 9. it does not have high prestige; 10. other reasons.

c. Would you want to raise your level of qualification? If so, why? The competence of the high level of professional aspirations of young people from rural communities, the wish for professional advanced training complete the picture of this social category of great importance for insuring the viability itself of the village. More than half of the young people included in the pattern state that they want to complete their professional training and raise their level of qualification. Along with the school paths for raising the level of qualification (secondary, post-secondary school and higher education) other forms also are noted, ways considered to be necessary with a view to continued training in the profession chosen. Among the latter we can list the following: the study of specialized literature, participation in a number of informative courses or training organized on the job, the intention to participate in certain exams and contests to gradually raise the level of employment in the current occupation. The motivation for the desire for professional advanced training, in order of frequency of answers, is as follows: 1. today any profession requires that you learn; 2. the specific nature of the profession, the requirement to progress; 3. the social duty to be up to date with what is new; 4. the prestige of being a competent specialist; 5. love of the profession he is practicing; 6. pleasure with continually improving yourself; 7. the competition with those around you; 8. the need to collaborate at the same level of competence.

Commenting on the motivations for work and profession, two overall evaluations are required:

The desire to surpass one's own condition as a young person from rural area professionally (as well as at other levels of life) is present in a particularly rich area in meaning and significance both with regard to total projection as well as the differentiated one on the social-vocational future, on the states of finality of the entire development and evolutionary process of the young people's personalities.

Among the motivations for establishing options and making the decisions for training for a certain profession and for practicing it and for the later reorientation of the first choice, a particularly significant share is held, along with the so-called "actual material motivation," by the young people's conviction that the trade for which they trained and are practicing is the ideal one, in conformity with their own inclinations and aptitudes. However, from here we also have the fact that the role of factors outside the individual (school, family and so forth) in selecting a profession is much less than it should be. This conclusion was also confirmed by the answers to the questions expressly referring to the factors which brought the young person to choose his profession. The partially positive, partially negative effect of this reduction in the

influence of factors outside the individual is that of increasing the degree of independence in the young people's actions and decision-making, even before gaining material independence.

Along with the professional aspirations linked with the job, a particularly important role in the stability of young people in the rural areas, in the social-economic and cultural structures is played by residential aspirations. Here it is a question of the young people's wish to live and work in a location which is supplied as best as possible social-culturally and technical-municipally, one in which they can benefit to the greatest possible extent from the facilities of a cultural, social-political and family life close to the level and diversity existing in the urban areas. The rural young people's residential aspirations and demands fully converge with the trend of broad and multilateral modernization which currently characterize almost all Romania's rural communities.

The space built--the residence where the rural young people as well as workers spend about one-third of their lives as members of a collective group and consumers of material and cultural goods--is an active polyvalent framework in the social integration of the labor force with a view to its stability. In the opinions of the 500 subjects surveyed we noted new aspirations for rural residential comfort which they desire and carry out with broad openings toward functionality.

Continually improving functionality both of the production structures (industrial and agricultural) as well as of the residential (houses and their annexes) weighs in favor of the rural environment and the young people's options regarding the need to activate the process of planning and modernization of the village (32 percent compared with the 18 percent opposed). The same favorable trend also is noted in connection with the selection of residence between village and city (35 percent prefer living in the village). Of the 297 answers formulated for the question of whether the village young people would still leave in case residential comfort and jobs existed, 40.6 percent answered "no," 20.1 percent felt that they would while 39 percent said that they "don't know" or they did not answer.

However, the functionality of these structures is just at its beginning, with effects to be felt in the near future.

The organization and systematization of the territory, starting with the space, should not be conceived as a foreseeable action concerning either just the social function, that is, the hearth and village population--or just its occupational mechanisms, that is, the culture systems in their adherence with the potential of the land or just the nonagricultural activities which penetrate more deeply in the village's existence. With the goal being a reshaping which affects the production aspects and social structures of the rural area, the organization and systematization of the territory embrace the entire social and economic-territorial reality of the Romanian village. Creating a framework for complex action with new strength at all levels, the territorial organization and systematization should exceed the narrow framework characteristic of some researchers of the village as well as of those populating it, of seeing the actual village just the actual hearth while the economic part from outside it or the

population viewed exclusively in its demographic departments as well as economic and cultural departments, more or less broken from the total ensemble of rural realities. Both the job as the area of economic assertion as well as the residence as the medium for social and cultural demonstration of the village people, including the young people, should enter into its objective.

Making a synthesis, we remember the importance of these motivational factors in the behavior of the rural young people, whose achievement stimulates the positive desire for the professional success of young people from the villages and, through this, facilitates the timely integration into the community which assimilates them to the mutual advantage of the social group and the individual.

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INTEGRATION OF YOUTH IN INDUSTRIAL BRANCHES

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[Article by Dr Ioan Neacsu and Dr Dumitru Cristea of the University of Bucharest]

[Text] 1. Socialist Romania is going through a stage marked by profound revolutionary changes, by qualitative restructuring demonstrated both at the level of the content of economic activities and the mechanisms which regulate these activities both as well as on the social-human level in the mode of participation of the workers in economic, social-political and cultural life. It is the stage for implementing the "basic orientations of our society's development, of raising planning and the scientific leadership of economic-social life and the development of socialist democracy to a qualitatively new step and of the steadfast implementation of the program to create the multilaterally developed socialist society and direct Romania toward communism."¹

Joining of the two levels--the technical-economic and the social-human--poses problems of great complexity, for the treatment of which sociological and psychological research is called on to make important contribution; for the strict substantiation of decisions at all levels, sociological research has the role of being a veritable feedback which insures the leadership and planning activity continue to be appropriate for the real particular features of the specific social-economic processes.

In this regard, we propose to approach certain phenomena linked with professional mobility and the trend toward polyqualification, as they are being demonstrated in several industrial branches, whose considerable importance for our economy is stressed in all the party and state documents: the mining, petroleum and construction industries.

