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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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23 May 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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23 May 1985

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## NEWSPAPERS CARRY ARTICLES ON HUNGARY'S NATIONAL DAY

## Newspaper Reports

AU081717 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 2 and 3 April, and the weekly Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian, No 14, devoted to the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation in 1945, celebrated on 4 April, as well as reports on events that took place either in Romania or Hungary dedicated to this event.

SCINTEIA on 2 April carries a photograph of Budapest and a 1,400-word article by Romulus Caplescu entitled: "Budapest of the Socialist Era." The article, after mentioning some historical events that took place in Budapest, enumerates various achievements obtained during the past 40 years. The article deals principally with the architecture and cultural life of Budapest. The same paper carries on page 6 a 500-word report on a memorial inaugurated for Romanian heroes in the Hungarian town of Hajduboszormeny (filed as AU021151). ROMANIA LIBERA on 2 April carries an identical report on this event.

SCINTEIA on 3 April on page 5 carries another article by the same author, R. Caplescu, entitled: "Monuments of Peace," which deals with a description of various peace monuments erected in Budapest during the past 40 years. In the second half of the article, stress is laid on cooperation with Romania, in many fields of activity, noting that "a concrete demonstration of this cooperation is the great number of 'Dacia' [Romanian made] private automobiles that can be seen on the streets and roads of the friendly country." The same paper on the same page publishes a report on the festive meeting that took place in Bucharest's "Grivita Rosie" enterprise on 2 April on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation. The meeting was organized by the Bucharest Municipality RCP Committee and Municipality Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front. "The meeting was attended by Comrades Lina Ciobanu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of the Romanian Trade Unions; Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister of the government; Nicolae Busui and Ion Stanescu, ministers; Aurel Duma, minister state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mihai Nicolae, deputy chief of department at the RCP Central Committee; reserve lieutenant general Andrei Neagu, vice chairman of the SDUF National Council. Also in attendance were Miklos Barity, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Bucharest and other embassy members.

"The national anthems of the Hungarian People's Republic and of the SR of Romania were played.

"The meeting was opened by Comrade Nicolae Croitoru, secretary at the Bucharest RCP Municipality Committee." In addition, the article outlines the speeches delivered by Gheorghe Petrescu and Miklos Barity (filed as AU022021).

ROMANIA LIBERA on 3 April on page 5 carries a 1,200-word article by Boris Buzila entitled: "Points of Pride of the Town" dealing with Kecskemet, a town in Hungary, known for its high level theater performances. The author of the article mentions this fact and in addition notes some industrial and other cultural achievements of the inhabitants of this town, pointing out that "many Romanians studied at the old law school of Kecskemet, those who later became the leaders of the national emancipation movement in Transylvania." In conclusion, the article mentions well-known Hungarian and Romanian composers who were inspired by Hungarian and Romanian folklore and states that: "There are many reasons which, added to the rich impressions we gain about today's realities, can make every Romanian feel welcome at Kecskemet, as being among friends."

In addition to the dailies, the weekly LUMEA on 4 April carries on page 16 a 1,500-word article by Ilie Olteanu dedicated to Hungary's national day, entitled "Four Decades of Liberty and Deep Revolutionary Changes." The first part of the article deals mainly with the role of the Romanian Army in liberating Hungary stating: "The military actions of the Romanian Army in Hungary represented an important factor--the second in size after the Soviet's--in liberating this country from fascist domination." Further, the author points out the fact that in most localities in Hungary "good, close relations were established between the soldiers of the Romanian Army and the Hungarian inhabitants." The article concludes by stressing the importance of the good, neighborly relations between Romania and Hungary.

#### Memorial Inauguration

AU021151 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0910 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, 2 Apr (AGERPRES)--On 1 April, within the events devoted to the celebration of 40 years since Hungary's liberation from the fascist domination, the town of Hajduboszormeny, near Debrecen, hosted a solemn [as received] during which a memorial devoted to the Romanian heroes that died in the struggle for Hungary's liberation and to defeat fascism was inaugurated.

A Romanian party and state delegation headed by Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, participated.

The Romanian guests were welcomed by Nagy Sandor and Uszta Gyula, members of the Hungarian Presidential Council, as well as by representatives of the Council of Ministers, of the Ministry of Defense, representatives of the county and town party and state bodies.

During a meeting held on the occasion the participants evoked the struggle and sacrifice of the Romanian soldiers that fought inch after inch in Hungary up to the liberation of the whole country.

In his address Juhar Zoltan, Hungarian minister of internal trade, said inter alia: "Now, here, our people, party and government are thankful to the Romanian heroes that gave their most valuable thing, their lives, for the freedom of the Hungarian people. Now, when on behalf of the Hungarian Government we inaugurate the memorial to the Romanian heroes, we respectfully remember with gratitude the thousands of Romanian heroes that sacrificed their lives in the fight against fascism, for the liberation of our homeland and for a better future of mankind."

Gheorghe Radulescu evoked in his address the fight of the Romanian soldiers and pointed out they cemented the friendship between the two countries and peoples. The Romanian-Hungarian relations, the speaker pointed out, have acquired a new content in the years of construction of the new system in the two countries are developing continuously in the spirit of the talks and understandings between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

A floral wreath was laid at the memorial on behalf of the Romanian party and state delegation participating in the festivities occasioned by the 40th celebration of Hungary's liberation.

Floral wreaths were laid on behalf of the Hungarian Presidential Council, the government, the Ministry of Defense, the diplomatic corps accredited in Budapest, the county and local party and state bodies and by working people, young pioneers and pupils that attended the solemnity.

The monument is an eternal flame rising to the sky, to make eternal the memory of the Romanian soldiers that gave their lives in the fights against fascism.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ALBANIA'S ALIA CONGRATULATES CEAUSESCU ON REELECTION

AU072011 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Apr 85 p 4

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania:

I extend to you congratulations on your reelection to the high position of president of the SR of Romania.

I take this opportunity to convey my wishes for progress and prosperity to the Romanian people.

Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CEAUSESCU CABLES HUNGARIAN LEADERS FROM PLANE

AU161041 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Janos Kadar, MSZMP general secretary,

To Comrade Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, Budapest

Flying over the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic, I take pleasure in conveying to you warm comradely wishes for health and happiness and to the Hungarian people I wish new successes in the socioeconomic development of the country and in building the socialist society on the neighboring and friendly Hungarian soil.