In this regard, as a phenomenon specific to modern agrarian-industrial activity with high rates of development, mobility generates a number of transformations and changes in the space distribution of the labor force, in the structure of certain "professional competences"* and in the assimilation and exercising of them by the participants in economic-production processes. These changes may be demonstrated both at the enterprise level and of certain limited economic zones as well as the overall national economy level.²

We shall distinguish several main subdivisions in professional mobility:

A. Structural mobility, which expresses the changes occurring in the specific nature of the professions, more exactly, in the content of the "professional competences" as a result of the development of the production forces. This form of professional mobility takes on greater and greater values as a result of emphasizing the interconditioning between science-technology-production.

B. Functional mobility reflects the process of spatial distribution and redistribution of the labor force as well as its orientation in relationship with the range of professional competences available at the national economic level. We can distinguish the following within functional mobility: a. mobility as a partially planned and directed process at the macroeconomic level, carried out in certain periods and certain economic or geographic sectors through strategies of planning and rational distribution of the labor force. This type of mobility is determined on a priority basis by objective factors of a necessary nature and affects positively the development and efficiency of the national economy; b. fluctuation, a spontaneous and uncontrolled expression of mobility, caused for the most part by subjective factors and with a less positive effect on functionality and the efficiency of the economic units.

As a process caused by the intersection between the ensemble of objective conditions of activity and the subjective factors of the labor force (motivation, level of aspiration, axiological orientations, way of life and so forth), fluctuation represents an indicator of the greatest importance in diagnosing the functionality of economic systems and in evaluating the efficiency of certain organizational and political measures aimed at economic activity.

3. Methodological aspects. The basic hypothesis for research is that the option for a certain job and a certain profession is dependent not only on the professional aspirations and specific content of the work but also on the young people's option for a certain "way of life."³ In this regard, professional mobility may be interpreted not only as an expression of the young people's options in proportion to a certain axiological set--professional, cultural, political-ideological values--but also as a potential path for modifying the way of life and seeking to change the socioprofessional space of the activity.

The analysis we are making aims at an important category of the labor force--young people between 16-30 who are doing their activity in two types of enterprises--without a lack of labor force (A in the tables) and with a lack of labor force (B)--belong to the three economic branches mentioned: mining (M), petroleum (P) and construction (C).*

The experimental group included around 1,600 young people with an average age of 23, among which 65 percent came from enterprises belonging to category B and 35 percent from enterprises in category A. The distribution of the pattern by branches is as follows: 45 percent of the subjects from the coal extraction and nonferrous metals industry (six enterprises), 20 percent from the petroleum industry (four extraction wells) and 35 percent from construction (seven construction sites).

For the investigation of the pattern, a set of instruments was used which comprised the questionnaires, scale of attitudes and interviewing cards. Processing of the data was done with the aid of computers, with the results obtained and their interpretation to be presented in the following.⁴

The analysis aims at the two main coordinates of professional mobility:⁵
a. actual mobility, understood as the movement of the labor force in an enterprise already carried out and b. latent mobility, potential, defined as a process in a state of "intention" in the behavior of the young workers.⁶

The need for a study of the causes and results of potential mobility is demanded not only from diagnostic considerations and evaluation of certain disfunctions which appear at the level of economic units (particularly those with a deficit of labor force) but also from those of finding certain methods and means for preventing the process of the move from the latent into the actual state as well as identification of those secondary factors which may become primary ones in a circular process of labor force fluctuation.

The analysis was oriented on a priority basis in the direction of testing the following working hypotheses:

a. In the enterprises characterized by a high fluctuation, an unsatisfactory psychosocial atmosphere is created, one which affects the collective's ability to cope with the production tasks, with a high degree of absenteeism, indiscipline, low morale and other negative phenomena, with direct effects on the efficiency of the particular economic unit.

b. The permanent effort to provide the necessary labor force--under conditions of a permanent fluctuation--clearly brings a rejection of the criteria for a quality selection of cadres, a fact which will bring an even greater fluctuation in the future as a result of the failure of these cadres to integrate professionally. Training of the new labor force requires permanent expenses which, in these conditions, will not be amortized; at the same time, a high level of professional training cannot be achieved in relationship with a numerous category of the labor force, one which is heterogeneous from the viewpoint of basic aptitude, a fact which affects productivity and the efficiency of the particular activities.

c. Under these conditions, there is a tendency to form a circuit of self-maintenance of the fluctuation, even when eliminating some primary causative factors is successful by having them be substituted by certain secondary factors. Thus, a vicious circle is formed, the overcoming of which requires a special effort from the leadership of the economic units as well as from specialists in social-human problems (psychosociologists, personnel-education inspectors).

4. Tendencies demonstrated in the professional mobility of the labor force.

On the basis of data we have available, we shall attempt to bring out the factors and causes which decisively determine the fluctuation of the young labor force in the three economic sectors analyzed.

Through certain questions in the questionnaire the subjects were requested to indicate what branch of activity the last enterprise they worked at was part of, with the fact of whether this was the first job also resulting from the answer. The statistical data are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Branch of the Last Enterprise Worked At (in %)

1. Ramura	2. Specificul întreprinderii	3. Răspunsuri *					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
4. MINERIT	A	54,0	16,0	6,2	8,8	0,4	8,6
	B	57,0	14,3	6,6	8,7	2,3	10,5
	7. MEDIA A+B	55,5	15,1	6,4	8,8	1,3	9,6
5. PETROL	A	49,1	18,0	10,6	7,3	3,2	10,5
	B	46,5	10,6	10,6	16,2	3,2	12,2
	7. MEDIA A+B	47,8	14,3	10,6	11,7	3,2	11,3
6. CONSTRUCȚII	A	58,4	—	22,9	12,9	0,5	4,9
	B	52,0	1,0	21,7	11,0	3,8	9,9
	7. MEDIA A+B	55,2	0,5	22,3	11,9	2,1	7,4

Key:

1. Branch
2. Specific type of enterprise
3. Answers
4. Mining
5. Petroleum
6. Construction
7. Average A + B

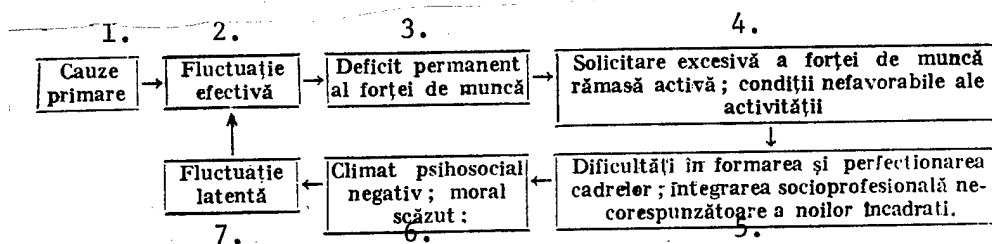
* The variations of answers were: 1. This is the first enterprise I worked at; 2. The extraction industry; 3. Construction; 4. Other industrial branches; 5. Agricultural branches; 6. Other branches.

An analysis of these data shows that an appreciable percentage of the young work force present in the enterprises researched worked previously in other economic units (around 45-50 percent), thus, in a prior stage, being a fluctuating labor force. From this viewpoint, one does not observe significant differences between the three industrial branches or between the enterprises in category A or B (without a lack of and with a lack of labor force).

These differences, however, become visible if we analyze the latent fluctuation, that is, the tendency toward fluctuation generated by the current attitude of the subjects researched. The statistical data which show these trends are presented in Table 2.

Thus we find a significant difference in the level of latent fluctuation between the enterprises in categories A and B, a situation more clearly seen if we bear in mind the indicators of total latent fluctuation (see Table 3, column 3). The existence of a more emphatic fluctuation in the units which already have a lack

of labor force validates our hypothesis according to which in situations of this kind a causal circle is created, one which deepens and preserves the negative effects of the fluctuation, beyond the initial causes which gave rise to it. In outline form, the phenomenon may be represented in this way:



Key:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Primary causes | 5. Difficulties in formation, training of cadres; inappropriate social-professional integration of newly employed |
| 2. Actual fluctuation | 6. Negative psychosocial climate; low morale |
| 3. Permanent lack of labor force | 7. Latent fluctuation |
| 4. Excessive demand on labor force remaining active; unfavorable conditions of activity | |

Table 2: Wish to Leave Present Enterprise (in %)

1. Ramura	2 Specificul intreprin.	3. Răspunsuri *					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
4. MINERIT	A	61,3	9,5	6,2	1,4	6,2	12,8
	B	52,5	16,7	4,7	4,5	12,4	8,4
	7 Media A+B	56,9	13,1	5,4	2,9	9,3	10,6
5. PETROL	A	63,9	8,1	6,7	1,6	14,7	5,7
	B	62,3	8,8	6,0	2,3	11,1	9,3
	7 Media A+B	63,1	8,4	6,3	1,8	12,9	7,5
6. CONSTRUCȚII	A	71,3	5,6	2,2	3,3	8,9	8,4
	B	58,2	12,0	5,1	4,1	11,7	8,2
	7 Media A+B	64,8	8,8	3,7	3,7	10,3	8,3

Key:

1. Branch
2. Specific type of enterprise
3. Answers
4. Mining
5. Petroleum
6. Construction
7. Average A + B

* Variations in answers were: 1. I do not want to leave the enterprise; 2. Yes, and I know the enterprise where I want to get a job and I have a firm promise of employment; 3. Yes, and I know the enterprise where I want to get a job but I do not have any promise for employment from it; 4. Yes, and I heard about an enterprise which needs people; 5. Yes, but I do not know what kind of enterprise to head for; 6. I have not thought about this.

One observes that following completion of one stage in which certain primary conditions have brought on the appearance of the phenomenon of fluctuation, they are kept even under conditions of eliminating the primary causes, through the negative effects it brought on. In order to overcome this vicious circle it is necessary to work out a unified psychosocial strategy which, depending on the particular economic features, would permit an improving action at the level of each component of those mentioned above; clearly, the intervention will be centered on a priority basis on the primary causes for the fluctuation.

Clearly, this phenomenon can also affect the attitude of the young subjects, employed for the first time in production activity, a fact which can have serious consequences for their social-professional integration as well as for their level of professional aspiration and stability on the job. The research data verify this supposition, with the indicators of latent fluctuation in the category of young people employed on their first job showing this kind of trend (see Table 3, column 4).

In the enterprises with a lack of labor force (particularly in the mining and construction branches), the latent fluctuation is considerably lower than that of the units with a lack of labor force, where nearly double the values are recorded and they herald the continuing maintenance of a high rate of real fluctuation. We must mention that some subjective and individual characteristics of the labor force cannot be invoked as the basic generating factor of fluctuation--as the tendency exists with certain decision-making factors in the particular enterprises--precisely due to the fact that similar values also are met in the young people working for the first time in an economic unit.

Finding themselves in such a situation, the enterprise leaders must direct their attention to some objective factors--working conditions, employment and salary, organization of production activity and, in particular, the orientation and selection of cadres. In our opinion and observations, the enterprises where the greatest fluctuation is found also conduct the most improper cadre policy, one which we can qualify as "according to the circumstances": without a future strategy existing for stabilizing the labor force, attempts are made through the system of continuous and unselective employment to cover immediate gaps.

The fact that an important factor in explaining the fluctuation is the activity of school orientation and professional orientation which is inappropriate is brought out by the appreciable proportion of subjects who want to change their profession (see Table 3, column 5). This trend may be brought on both by the actual (thus, tardy) finding of certain incompatibilities between the demands of the profession and individual opportunities, just as it also may be a question of the dissatisfactions resulting in the context of practicing a trade for which they were trained. An analysis of the factors participating in the professional orientation and integration of the young people may offer relevant data in this direction.

Investigating this aspect, one of the questions on the questionnaire requires an answer about the influences which the young person received during his professional initiation period (information, counseling and so forth).

Of the statistical values obtained (see Table 4) one sees that the most significant percentages in the process of professional orientation and integration of the subjects questioned are distributed as follows: parents (with a share of 20-30 percent), colleagues (around 30 percent), foremen and other technical cadres (19-25 percent), with other factors having insignificant shares (1-4 percent).