I express my belief that, through joint efforts, relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and parties will further develop in the interest of both our people, and of the general causes of socialism, understanding, cooperation, and peace throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

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23 May 1985

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AWP'S ALIA THANKS CEAUSESCU FOR CONDOLENCES

AU021328 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu

On behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and on my own behalf, I want to express sincere thanks to you and the State Council of the SR of Romania for the condolences you have extended on the passing away of the beloved leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

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23 May 1985

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## BRIEFS

GADEA MEETS HUNGARIAN OFFICIAL--Bucharest, 20 Apr (AGERPRES)--Suzana Gadea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, received on Saturday, 20 April, a delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic led by Toth Dezso, deputy minister of culture, who attended the complex cultural events devoted to Hungary in Romania. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1255 GMT 20 Apr 85 AU]

HUNGARIAN NATIONAL DAY MARKED--Bucharest, 19 Apr (AGERPRES)--A photographic art exhibition was inaugurated in Bucharest on Friday, 19 April, as part of the cultural events arranged in Romania on the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation. Moreover, a "Week of the Hungarian Record" is under way at the "Muzica" store, where the latest productions of the Hungarian recording studios are displayed. The ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Bucharest, Miklos Barity, gave a cocktail on the occasion of the Hungarian cultural events. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 19 Apr 85 AU]

SED DELEGATION VISITS--A delegation of SED activists led by Comrade Edwin Schwertner, deputy scientific section chief at the SED Central Committee, visited our country for an exchange of experience at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee. The GDR guests conducted talks at the RCP Central Committee, the Ministry of Education, and visited educational institutes and industrial units in Bucharest and Isai. At the end of the visit the GDR guests were received by Petru Enache, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee. The talk took place in a friendly atmosphere and focused on the fruitful development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the SED and between Romania and the GDR. The sides expressed their desire to continue to strengthen those relations in the spirit of agreements reached between RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu and SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker to the benefit of both peoples and the cause of peace and socialism. [Summary] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Mar 85 p 7 AU]

ROMANIAN-POLISH TOURIST AGREEMENT--An agreement was signed in Warsaw on Romanian-Polish cooperation in the area of tourism in 1986-90. The document which was signed by Ion Stanescu, minister of tourism, and his Polish counterpart, Jan Cisowski, stipulates the expansion and diversification of tourist exchanges between the two countries in the next 5-year plan. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Apr 85 p 6 AU]

WARSAW WREATH LAYING--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, is participating in the summit meeting of party and state leaders of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, whose proceedings are being held in the capital city of the Polish People's Republic. This morning, the participants in the meeting laid wreaths at the Monument of the Unknown Soldier in Poland's capital city. After the wreath laying by the delegation of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu signed the Memorial Book of the Monument. Wreaths were also laid at the Monument of Warsaw's Heroes. A military guard presented arms. Poland's anthem and the Internationale were played. Likewise, the participants in the meeting laid wreaths at the Mausoleum Cemetery of Soviet Soldiers in Warsaw. [Text] [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1015 GMT 26 Apr 85]

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ALBANIA

OPENING TO WEST, END TO NATIONAL PARANOIA ANTICIPATED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 15 Apr 85 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "What Will Happen to Albania Now ?—Hoxha's Policy of Total Isolation Untenable in Long Run"]

[Text] Vienna, 14 April—Albania, which was never open in the past and which came to live a totally isolated existence under Enver Hoxha, has always been an object of romantic interest in the West. Among other things, there were leftwingers in Western Europe both young and old who viewed Hoxha-style communism as reflecting the kind of simple ideal which the reality of the other communist countries had long since spoiled for them. Often enough, they hoped to find the "revolutionary" militancy which had gotten misplaced elsewhere in Albania. The powerful foreign-language broadcasts of Radio Tirana conveyed it to them incessantly. It was not until later that the leftwing fighters realized that official Albania was careful and reticent when it came to having deeds follow words or lending material support to the tiny "revolutionary" groups throughout the world which were being praised to the high heavens. The revolutionary spirit coming out of Tirana was just words.

Inside Albania itself, to be sure, Hoxha's self-sufficiency brand of poverty communism is a reality. A bicycle is the ultimate in personal luxury an Albanian may possess. Ownership of houses is permitted; but taxes are so high that people prefer to live in the newly built apartment complexes. The Albanians are an agricultural nation. They may not change their place of residence without permission. The consequence of the virtual non-participation in world trade is that the fertile plains of the country have to be used to grow basic commodities such as wheat whereas more sophisticated agricultural products such as fruit must be grown by hand on terraced slopes as part of "volunteer work." Another consequence of self-imposed isolation is the existence of large industrial plants which concentrate exclusively on the production of tractors, motor vehicles and machines such as no longer being built in other countries.

Per capita income is estimated at \$850 per year. Even more so than in other communist countries, democracy is an unknown quantity. Surveillance is ubiquitous and the threat of being sent to an internment camp is constant. Yugoslav sources claim that the percentage of convicts to total population is higher in Albania than in any other European country. The ban on religion is carefully monitored. Hoxha's personality cult even exceeded that of Ceausescu in Romania and almost approached the one practiced by North Korea. With the exception of the United Nations, Albania does not take part in any international political activities whatever. It did not attend the Helsinki conference, nor does it want any part of Balkan cooperative efforts. There are 16 embassies in Tirana, four of which represent Western countries--Italy, France, Greece and Turkey.

On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the basic needs of the simple life are virtually assured throughout the country; shortages of basic foodstuffs are rare. Even meat is available--although it is expensive and not always in ample supply. Electricity and water, too, are available--even in outlying villages. Since the break with China which actually started around 1975, Albania has carefully been diversifying its external trade. Leaving aside Albania's most important trading partner, Yugoslavia (amounting to \$100 million in total volume), one might say that the remaining trade is evenly divided between East and West. Total foreign trade volume, which was estimated at about \$900 million in 1982, has been declining recently, however, because of the higher value of the dollar as well as a catastrophic drop in the price of chromium and nickel, two of Albania's major export items. Exports can be subdivided into three groups of equal size: agricultural products, petroleum by-products (among them bitumen), the abovementioned ores as well as processed and refined metals. Albania has not taken up any credits, nor does it want any part of tourism.