Table 3: Trends of Professional Mobility (in %)

Branch	Type	Total latent fluctuation	Latent fluctuation for category of those employed in first job	Wish to change profession
Mining	A	20.0	22.0	21.7
	B	39.0	43.0	37.2
Petroleum	A	30.0	42.0	38.4
	B	28.0	41.0	28.7
Construction	A	26.0	26.0	27.5
	B	39.0	47.0	31.2

Table 4: Factors Which Influenced Professional Orientation (in %)

1. Ramura	2. Tipul	3. Ponderea factorilor de orientare profesională*								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4. Minerit	A	18,7	31,5	1,4	30,0	1,1	4,0		6,0	10,6
	B	40,7	26,7	1,7	12,9	0,4	2,0	0,2	0,2	13,0
5. Media		29,7	29,1	1,6	21,5	0,7	3,0	0,1	3,1	11,8
6. Petrol	A	30,3	30,3	1,6	25,3	1,6	1,6	—	0,8	7,3
	B	28,3	30,6	2,3	26,4	0,4	4,6	0,9	1,3	4,1
7. Media		29,3	30,5	1,9	25,9	1,0	3,1	0,5	1,1	5,7
8. Construcții	A	18,5	31,9	1,1	24,2	—	2,2	0,5	0,5	19,0
	B	23,0	26,0	3,3	24,5	0,5	3,0	0,5	1,5	16,9
9. Media		20,8	28,9	2,2	24,3	0,3	2,6	0,5	1,0	17,8

Key:

1. Branch
2. Type
3. Share of factors of professional orientation*
4. Mining
5. Average
6. Petroleum
7. Average
8. Construction
9. Average

* Variations in answers were: 1. parents; 2. colleagues; 3. friends; 4. Technical cadres in enterprises (heads of team, foreman, engineer); 5. personnel-instruction service; 6. UTC organization; 7. trade union organization; 8. Other factors; 9. nobody contributed.

One notes the minimal influence exercised in the young people's period of professional initiation by the organizations and institutions which, by nature, should play a considerable role in this direction: the UTC and trade union organizations, as well as the personnel-instruction service. As a result, an appreciable proportion of the subjects questioned point out that they received no help in their professional orientation (6-19 percent); as a result it is not surprising that the future fluctuating labor force is to be recruited from these people.

A broad and competent action for school and professional orientation, doubled by an aptitudinal selection depending on the specific nature of the economic units which employ the young people, can lead to a considerable improvement in the situation, to establishing the labor force, to increasing labor productivity, to reducing the number of accidents, optimum social-professional integration and so forth. We well know the positive effects generated by conscientious involvement of young people on the path of a certain profession even from the school years, even under conditions where, later, the particular profession shows its certain "critical points." However, under the conditions in which the action for school and professional orientation in the school is maintained at a minimum level or is lacking, one should not await rapid improvement in the general negative effects of high fluctuation.

An analysis of the statistical data presented in the preceding tables shows a separate situation in the industrial branch of petroleum extraction: here we do not see in one of the aspects investigated too big a difference between the two types of enterprise (without or with a lack of labor force); however, overall, the values of the indicators are relatively high (latent fluctuation-around 30 percent, latent fluctuation for young employees--around 41 percent).

We feel that this situation proves the existence of basic factors affecting the stability of the labor force. The fact should be taken into consideration that the activity in this industrial branch requires high technical nature in the context of rather difficult working conditions (physical effort, climatic conditions, isolation and so forth), which could affect the young people's attitudes and, as a result, the ability of the labor force. Another aspect of this situation may be brought out if we note that the enterprises which do not have a lack of labor force reached this situation by increasing the percentage of unqualified worker personnel (around 23 percent), while the units with a lack of labor force did not succeed in recruiting personnel even from this category (5.5 percent--unqualified personnel). The quality difference in composition of the labor force compensates, thus, for the numerical lack so that, as we showed above, the values of the indicators in the enterprises in category A and B are very close, without this fact meaning a basic solution to the problem of fluctuation, which is maintained at high levels.

The above data show the complexity of factors leading to fluctuation of the labor force, from which we have the need for case studies and working out differential decisions depending on the overall social and economic particular features of the particular units.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 12th Party Congress," Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1979, p 5.
- * By "professional competencies" we mean a series of informational structures, operational and actional, which are at the basis of a range of related professions. An equal sign should not be placed between the process of forming professional competencies and professional qualification, with the latter involving a broad process of algorithmization and working out efficient habits in a strictly defined area of activity.
2. See V. Cornescu, "Labor Productivity and the Human Factor," Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1977, p 158 and following.
3. Catalin Mamali, "Way of Life and Value Orientation for Youth in Branches With Lack of Labor Force" in "Aspects of the Way of Life and SocioProfessional Integration of Youth," Bucharest, CCPT, 1980, p 28.
- * Grouping of economic units into categories of "with lack" and "without lack" of labor force belongs to the particular ministries.
4. Our study represents a sequence from a broader research coordinated by C. Mamali in the Center for Research into Youth Problems in Bucharest.
5. We have in mind all the forms of mobility mentioned, but the analysis centers on fluctuation.
6. N. Radu Radulescu, "Labor Force: Stability-Mobility," Bucharest, Scientific Publishers, 1977, chapter I.

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USE OF MASS MEDIA IN FORMING CULTURAL HABITS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 82 pp 114-118

[Article by Caliochia Radu of the Center for Sociological Research]

[Text] Through the mass media the people broaden their knowledge, accumulate information, data, facts and interpretations and they "learn." Generally, the sociology of mass communications is concerned with studying the effects of identifying the factors and elements which contribute to the process of receiving and gaining knowledge. This aspect, for example, is endorsed by the studies on dependence of this process on the content and form of the message, the personal characteristic features as well as the social and situations features of the receiver (age, studies, occupation), belonging to informal groups, the proportion in which the message corresponds to or is in disagreement with the receiver's expectations and with his interests and attitudes, the degree of attractiveness of the message and so forth.

The process of perception and retention (and forgetting, respectively), must be conceived of as a selective phenomenon regulated to a large extent by all the elements mentioned as well as by the prestige of the source and of the communicator. For that reason a complex and systematic analysis of all the factors influencing the process of reception and mass communications is needed. We shall try to stress the serious methodological difficulties confronting any attempt to evaluate the way in which the mass media contribute to broadening knowledge, especially psychosociological research of the selective use of the means of mass communications.

Having proposed such a goal, a collection from the Center for Sociology did research in the 8-18 July 1979 period in Vulturu-Vrancea Commune, a place at a beginning stage of urbanization and city planning development. The research included 200 people and was done on the basis of personal interview in a standard type questionnaire. The 200 people are part of the category of those owning at least one means of communication--radio, television, newspapers, magazines.

1. Mass Media Consumption

An analysis of the process of selective use of the means of mass communications in time showed the existence of two types of consumers: irregular, with a moderate consumption of 1-3 days per week, and the regular, with a large consumption of 4-7 days per week. An analysis of the main trends of consumption was

sought (press, radio, television, books and so forth) of the population included in the survey by associating the variable of "quantity of the exposure" to the mass media with social-demographic parameters.

The following resulted from an analysis of the data: Just one-fourth of the population investigated is a regular consumer of the mass media; television enjoys a "quantity of exposure" higher than that of radio, press and books; all the means of communication record a relatively equal consumption (30 percent) for men-women demographic categories, except for the press which has a lower consumption (under 10 percent) for the female population.

Depending on the occupation, some differences in use of radio, television and the press are recorded. For agricultural workers the appeal to the three means of communication is low. Their minimum consumption is recorded for the press, and the maximum is for television (as irregular television viewers). Agricultural workers are the occupational category with the lowest mass media consumption. Office workers state a high consumption of radio and press. People with intellectual professions are big television consumers (regularly watching television are 84.6 percent of them) and also radio (with 53.8 percent being regular radio listeners). Pupils, students, retired persons and housewives also have similar behavior in the use of radio and television.

An analysis of the population depending on the variable of studies shows that overall the "quantity of the exposure," particularly regular mass media consumption, is more restricted to persons with elementary studies, rising in accordance with the rise in degree of schooling.

With regard to age, there does not seem to be a significant difference in the level of behavior of mass media consumption.

The "quantity of the exposure" accumulated in relationship with each of the means of communication studied permitted a classification of these means in the following two categories: a. with a regularly high and relatively constant consumption for all the social-demographic categories: television and radio. b. With a regularly low and unequal consumption: press and book learning.

2. Broadening the Knowledge of Rural Population Through Mass Media; Perception of the New

The research has proposed to analyze the rural population's perception of the new at the level of the population in a place in a beginning stage of urbanization, in which the new is the dominant feature of the way of life. It is to be supposed that precisely this climate, as an opening to renewing the population investigated, determines the extent to which the means of mass communications contribute to broadening the rural population's knowledge in the two areas characteristic of their way of life: work in agriculture and the village in general. Taking into account that it is possible for the interview situation (survey) to have brought a borrowing of information through other sources (direct fact, interpersonal conversations), we cannot consider the answers obtained as reflecting just the rememorization of information about the new as supplied by mass media, with their aiming more recently at remembering information about the new in general. However, even in these conditions, just 90 from the sampling

(45 percent) answered (formulating 108 answers) the first part of the question (thus, offering on the average of 1.2 answers per person). This fact, associated with the large number of those who did not answer (55 percent), suggests the shaping of a moderate level of perception of the new through means of mass communication among the population investigated. Despite this dichotomy in the answers, taking into consideration that the investigation was not based on a direct study of the effects but rather on that of the opinion on eventual effects, it is not to be excluded that assimilation of the new through the mass media would have a greater extension, while being made aware of it and verbalizing it would not be achieved to the same extent.

Among the occupational categories, the agricultural workers show greater interest for information on the mechanization of agriculture as disseminated by the mass media.

"What is new" about the village in general is perceived by 71 percent as coming from the mass media. Systematized development of the villages is a subject which concentrates the interest of the majority of the population investigated probably due to the fact that reality in Vulturru Commune currently is being confronted with the demands of the process of systematic development. We could assert that perception of the new in a certain area by the rural population is conditioned by the preexistence of intense sensitizing of the particular population to the area aimed at. As a result, some of the total perceptions of the new--signaled by the rural residents--are due to persuasion from other sources, such as the direct reality and interpersonal communication, are amplified by the mass media. The latter strengthens the total perception of the new, giving it additional truthfulness and specifying its content and form.

Also, the mass media stimulate curiosity with a view to obtaining new information, directing behavior in this direction and even offering the operational tool (by nature conceptual and behavioral) with a view to satisfying this cultural need.

3. The Main Source of Knowledge

By associating the variable of "main source of knowledge" (television, radio, press, interpersonal conversations) with social-demographic variables, the research intended to describe some aspects of the process of selective use of the means of mass communication as preferred sources for obtaining information and knowledge.

The following result from association with the variable of sex: a. television is the main source of knowledge for 52 percent of the women and 41.5 percent of the men in the population investigated; b. the radio, as the main source of knowledge, holds approximately an equal place among the two sexes: 29 percent; c. referring to the press, the sexes discriminate significantly: the male population is informed on a priority basis through press lessons in the proportion of 26.4 percent, while the female population--just 7.4 percent.

Association with the variable of age brings out other characteristics: a. the interest in the information supplied by television, as the main source, is maximum for young people and tends to decrease as they get older; b. In exchange,

the radio seems to be a main source for young people to a minimum extent, with the importance of its position as a source of knowledge rising in direct proportion to the subjects' age. In the end, for spectators over 50; c. the press, as the main source of knowledge, is less used than television and radio by all age groups.

The variable of occupation brings the following significant variations in attachment to various sources of knowledge: a. Agricultural workers, the occupational category specific to the rural areas, state in important percentages that the main sources of knowledge are television (44.2 percent) and radio (37.9 percent). The press, however, gets a reduced volume of following: 8.4 percent; b. Television is the priority source of knowledge for all categories of occupations, less for those with intellectual professions, who place the press as the priority source.

Putting the groups of occupations in order in relation with their degree of following to one or another of the sources of knowledge considered shows the following situation:

<u>Television*</u> [in %]		<u>Radio</u>	<u>Press</u>		
1. Retirees,housewives	66.7	1. Agricultural workers	37.9	1. Intellectuals	53.8
2. workers,technicians	51.2	2. Office workers	30.0	2. Office workers	33.0
3. Pupils, students	50.0	3. Workers,technicians	23.2	3. Workers,	
4. agricultural workers	44.2	4. Pupils, students	21.4	technicians	23.3
5. Intellectuals	38.5	5. Retirees, housewives	13.3	4. Pupils,stud.	21.4
6. Office workers	35.5	6. Intellectual		5. Agricultural	
		professions	7.7	workers	8.4
				6. Retirees,	
				housewives	6.7

Coming to an understanding about the following three types of concentrations of choices for each source of mass media knowledge--a. more than 50 percent, high degree of following; b. Between 30-50 percent, average degree of following; c. Under 30 percent, low degree of following--we may infer the following:

Television is a source of knowledge with a high degree of following among retired persons, housewives, workers, technicians, foremen, pupils and students and with an average degree of following among agricultural workers, intellectuals and office workers.