The question is whether this special brand of communism so closely identified with Hoxha will continue or not. Up to now, there has never been any communist country in which the ideological-political line of a deceased leader was not subjected to at least a slight correction sooner or later. Even in Yugoslavia, criticism of Tito is being voiced. Something similar may be expected to happen in Albania--not right away of course and in moderation. Ramiz Alia, the likely successor, as well as Minister President Carcani tend toward a more pragmatic line. Among the Albanian political elite the inclination toward a Spartan existence is no more pronounced than anywhere else. The many television antennas pointing toward Italy in the city of Durrës and the relay station which transmits the Italian "Telegiornale" each evening for the benefit of the Tirana functionaries are clear evidence of that. Enver Hoxha was a heavy burden for the Albanians to carry. After a time, his death is bound to result in some automatic relaxations.

The West frequently tended to explain Albania's self-imposed isolation by citing the small Albanian nation's strong urge toward self-determination and independence. There is a lot of truth to that. The path of the Albanian people toward national independence was a long, complicated and arduous one. Half of all the Albanians have remained outside the nation's boundaries. The only thing was that Hoxha turned a real basic feeling into paranoia and exploited it for political purposes. The upshot was quite absurd. Throughout the country, one-man bunkers were built even while the number of operational jets and tanks dropped to almost zero because of the lack of spare parts. Hoxha, who constantly accused King Zog of being a foreign lackey between the wars, went on to act almost the same way later on. Like Zog, he gained power with the help of the Yugoslavs. Zog turned his back on this friend, which always posed a danger to Albania, by casting his lot with fascist Italy. Hoxha, for his part, allied himself with the communist Soviet Union. For Zog, history stopped on Good Friday in 1939. For Hoxha, it went on to include China but then **lapsed into total isolation**. Albania did not retain its independence on the strength of Hoxha's policies but because its neighbors—in contrast to the prewar years—left it alone and also because it was protected by the "Brezhnev Doctrine" by reason of its geographic position. If the present state of isolation should continue for a few years longer, Albania will become a technological antique shop and an open-air museum for handicrafts.

If there are policy shifts, an opening to the West would be more likely than a reunion with the East. In addition, there is the national policy to be considered. Under Hoxha, Albania declared that it would stand up for the rights of its "brothers and sisters" in Yugoslavia, if they were badly treated. But at the same time, it was afraid of the Kosovo residents who live in comparative freedom and sent any refugees from the region back across the border—some of them directly into Yugoslav jails. The Kosovo Albanians did cheer Hoxha on often enough—primarily, one would think, to annoy the Yugoslav police authorities. But only a handful were able to identify with Hoxha's policies—least of all perhaps with his ban on religion. An Albania which pursued rational and reasonable policies would have to be taken more seriously.

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CSO: 2300/ 378

ALBANIA

ALIA LED 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION', HANDPICKED BY HOXHA

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 15 Apr 85 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Hoxha Picked Him as His Successor"]

[Text] He could now die in peace, Enver Hoxha is said to have told his French doctor when he last visited him in Albania a few months before his death because the question of his succession had been "taken care of." Most likely, the "suicide" of Minister President Shehu in 1981 already was part of this "arrangement" because from that point on Ramiz Alia, the 59 year-old president of parliament, was being moved into the limelight in Shehu's place without any fanfare but quite obviously as time went by. Since 1960, Alia had held the post of secretary of the party central committee and since 1961 he had belonged to the Politburo as well. Since 1982, as president of parliament, he held the formal position of head of state of Albania. Alia is married to a scientist; the couple has two children.

Ramiz Alia, a Muslim, was born in 1925 in Shkoder in northern Albania. While still in secondary school, his biography tells us, he joined the communist youth organization in his home town in 1942. Some commentators point out that Alia, as a northern Albanian, is a Gheg as distinct from Hoxha who was a Tosk, since he came from the south of the country. Ghegs and Tosks are linguistic groups primarily whose dialects differ; they are not ethnic groups with separate identities. Insofar as Ramiz Alia's origins would allow one to draw any inferences as to his political outlook, one might merely point out that the Shkoder Muslims were good Albanian patriots at all times but that they always felt uneasy about the Catholics of northern Albania who are Western-oriented and about the strong Western influence in the northern part of the country generally. A main street cleanly separated the Muslim and the Catholic section of Shkoder.

It is worth noting that Ramiz Alia—despite the fact that he was a northern Albanian—did manage to work his way up alongside Hoxha, a man who preferred to incorporate people close to his own home town of Gjiro-kaster in his political entourage. Starting in 1943, Alia took part in the partisan movement, primarily as a political commissar. After the end of the war, he was given important assignments in the communist youth organization, becoming its chairman in 1947. From time to time, he left the youth organization to take on other assignments but always returned

to it until at length, in 1955, he was named minister of education and culture. Ever since that time, he has been considered one of the leading party ideologists. Some say that he went to study in the Soviet Union after the war; but that is hard to verify. Ramiz Alia is said to speak Russian and to have some knowledge of Western languages as well.

Ramiz Alia is expected to follow a somewhat more pragmatic line than eccentric Hoxha. As evidence of this people cite the speech Alia gave last November on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Albania in Hoxha's presence. To be sure, the rather moderate language referred to practical foreign policy issues. Ideologically, Ramiz Alia held fast to the positions of supposedly "pure" Marxist-Leninism still ascribed to Stalin. It is also worth noting that Ramiz Alia, in his capacity of a kind of "chief ideologist" took part in Hoxha's so-called "cultural revolution" the most important result of which was the "abolition" of religion by administrative fiat in 1967. But Ramiz Alia is reported to have made an effort at that time to save valuable cultural assets from destruction.

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CSO: 2300/378

ALBANIA

CIRCUMSPECT ALIA VOWS CONTINUATION OF PREVIOUS POLICIES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 16 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by V. M.: "New Albanian Party Chief Announces Continuation of Previous Policies--Hoxha Laid to Rest--'Conspiracies Repulsed'"]

[Text] Vienna, 15 April--The burial ceremony for dead Albanian party chief Enver Hoxha took place in Tirana on Monday. Shortly before 11 am, the coffin, draped in a red-and-black Albanian flag, was driven on a caisson from the parliament building to Skanderbeg Square which was packed with onlookers. Following the official ceremony held there, Hoxha was laid to rest in the Heroes Cemetery, located on a hill overlooking the capital.