Radio has an average degree of following among agricultural workers, office workers, workers, technicians, foremen and low degree of following among pupils, students, retirees, housewives and persons with intellectual professions.

The press records the greatest variations in following: from the high degree of following among persons with intellectual professions to the lowest degree of following marked by retirees and housewives; all the other occupational categories are in the low zone of this spread of values, bringing low following to the mass means of communication represented by the press.

With regard to interpersonal conversations, one notes their importance as the main source of knowledge for around 10 percent of women aged 40-49, agricultural workers (around 8 percent) and those with elementary studies (around 7 percent).

4. Professionalization of Agricultural Workers Through the Mass Media

Transmissions of knowledge through the mass media may be classified in two big categories: a. offered within formative instruction and b. offered to those outside these institutional cadres, through so-called informal education.

Despite a large number of empirical studies and imposing volume of data on the effects of the mass media, until now no clear picture has been outlined of the area of action, means and directions in which the effects of nonformative knowledge are achieved. A valuable analysis of the learning process through television and pertinent indications on the goals belonging to research oriented toward this process is supplied by the works of Schramm, Lyle and Parker. According to them, for example, it would be necessary to distinguish between the effects of deliberate knowledge, in which the recipient himself intends to broaden his degree of knowledge, that is, to learn and, on the other hand, a receiving of knowledge toward which the recipient heads unintentionally, by chance. Schramm and his collaborators stress that in the mass media in general and in television in particular the second form of perception of knowledge predominates. This learning by chance, still has not been studied closely enough due to methodological difficulties.

In this regard, our research has proposed to approach just one aspect of the informal learning (or nonformative), that is, the professionalization of agricultural workers through three broadcasts: one on radio---"Radio Program for the Village" and two on television---"Life of the Village" and "Television Lectures for Workers in Agriculture."

The research showed that the "Life of the Village" television broadcast is preferred by 10.4 percent of those in the sampling, with the majority (63.8 percent) being agricultural workers. "Radio Program for the Villages," substantially behind "Life of the Village," meets just 3.7 percent of the preferred choice. In exchange, the broadcast of "Television Lectures for Workers in Agriculture," whose profile is eminently didactic, recorded insignificant proportions of preferential choice, both for the entire sampling as well as among agricultural workers considered separately.

Regarding the reception of these broadcasts, the situation appears different. "Life of the Village" is followed primarily by retirees and housewives (46.7 percent), by workers, technicians and foremen (44.2 percent), by pupils and students (42.9 percent), by persons with intellectual professions (30.8 percent) and barely fifth by agricultural workers (25.3 percent), followed by office workers (15.0 percent).

"Radio Program for the Villages" has a permanent audience among workers, technicians and foremen (34.9 percent), agricultural workers (23.2 percent) and pupils and students (21.4 percent). Office workers and those with intellectual professions listen rarely or very rarely to this broadcast.

The most frequent viewers of the broadcast "Television Lectures for Workers in Agriculture" are workers, technicians and foremen (32.6 percent), retirees and housewives (33.3 percent). Just 23.2 percent of agricultural workers, for whom the broadcast predominantly is intended for, watch it.

Among other things, the research aimed at to what extent the quantity of "exposure" for television messages in general influence the frequency of viewing of "Life of the Village." The result was that 46.3 percent watch it often and 37 percent watch it rarely of total regular viewers (27 percent). Among the irregular viewers (31 percent), 35.5 percent watch it often and 46.8 percent watch it rarely. We see that regular viewers include more frequently in their viewing "Life of the Village" rather than the irregular ones. As a result, the quantity of television exposure seems to have a positive influence on the viewing of "Life of the Village." (Table 1).

Table 1: Association Between "Quantity of Television Exposure" and Frequency of Viewing of "Life of the Village"

1. Frecvența vizionării		2. Des	3. Rar	4. Foarte rar	5. Niciodată	6. Non-răspunsuri
7. Cantitatea de expunere la TV	200 100,0%	63 31,5	75 37,5	30 15,0	31 15,5	1 0,5
8. 1-3 zile	62 31,0	22 35,5	22 46,8	7 11,3	4 6,5	0 0,0
9. 4-7 zile	54 27,0	25 46,3	20 37,0	5 9,3	4 7,4	0 0,0
10. Non-răspunsuri	84 42,0	16 19,0	26 31,0	18 21,4	23 27,4	1 1,2

Key:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Frequency of viewing | 7. Quantity of exposure to television |
| 2. Often | 8. 1-3 days |
| 3. Rarely | 9. 4-7 days |
| 4. Very rarely | 10. No answer |
| 5. Never | |
| 6. No answer | |

In turn, the frequency of listening to "Radio Program for the Villages" is lower once the quantity of exposure to television rises, according to data in Table 2.

Table 2: Association Between Variables of "Quantity of Exposure to TV and Listening to "Radio Program for the Villages"

1. Frecvența ascultării		2. Des	3. Rar	4. Foarte rar	5. Niciodată	6. Non-răspunsuri	Key:
7. Cantitatea de expunere la TV	200 100,0%	41 20,5	60 30,0	62 31,0	34 17,0	3 1,5	1. Frequency-listening
8. 1-3 zile	62 31,0	10 16,1	16 25,8	28 45,2	7 11,3	1 1,6	2. Often
9. 4-7 zile	54 27,0	14 25,9	21 38,9	11 20,4	8 14,8	0 0,0	3. Rarely
10. Non-răspunsuri	84 42,0	17 20,2	23 27,4	23 27,4	19 22,6	2 2,4	4. Very rarely

5. Never
6. No answer
7. Quantity of exposure to TV
8. 1-3 days
9. 4-7 days
10. No answer

We may suppose that agricultural workers, the occupational category with the greatest percentage in the sampling, to a large extent determine those trends of exposure to the two messages ("Life of the Village" and "Radio Program for the Villages") since the particular trends are specific to them.