Ramiz Alia, who succeeded Hoxha in the post of party chief, did not state any new political departures in his funeral oration, announcing that previous policies would by and large continue to be followed. The best way to honor Hoxha, he said, was to continue resolutely along the revolutionary path outlined by him. "Comrade Hoxha leaves behind a free and independent Albania with a mighty and reliable defense system and a developed and stable economy free from debt and obligations," Alia went on to say. Hoxha's economic "successes" were proof of the fact that his policies were right. Both the party and the people now vowed to maintain the present position of Albania. Enver Hoxha was the living history of Albania over the past 50 years, Alia continued. He had proven his leadership qualities most markedly in his defense against many "plots;" against "the imperialist threats, the attacks of the Titoists, the pressure of the Khrushchevists and the duplicity of the Chinese revisionists." The people and the party must continue to be on guard to "keep the bastion of socialist Albania strong." Hoxha had used an "iron fist," Alia said, to thwart the attempts of the reactionaries and foreign agents at undermining the power of the people.

Alia then turned to the Kosovo issue. In his fight for the "national and social liberation of peoples," Hoxha also raised his voice in "defense of the democratic rights of our Albanian brothers in Kosovo and in other regions of Yugoslavia," Alia said. He was loved and will continue to be

loved for taking this "principled, justified and straightforward position."  
He will continue to be "honored and respected by all Albanians."

Communist China congratulated Alia upon his designation as the new party secretary and proposed the development of mutual relations on the basis of the general principles of coexistence. In contrast to the Soviet telegram of condolence, Albania has not rejected the Chinese message of condolence.

9478

CSO: 2300/378

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

PRC OFFERS IMPROVED RELATIONS—China has congratulated new Albanian head of state Ramiz Alia upon his designation as the new party chief and successor to Enver Hoxha. Deputy Chinese Minister President Li Peng went to the Albanian embassy in Beijing for this purpose on Monday, the official Hsinhua news agency reported. "It is our wish," the Chinese congratulatory message said, "to improve and expand our relations to Albania on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence." Last week, the Tirana government accepted Beijing's telegram offering condolences on the death of Hoxha while rejecting a similar telegram from Moscow, stating that Albania wished to "have no dealings with the imperialistic and hegemonistic Soviet Union." The Albanian leadership broke with China in 1978 when Hoxha referred to Mao Zedong as a "counterrevolutionary in anarchist's clothing." [Text] [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 16 Apr 85 p 1.] 9478

CSO: 2300/378

BULGARIA

BCP DAILY COMMENTS ON REAGAN BITBURG VISIT

AU081315 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 May 85

[Article by Bonn Correspondent Radoslav Velez: "Bitburg--A Culmination of Scandal"]

[Text] Bonn, 5 May--Formally, the official visit paid by U.S. President Ronald Reagan to the FRG began with his arrival on 1 May and was temporarily interrupted by the beginning of the meeting of "seven," which took place on the following day. The actual beginning of the visit, however, and, at the same time, its scandalous climax, took place today with the visit to the cemetery of the Hitler Wehrmacht in Bitburg, where 49 members of the notorious SS troops are buried, who were well-known for their bloodthirsty cruelty and for the innumerable crimes they committed.

Despite the energetic protests of the democratic public in the United States, the FRG, and other countries, Ronald Reagan did not forgo this item of his agenda, which provoked even greater amazement and indignation, because it very nearly coincides with the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism, which will be marked in a few days. Intended by Bonn as an act of "reconciliation," this ceremony at the Bitburg cemetery not only reduced to zero the positive impact upon the relations between the two countries, an impact expected in Bonn and Washington, but placed this relationship in an extremely equivocal and confused situation.

Accompanied by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Ronald Reagan landed early in the afternoon on the American air base near Bitburg, from where he headed for the military cemetery. Bitburg is a small town of 12,000 inhabitants in the province of Rheinland-Pfalz, situated near the FRG borders with Luxembourg and Belgium. The ceremony, consisting of laying a wreath and inspecting the cemetery, lasted about 10 minutes. When the official motorcade passed through the city, hundreds of people who had gathered there chanted slogans against the laying of the wreath at the cemetery; posters appeared, which said: "Why Are You Visiting a Cemetery Where SS Men Are Buried?"

Before leaving for Bonn, both Helmut Kohl and Ronald Reagan delivered speeches at the American air base in front of units from the Pentagon and the Bundeswehr, standing at attention. The purpose of these speeches was to justify the visit to the cemetery of the Hitler Wehrmacht and of the SS and

to explain this event as a sort of "symbol of reconciliation" and friendship between the FRG and the United States. The American president admitted [DOPUSTNA] alandorous attacks against the world of socialism in conformity with his well-known propaganda thesis about the division of the world into "good and evil," namely, between capitalism and socialism.

The American president also visited the former "Bergen-Belsen" concentration camp in the province of Niedersachsen. The initial draft program on Reagan's visit envisaged a visit to the memorial in Dachau. The president, however, renounced this visit "because the national feelings of the hosts might be offended." Later, however, the wave of protests against the visit to the Bitburg cemetery and the intention to lay a wreath there, forced the organizers of the visit to seek a "compensation" in order to express respect for the victims of Hitler fascism. This "compensation" was found in the visit to "Bergen-Belsen."

As a sign of protest against the wreath-laying ceremony in Bitburg, the organizations of the victims of the "Bergen-Belsen" concentration camp refused to send their representatives to attend the American president's visit to the memorial cite.

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BULGARIA

BTA COMMENTS ON REAGAN STRASBOURG SPEECH

AU091321 Sofia BTA in English 1112 GMT 9 May 85

["Nothing New From the Rostrum of the West European Parliament"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 9 May, (BTA Political Observer Nencho Khranov)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan marked the 40th anniversary of the rout of the Nazi Reich in a strange way. There was nothing new in the speech he made from the rostrum of the West European Parliament in spite of the preliminary advertisements of a peacemaking mission.

There was nothing new in the well-known anti-Soviet tone. Even the West European bourgeois observers could not but notice that the president did not say a word to render homage to the decisive contribution of the Soviet people and to the heroism of the Soviet Army in doing away with the brown plague, he found no strength to say a few words about the lessons of the joint activities of the anti-Hitlerite alliance. Instead he gave vent to the well-known anti-Soviet tirades abounding in groundless accusations of it being a threat to the "free world."

There was nothing new in Washington's stand on the main issue of our times--the necessity to curb the arms race. The accompaniment of several phrases about a "stable nuclear balance" was used to propagandize the so-called "strategic defence initiative" labelled by the U.S. itself with the adequate name of "star wars" programme. And it is well-known to the West Europeans themselves and to their leaders that these plans pursue one single aim--to guarantee Washington's unpunished delivering of a disarming nuclear strike and the disturbance of the existing nuclear parity.

There was nothing new in the attitude to the concrete Soviet proposals for freezing the nuclear arsenals. Moscow's honest and realistic initiatives have one goal--to give an impetus to the Geneva talks. They do not disturb the balance and the correlation of the forces between the East and the West and to not impair anyone's security. But perhaps this is the reason why these initiatives do not appeal to those who want to achieve a unilateral military superiority and the reason why they were once again passed in silence.

There is nothing new in the ideas of the U.S. president for consolidating trust. As regards the measures proposed by the U.S. at the Stockholm Conference they all have one important shortcoming--they refer to subsidiary questions and, what is more, do not answer the criteria for equal security.

Therefore the Strasbourg speech did not change the basic contents of the West European tour of President Reagan--an attempt to win the support of the West European allies for the course of confrontation and for the dangerous "star wars" programme.

CSO: 2200/141

BULGARIA

#### IMPORTANCE OF FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH SYRIA POINTED OUT

AU011808 Sofia BTA in English 1752 GMT 1 May 85

[Text] Sofia, 1 May (BTA)--The Friendship and Cooperation Treaty Between Bulgaria and Syria signed yesterday in Damascus by the leaders of the two countries, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Hafiz al-Asad, for a period of 10 years, was circulated here today.

The document expresses the resolution of Bulgaria and Syria to constantly promote and strengthen their traditional friendship and fruitful cooperation and solidarity in the political, economic, techno-scientific, cultural and other spheres on the basis of the principles of equal rights, mutual advantage, and respect of the sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs.

The two countries will broaden their trade and the shipping between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual advantage and the regime of the most favoured nation. They will continue to promote cooperation and the exchange of experience in the spheres of science, culture, art, literature, education, health care, radio and television, cinema, tourism and sports.

Bulgaria and Syria will contribute to the consolidation of peace and security in the world, to achieving international detente and to regulating the international conflicts by peaceful means, to doing away in the practice of international relations with all manifestations of the policy of hegemonism and aggression, and will actively cooperate for stopping the arms race, for total and ll-round disarmament, including nuclear disarmament under an efficient international control.

The treaty points out that Bulgaria and Syria will cooperate with other peaceful states for rendering support to the struggle of the peoples for liberty, independence and social progress and for establishing new international economic relations on a just and equal rights basis. They will also cooperate for achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

In the case of situations threatening the peace and security of one of the two countries or violating peace and security in the world, Bulgaria and Syria will immediately establish contact in order to coordinate their stands and their joint cooperation for averting the threat and for re-establishing peace, the treaty reads.

Each of the two countries declares that she will not participate in alliances and groups of countries which direct their activities or initiatives against the other country.

The treaty points out that it is not directed against third countries and does not affect the bilateral and multilateral obligations undertaken by them.

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23 May 1985

## HUNGARY

## BIOS OF PARTY CONGRESS REPRESENTATIVES FROM MILITARY

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 23 Mar 85 p 3

/Article by S.B. et al: "Our Delegates to the Congress"/Excerpts/ Worker-General

How did Istvan Sipula begin life? How did he, the son of a Szolnok Taylor with five children, find his way to the Party? After finishing the metal-workers' trade school, he was employed by the pipe factory in Csepel as a lathe operator.... The young lathe operator was barely 19 years old when he became a member of the Communist Party. After that, the course of his life led him to the Party.... He became the director of a plant in the countryside which was taken over from the Red Star Tractor Factory. He was an experienced commander who in the meantime had obtained a degree in engineering and economics, but the rehabilitation of that weak plant gave him many difficulties.

## Wish Came True

...Lajos Pinter was born 54 years ago. A few years after his birth, /the Pinters/ moved to Pecs, or to be more exact, to Ujhegy, into a railroad signal-house which had one room and a kitchen. This is where he lived with his parents' large family.

His father was a member of the underground Communist Party, thus it is not surprising that the children soon became acquainted with the activities of the movement, and the mining environment influenced Lajos Pinter's thinking and attitude in a similar manner.

At the beginning of 1948, with the permission of his parents, he volunteered for service in the army. As an 18 year old, he was already commanding platoons and companies. The young Communist officer soon attracted attention, and after the completion of a youth party school he was elected DISZ /=Dolgozo Ifusagi Szovetseg = Working Youth Alliance/ secretary of his regiment. For several years he remained active in youth work.

In addition to working, he also obtained a high-school diploma. Following the defeat of the counterrevolution, he was among the first to participate in the reorganization of party machinery in the higher units /of the army/. He

frequently received new assignments. He was already stationed in Eger when he was sent to the Miklos Zrinyi Military Academy.

The subsequent years of his career included service at yet other posts. For nearly 5 years he held the post of director for the political branch of higher units, and in 1980 he was elected secretary to the party committee of an army formation. Nowadays, Col Lajos Pinter is the first secretary of the party committee within the chief directorate of training....

#### Fliers' Delegate

Col Attila Kositzky is only 42 years old. For a young man he bears an exceptionally great responsibility, he is the commander of a domestic fighter unit.... He completed pilot training in the Soviet Union, at the Krasnodar military aviation school. After his return in 1965, he became an assigned military pilot.... Within a few years, he became an outstanding expert and user of supersonic combat aircraft. He began his command career as a leader of a wing. Even today there are young pilots serving in his unit, who learned the craft of flying under his direction. During the early seventies, he was already in charge of a flight squadron. In 1975 he became a party member. Upon the recommendation of his supervisors, he was sent to the Miklos Zrinyi Military Academy, in order to enhance his high-level military and command expertise. He completed his studies with outstanding results. He continued his work as a deputy unit commander of the same unit from which Bertalan Farkas started on his way to conquer space.