5. Satisfying the Need for Knowledge Through the Mass Media

In the investigation the subjects were requested to express the degree to which their need for knowledge was satisfied by one or another of the main means of mass communication: television, radio, newspapers, magazines, movies, books. The answers received are grouped in this way (100 percent compared with total sampling):

- a. Television and radio seem to satisfy the need for knowledge of the population investigated to the greatest extent. Newspapers occupy a middle position in this regard. In exchange, magazines, books and movies are at the lower limit of satisfying this need;
- b. Television and radio also seem to satisfy the need for knowledge of the two sexes in close proportions. In exchange, newspapers satisfy this need to a larger extent among men than women;
- c. Satisfying the need for knowledge is lower in proportion to television and is greater through radio as the rural population investigated gets older. The newspapers satisfy the need for knowledge of the various age groups to a relatively constant degree.
- d. People with elementary studies satisfy their need for knowledge mainly and, nearly equally, through television and radio. Subjects with professional and secondary school studies satisfy this need particularly through television. Persons with higher studies and those without studies appeal less than others to television and radio to satisfy their need for knowledge;
- e. Television and radio satisfy the need for knowledge of all categories of occupations very much--and in similar proportions--except for people with intellectual professions, who state an appropriate degree of satisfaction.
- f. Newspapers satisfy the need for knowledge of office workers to a very large extent and only moderately for workers, technicians, foremen, intellectual professions, pupils and students. Agricultural workers, retirees and housewives represent the smallest percentages of those who satisfy their need for knowledge to a very great extent through newspapers.

Means of communication	Degree of satisfaction	Very much	Enough	Little	No answer
Television		47.5	20.5	10.5	21.5
Radio		46.5	29.0	5.0	19.5
Newspapers		19.0	9.0	1.5	70.5
Magazines		1.5	.5	.5	97.5
Movies		0.5	.5	.5	98.5
Books		1.0	--	.5	98.5

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SERBIAN ORTHODOX PATRIARCH INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1637, 16 May 82
pp 17-19

[Interview with Patriarch German of the Serbian Orthodox Church by Svetislav Spasojevic in Belgrade on 7 May 1982: "Every Extremism Is Harmful"]

[Text] This interview was conducted in the Serbian Patriarchate in Belgrade on Friday, 7 May 1982. It lasted slightly longer than 1.5 hours and covered more subject matter, as indeed is usually the case, than the version we are publishing. In response to the remark that his interview with a NIN reporter was his second interview in the last 9 years and that this was an occasion to say a bit more "His Holiness, the Archbishop of Pec, Metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlovci, and Serbian Patriarch, Msgr German" responded with a thought of one of the saints: "Everything is open to me, but not everything is good for me."

Patriarch German's attitude, then, toward the task of the author of this article was not, it might be said, altogether straightforward. He has quite a bit of respect for journalism and journalists, but just as much, or perhaps even more, skepticism.

One more reason why every word is weighed countless times before being uttered is contained in the statement: "I am patriarch and at every moment I must take care what I say. My words and my thoughts are not interpreted as private views, but as the commitment of the Serbian Orthodox Church."

A Safer Path

The introductory part of the interview was devoted to a wide range of topics: Yugoslav journalism, lengthy wars and the dark and mournful years that follow, to hunger, Velika Drenova, a village near Krusevac important to Serbian history and culture.... He reiterated how in that village on the bank of the western Morava, where he "spent the sweetest years of his childhood during the period of those lengthy and glorious wars," he survived thanks to stinging nettles and because he knew the Latin script. They came looking for someone who knew not only Cyrillic, but also the Latin script for the census. In the houses of the well-to-do there would also be a little snack for the census-taker. He crooks his long bony fingers and ticks off the brothers and sisters who did not survive that painful time.

Neither in his movements nor in his appearance is he a man who has passed his 82d birthday. He stresses that he is not a man to be heedless of the world around him nor a man who does not seek better ways and solutions "for himself and for all others who follow him or do not want to do so." He mentions that there are people both in the Church and probably outside it as well who "out of some sort of strange and inexplicable principles do not wish to skirt the chasm, but bull ahead come what may." He, he says, is not that kind of man. It is his inclination, should by some chance he come to a chasm, to retrace his steps and seek a finer, better and safer path.

Here, finally, are also the answers to most of the questions which we put to Patriarch German, which, we hope, will offer the very best picture of the man who has held the first place in the Serbian Orthodox Church since 1958.

[Question] This is the second interview in 9 years which Your Holiness has given to any Yugoslav newsman! Have we journalists been detouring around you, or have you been avoiding us?

[Answer] Put that question to representatives of our press, that is, to the newsmen.

[Question] How would you describe the present relations between the Yugoslav governmental community and the Serbian Orthodox Church? To what extent are those relations actually affected by the fact that the church has been separated from the state?

[Answer] The separation of church from state and of the school from the church does characterize relations between the Yugoslav social community and the Serbian Orthodox Church.

[Question] We live in a very complicated social community. The same is true, if it can be put this way, in the spiritual domain. What sort of relations does the Serbian Orthodox Church have with other faiths in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] The Serbian Orthodox Church is striving and maintaining straightforward relations toward all the other religious communities in Yugoslavia and outside it.

[Question] It is a fact that quite a few temples and churches have been built in Yugoslavia since World War II. In saying this I am, of course, referring to all the faiths. Have you, Your Holiness, had any sort of difficulties in obtaining permits to build churches and other church structures?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we have had difficulties obtaining permits to build churches. They were, in fact, unconquerable difficulties. This especially applies to the cities.

[Question] Now that we are on the subject of what might be called changes, please tell us something more about the renewal of personnel in the Serbian Orthodox Church.

[Answer] The Serbian Orthodox Church renews its personnel through the four seminaries, the School of Theology, the Monastic School. But even today we have not come close to attaining the numbers we had before World War II. During the war we lost half of our priests.

[Question] A major portion of the church budget, about 50 percent, is spent for education. This is certainly a quite substantial amount of money. Aside from the School of Theology in Belgrade, the church also has four seminaries, they are located in Belgrade, Prizren and Sremski Karlovci and at the Krk Monastery. Have you had difficulties recruiting young priests?