Since 1978 he has been continuously fulfilling assignments within the party organization of his unit. He is a member of the unit's party leadership. He represented the Communists of the unit at the party conference of the Hungarian People's Army. He is in his 2nd year as commander of the unit....

Col Attila Kositzky is a "Gold Wreath First Class Pilot," who has flown 2,200 hours.

#### With Honesty, Responsibility

Lt Col Peter Haber took over leadership of a party cell within the general staff 2 years ago, upon the retirement of his predecessor. On the occasion of this year's election, he again retained confidence; he was again entrusted with the functions of secretary. He has been a party member for a quarter of a century, and for the past 10 years he has continuously been a member of the cell's leadership....

As a professional officer and as a party worker, Lt Col Peter Haber belongs to the senior military generation. However, in his case, replacement is assured: His son was sworn in as a lieutenant in 1982, and /the young Haber/, who is presently assigned to the staff of a higher unit, joined the Party while he was still at the Academy.

12588

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HUNGARY

'OBSCENE' SHOW CENSORED, PRODUCER SENTENCED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Mar 85 p 5

[Article by B.A.: "The Law Drew the Line"]

[Text] On 13 February 85 the Tolna County Court, upholding its original verdict, sentenced Budapest resident Rezso Forgacs to seven months imprisonment for offending the public decency and imposed an additional sentence prohibiting participation in public affairs for two years. The radio program 168 HOURS has covered the incident, known as the "Csicso striptease." But a few foreign radio stations distorted the facts in their Hungarian-language broadcasts, presenting the legal inquiry of the Hungarian authorities as a "crude interference in artistic affairs."

On the night of last 13 July in Honyes, Tolna County, the amateur performing group K-bel Stage presented a stage adaptation of American writer Ezra Pound's "Cantos," directed and narrated by Rezso Forgacs in a disco program at the Csicso nightclub. The setting is a closed mental institution, and the theme is human frailty, intense emotions, and the portrayal of lesbian love, or the unnatural sexual attraction of women to each other. According to the police report on the "Csicso performance", the female performers appeared nude on stage and, according to their roles, actually had intercourse or masturbated. Of the 200-250 members of the audience, mostly 17-18 year olds, some shouted lewd remarks and many felt revulsion at the production. The official inquiry following the police report uncovered two facts: Rezso Forgacs collected 5,000 forints from the nightclub's owner for the show, and the nudity and public obscenity were displayed under his direction.

K-bel Stage had on several occasions performed "Cantos" in Budapest, at the Young Artists Club, the Arpad Szakasits Hungarian Optical Factory Cultural Center, the Metro Club and the Pest Concert Hall. However, in contrast with the flagrant Csicso production, these performances were more serious. As stated in the court's findings: "They generally conformed to the standards of stageworthiness and caused no dissatisfaction...They caused controversy in the press and radio, but the question of a crime never arose." However, the

Csicso production constituted the offense of public obscenity in paragraph 272 of the Penal Code, since a sex-related action which violates the current social morality was performed, thereby disturbing the peace.

The court debated the question of what could be considered the subject of the obscenity charge. In the opinion of the court, the subject was the performance itself, since the form of presentation was not "an illustration of the literary work, but an unequivocally perverted activity before a public audience." This is the personal responsibility of Rezso Forgacs, under whose direction the adaptation was presented in this way, and his criminal act was public exhibition of the production in this form. In stating the reason for the ruling, with reference to the Penal Code, the court indicated that socialist morality condemns sexual licentiousness and especially its exploitation for material purposes. On the basis of these facts, the Tolna County Court upheld the original ruling and sentenced Rezso Forgacs to seven months' imprisonment and additionally to two years' restraint from public activities.

The radio program 168 HOURS covered these events; some foreign, Hungarian-language radio broadcasts also reported the story, but they distorted the facts. They spoke of "crude interference in artistic affairs," "the tightening of cultural policy." They presented Rezso Forgacs as the "vilified artist whose creative freedom has been curtailed." Why was Forgacs vilified, and what caused the criminal charges? The legal proceedings clearly answered these questions. Obscenity, public indecency cannot be considered of aesthetic value. They belong to a different category, beyond art, which could be called pornography. To limit or forbid this is not to curtail artistic freedom, but to realize the law in the protection of society and public morality. Why did Rezso Forgacs think that the Csicso nightclub was exempt?

In any case, the following should be added to the true picture of the "vilified artist." Rezso Forgacs is 28 years of age and has been sentenced twice. In 1977 he was sentenced to 1 1/2 years of imprisonment for vagrancy and dealing in procurement. In 1979 he was charged with unlawful entry and burglary. He has been director of the amateur performing company K-bel Stage for two years. He has no steady job but supports himself with guitar lessons and writers' honoraria. He has completed elementary school and three years of music school. In November 84 he became a member of the Attila Jozsef Circle of the Writers' Guild. An evaluation of his artistic activity does not belong here. The law drew the line on his Csicso experiment.

9890

CSO: 2500/334

HUNGARY

SOCIAL WELFARE POLICIES, POVERTY

Social Attitudes Toward Poverty

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian Jan 85 no page available

[Article by Zsuzsa Ferge: "Society's Judgments about Poverty in Hungary from a Historical Perspective"]

[Excerpt] The Ratio of Poverty Within the Population 1870-1980

| <u>Period</u> | <u>Nature of Poverty</u>  | <u>Total</u>      | <u>Population Regarded</u> |                      |
|---------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
|               |                           | <u>Population</u> | <u>as Poor</u>             |                      |
|               |                           | <u>Figure</u>     | <u>Number</u>              | <u>Percentage</u>    |
|               |                           | <u>(Millions)</u> | <u>(Millions)</u>          | <u>of Population</u> |
| Monarchy      |                           |                   |                            |                      |
| circa 1870    |                           | 13.5              | 9                          | 65%                  |
| circa 1910    | Largely social poverty    | 18.2              | 9-10                       | 50-55%               |
| Including the | at about the subsistence  |                   |                            |                      |
| territory of  | level, significant        |                   |                            |                      |
| post-Trianon  | pauperism, grave          |                   |                            |                      |
| Hungary:      | inequalities              |                   |                            |                      |
| circa 1935    |                           | 8.9               | 5.7-7                      | 65-80%               |
| after 1940    |                           | 9.1               | 5                          | 55-60%               |
|               | Largely social poverty    |                   |                            |                      |
| circa 1948    | at about the subsistence  | 9.2               | 4.6-6                      | 50-60%               |
| circa 1952    | level, inequalities less  | 9.5               | 5.7-6.7                    | 65-75%               |
|               | than before               |                   |                            |                      |
|               | Largely relative social   |                   |                            |                      |
| circa 1965    | poverty, inequalities     | 10                | 3-4                        | 30-40%               |
| circa 1980    | decreasing at first,      | 10.7              | 1.5-3                      | 10-30%               |
|               | increasing later somewhat |                   |                            |                      |

Fate of Social Welfare Policy Between 1945 and 1956

The 3 years of the coalition period concentrated the events. The structural foundations of poverty were shaken by land reform, nationalizations, the creation of workplaces and the new wage and price system which distributed poverty more evenly. Economic policy and social welfare policy were combined

in the revolutionary "social policy." Since abject poverty was enormous after the lost war, however, a new type of relatively independent "public welfare" policy was established. Its state agencies were the Ministry of Public Welfare (revived in 1944 and going back to 1918) as well as the special health care services and the largely prewar special social services taken over from the Interior Ministry's jurisdiction.<sup>27</sup> The statutes of 1945 created people's agencies of social welfare policy alongside this apparatus, social welfare policy committees and councils alongside the local administration, and the National Social Welfare Policy Council alongside the minister.<sup>28</sup> The task of the social welfare network continued to be to offer assistance and relief "on an individual basis," and yet there was still no traditional policy toward poverty during this general scarcity and in this political atmosphere. Among the situations requiring assistance according to a 1947 document, the new smallholders (who needed equipment and professional help), the dwarfholders (who needed job opportunities for supplementary income) as well as those left out of the land reform and the urban unemployed (who needed work) are kept in mind first and foremost.<sup>29</sup> This is followed by the "more traditional" social welfare tasks from social insurance to the housing question to providing for the poor.

Beginning in 1948, the independent "public welfare policy" gradually faded away. In the political judgment, there was no longer any need for a complex social welfare policy, because in the first place (according to the June 1948 social welfare policy program of the Hungarian Workers' Party) "most of the demands of the workers' decade-long social welfare policy program had already been met"; because in the second place (according to a 1949 document) poverty has disappeared and therefore "the capitalist system's so-called social welfare policy must be discontinued," since the results attained "have made utterly superfluous the individual assistance which inevitably emerged after the liberation";<sup>30</sup> and finally because (according to a 1950 document) "every act and measure in the entire social and economic system of our people's democracy is social welfare policy."<sup>31</sup> The Ministry of Public Welfare and society's regional social welfare organizations were subsequently abolished early in 1950.

Social welfare functions remained, of course. These--aside from public health matters which now belong to an independent ministry--amounted to social insurance and labor safety regulations, which come under trade union control. The dictatorial policy, however, had so big an impact on the remaining areas that they fulfilled their original function less and less. The following seem to be the most important external goals:

--Sharing the social forces, i.e., a class policy which, apart from the working class (or rather the "worker-employee" population), is discriminatory and oppressive vis-a-vis every other group. (Just two examples: the individual peasants who made up the overwhelming majority of the peasantry no longer received health care benefits under the social insurance law or the "poverty law"; not until March of 1953 did the members of producer cooperatives become entitled to the family allowance, but up until 1966 beginning only with the third child, and all the way up until 1975 the sum was lower than for worker-employee families.)

--According to statements, the social welfare policy serving the working class became a tool for the political intimidation of the workers and for the elimination of democratic movements. An example of the first is the persecution--it began in 1948 and did not abate until 1954--of sickness benefit defrauders, an example of the second is the trade union's being forced to lead a "shadow life." Special pressure was exerted on industrial organizations which adjusted more clumsily to central policy. (Thus, for example, they were held up to ridicule for providing "unjustified" assistance, for failing to expose sickness benefit defrauders, etc.<sup>32</sup>) The general obligation to inform on others and the emaciation of industrial democracy aimed at weakening worker solidarity.

--The entire rhetoric of social welfare policy--the state "sacrifices," the workers "receive a lot," the enterprise "leadership" does a lot for the workers, etc--suggested, on the one hand, that there was no need at all for representation of interests from below, since "those above" do everything anyway. On the other hand, there was an intensification of the paternalistic view that the social welfare income and services were not rights but allotments and gifts which the state offered from its "own" money. Finally, the idea--still alive in 1948--that the "social welfare rights were the primary subjective rights" in socialism disappeared from the texts.<sup>33</sup>

--Social welfare policy was directly subordinate to the economy, likewise dominated by politics. Thus an incursion into industrial discipline and work organization with social welfare policy sanctions also took place, or rather the social welfare "awards" strengthened the output-and-merit ideology of the modernizing economy.

In reality, the population's living standard and general condition deteriorated in practically every aspect during this time, mainly between 1949 and 1952. (Only the employment rate rose.) Poverty increased and--chiefly due to the new privileges--inequalities increased. All these factors had a significant role in the outbreak of the 1956 crisis.

#### Social Welfare Policy Without Autonomy: 1957 to Present

Economic and social development was spectacular and almost unbroken from 1957 to 1977.<sup>34</sup> The population's situation improved in part "automatically" with the recovery of the economy; in part, numerous deliberate measures of a social welfare nature occurred. They included, among other things, a significant expansion of entitlements to social insurance and an increase in the emolument level; a manifold rise in lagging wages and lowest retirement pay, primarily after 1968; annual compensations of a uniform sum; and especially continuation of the full employment policy.

Today, this series of successes has, of course, well-recognized shortcomings (one did not succeed in overcoming serious infrastructural backwardness, incomes remained low on a significant scale, etc). With respect to the question examined here, the greater problem is that during the prosperous 2 decades (partly because things "were going so well anyway") no efforts were made to clarify the situation, role and principles of social welfare policy and to evaluate its past.