[Answer] The Serbian Orthodox Church has had no great difficulties with "recruitment" of young priests, but it has had financial difficulties in supporting and educating them.

The Words of a Patriot

[Question] It is well known that the building of the School of Theology is in a very bad condition. There is talk about building a new building. Have the funds been provided, and when will construction begin?

[Answer] The building of the School of Theology of the Serbian Orthodox Church is truly in a bad condition. It was not even built for its present purpose, and time has also had its way. The intention to build a new building is at present only a desire, since we do not yet have even an approved site. As far as the funds go, we hope that we will have them.

[Question] At the time when the Holy Council of Archpriests of the Serbian Orthodox Church was sitting in May 1981, one of the topics discussed was "... church political affairs...." This had to do with the problems of the Raska-Prizren Episcopate, that is, with the damage and fire of the lodge of the monastery of the Pec Patriarchate and the assault against other church property. You have visited Kosovo since that time. You also gave support to efforts to calm down the situation in Kosovo.

[Answer] Yes, I did visit the Pec Patriarchate and on that occasion spoke as I believe every one of our priests and patriots should speak. After returning from Kosovo we visited the highest authorities of our republic social community, and then the federal authorities; we presented our observations and asked for them to provide protection to our Orthodox congregation there in order to restore peace and calm and to prevent their further exodus from Kosovo. We received assurances and promises that steps would be taken in that direction. Certainly they have already been taken. But unfortunately the Orthodox Serbs are still inclined to move away.

[Question] Recently Ali Sukrija, chairman of the presidium of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo received a delegation of the Serbian Orthodox Church headed by Pavle, bishop of Raska and Prizren. The representatives of the church informed Chairman Sukrija "... about certain damage inflicted on property of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Kosovo...." They also took note that a determined struggle should be waged against those who would destroy the

unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. To what extent, Your Holiness, is the church contributing to overcoming the difficult situation in Kosovo? There are important Serbian monasteries in Kosovo: the Pec Patriarchate, Decani, Gracanica, Banjska.... How do you assess the situation concerning their protection since they also are cultural monuments of very great historic importance?

[Answer] The church has its own methods of operation and always adheres to them, and those are the methods of the Gospel, which are aimed at being of benefit to everyone and of harm to no one. As for personal and property protection, there are specific institutions and authorities in our country designated to deal with those problems. In all of this we have experienced a serious blow, the setting of fire to the old lodge at the monastery of the Pec Patriarchate. They have promised us that the lodge will be rebuilt. Unfortunately, an entire year has passed, and the plans for reconstruction have been prepared, but matters have been left there. Our unity and our solidarity are being tested. The Lord knows whether they will pass the test. The church has patience and is waiting for the promises (read: commitments) to be fulfilled and for the protection of our shrines and our Orthodox congregation in Kosovo to be strengthened to the point where it instills confidence and demonstrates itself to be effective in practice. For its part the church is contributing to this by praying to God and the Serbian saints. And in these specific cases the church has intervened in good time through its supreme representatives and on several occasions with the high representatives of our social community at both the republic and federal levels.

[Question] People in the church have no great liking for extremes of any kind, though they are "... a necessity of the church's existence...." It is a fact that there are two currents within the Serbian Orthodox Church: extremists and moderates. In circles close to the church they are referred to as the "zealots" and the moderates who conduct a policy of church iekonomia, that is, permissiveness, realistic behavior.... The history of the church contains a period, a very lengthy one, and that division did not exist. How is it today?

[Answer] It is not a question here of "division," but of applying the principle of "akrybia" or "ikonomia" in examining and resolving particular general problems. That exists and has existed in all times and in every free society.

An Unhealing Wound

[Question] Last year there was a considerable invigoration of prayer brotherhoods in certain episcopates. Since their religious exclusiveness has created difficulties even within the church itself, what is the official attitude today of the Serbian Orthodox Church toward these brotherhoods?

[Answer] The "invigoration of prayer brotherhoods," i.e., of brotherhoods of the People's Christian Community, occurred after a decision of the Holy Council of Archpriests in its session in May last year, which reads: "Beseech their holinesses of the episcopal archpriesthoods to pay attention to the work of the brotherhood of the Orthodox Christian Community and to work together on this task."

In that decision the council merely wished to take up where the job had been left off before World War II--in 1941. The member of the People's Christian Community, referred to by the people as "zealots" (the prayer brotherhood movement), are not a sect as such within the Serbian Orthodox Church, but only those of its members who distinguish themselves by their zeal in attending church, in performing religious rites, in saying confession, in taking communion, in holding fasts, in short, in fulfilling their religious duties and requirements.

Their organized activity goes back mainly to the time before and after World War I.

Placing a high value on their zeal, and fearing lest they go astray out of ignorance concerning religious matters, the Holy Council of Archpriests organized them into brotherhoods under the name of the "People's Christian Community" and thereby fully legalized them. So, there can be no question of their being "exclusive" at all; it is merely a question of zeal to which the church has given its blessing, while it regards them as its ordinary members.

[Question] To what extent has extremist behavior on the part of individuals either in the religious communities or in the social communities been harmful in the development of relations between church and state on the foundations of the constitution and the Law on the Legal Status of Religious Communities in our country?

[Answer] The church abides by the principles of the Gospel, one of which is this: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." Thus the church itself is striving to respect the laws of the government which pertain to the church, but it also expects this of government authorities. Any departure from that, just like any extremism from whatever quarter, can be harmful and can spoil relations between church and state.

[Question] It is well known that relations between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian Orthodox Church have still not been normalized because the Serbian Orthodox Church would not grant autocephalic status to the Macedonian Church. In recent years there have been contacts between delegations of Your and the Macedonian Orthodox Church to improve relations. Will these contacts continue in the future, and can a more rapid normalization of those relations be expected?

[Answer] The church is a divine institution based on faith, love and hope, and any violence in its internal relations is alien to it. Arbitrary or forcible separation of one of its parts from the Serbian Orthodox Church, as a living organism, means a deep pain and unhealing wound. On two occasions an attempt has been made to do something through dialogue, but without success. However, since the problem of granting autocephalic status has been placed on the agenda of the All-Orthodox Great Council, which is being prepared, this is another case which depends on the fundamental position adopted by the Great Council.

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