Because of the unclearness, the relationship between economic policy and social welfare policy became more entangled than before. It is definitely a fact that the reform supported the policy of full employment, and thus joblessness became avoidable. However, the negative side to this is that, alongside a quantitative growth in workplaces, qualitative development did not appear on the agenda. This not only reduced work efficiency through "within-the-gate" joblessness but also spoiled and spoils today the desire to work on the part of better and better trained and more and more meticulous workers, and it causes a "manpower shortage" in jobs characterized by society as unacceptable. It is an additional positive fact that the wage scissors did not open up excessively, but it is a negative fact that this took place (in contrast to the logic of economic reform) entirely through "paternalistic" measures, under pressure from above. Due to the absence of conflicts of interest, the new situation did not become legitimate, at least not with those who regarded and regard themselves as relatively unprofitable. More generally speaking, after 1956--indeed, after 1968--the practice established in the 1950s was continued voluntarily: social welfare policy was "integrated" into the operation of the economy at many points. It thus seems to many persons that social welfare policy causes the economy to function badly--even though no independent social welfare policy yet exists. What it comes down to in fact is that the very burdens of the lack of an independent social welfare policy are shifted onto the economy, and this leads to an impenetrable tangle.

On the other hand, the absence of an analysis of the past means that--in contrast to economic policy--no radical break occurred with the social welfare policy of the 1950s or indeed of the prewar period in certain respects. It is true that corrective efforts, sometimes very significant ones, proved effective. The 1975 social insurance law did away with much of the earlier discrimination, chiefly against peasants. The principle of social solidarity now appears in the faster-than-average increase in low retirement pay or the rapid expansion of pension claims not linked, or less linked, to the payment of premiums. These efforts, however, were not consistent or well-thought-out.

Among the problems mentioned in connection with the 1950s, there did not occur a break with paternalism, the "gift attitude"; a clarification of the significance of representing interests; an approach to the concept of subjective rights or indeed, more generally, the "right to a socially acceptable level of existence"; a confrontation with the issue of poverty; or a reexamination of the role of punishment and reward in serving the economic goals of social welfare policy. Thus some negative factors that arose in the 1950s continue to exist, others arise reflexively.

If we look back to an even earlier time, before the war, the prewar policy toward poverty did not become the subject of actual analysis. The summary rejection of it in 1950 had a political rather than a theoretical basis. Certain features--denial of subjective rights, individual judgment based on the categories of "meritoriousness" and "one's own fault," supervision of the lifestyle of those assisted, etc--therefore naturally flared up circa 1960, when (in the spirit of the break with the 1950s) social welfare assistance began again in a narrow sphere.

The poverty issue was considered solved according to the voluntaristic view of the early 1950s; therefore, no efforts were made to truly abolish it, and people did not concern themselves with alleviating its effects. Poverty still remained a taboo topic in the 1960s, but the current development brought significant improvement, even without an independent poverty policy. Furthermore, all those who had remained outside the mainstream began to receive assistance--with obsolete methods--though no one asked why some groups had been excluded.

The increase in economic resources stopped at the end of the 1970s. This has several consequences from the viewpoint of our topic. Thus: we cannot rely on the fact that growth will solve the still existing problems more or less by itself; it must be taken into consideration that the value of much social welfare income decreases quickly, and so the living conditions of retirees, those with children and those existing on childcare benefits not only deteriorate from year to year but this deterioration is severest among those who have routinely been in a bad situation, i.e., poverty grows and its nature shifts from the "relative" to the "absolute"; an upturn in the economy, in all likelihood from above, opens up the income scissors, and thus the relative disadvantages increase. All this in the more open political atmosphere put an end to the taboo character of "poverty" and prompted action. The mode of action and the means for treating poverty are deeply influenced, however, by the unused historical heritage. The end result is a powerful revival of numerous elements (analyzed here) of the earlier poverty policy: individual judgment without subjective right, a buildup of a cadastre of the indigent, the mixing of social welfare policy functions on an unclear and legally sanctioning basis having moral and economic goals, the need for checking up on those assisted.

The main problem with the more or less well-considered resurrection of earlier solutions is that the economic and social conditions have changed completely in the last 50 or 30 years. That is why these old measures are much more contradictory today than they ever were. It is true that resources are scarce today, but the per capita national income is several times that of 1930 or 1950. It is true that there is poverty, but neither its quantity nor its severity can be compared with what it was previously. It is true that the institutions of democratic life are still not adequately developed, but the relationship between citizens and power has undergone a profound change. The demand for civic pride and a legal principle--affirmed by the authorities--gains strength. And finally: in 1930 but to a certain extent even in 1950, it would have been impossible under the given socioeconomic (later mostly economic) conditions to abolish or even radically reduce poverty. That is why there was a certain (limited, open to criticism) justification for the previously separate poverty policy and later for putting the entire issue in parentheses. Today, on the other hand, no matter how pressing the momentary situation, there is a socioeconomic basis and a realistic chance that within the foreseeable future most of the problems connected with poverty will be solved, if there is the social and political will for it and if the suitable tools are employed.

Is a "Poverty Policy" Necessary Under Current Hungarian Conditions?

On the basis of the analysis so far and on the strength of certain theoretical considerations and international experiences, the answer is essentially negative, but there are nuances all the same.

1. The scarcity of resources makes the modern satisfaction of every social welfare demand impossible. Temporary solutions must therefore be sought. An important requirement is that they make gradual growth possible and that they correspond to the era's standard in their nature and in their propensity.

It is often mentioned as one of the reasons for today's difficulties that the development of social welfare policy between 1960 and 1980 was not appropriate. The civil-right health care service and the nearly universal social insurance systems granted assistance to those who "had no absolute need for it," i.e., according to this concept, there was wastefulness. At the same time, however, the standard grants based on a uniform principle did not make it possible to adjust to the special, individual needs.

Several kinds of factors occur in the search for solutions. One is that the goal of social insurance or rather the civil law is narrowed down--if not completely--to offering help to the "most indigent" and perhaps to reducing certain inequalities. But these systems first of all serve to assure general existence: persons require more, the more they have to lose, and they (the systems) are therefore not limited to those who are badly off. Secondly, on the basis of the social solidarity principle, they serve to integrate society. This is the separative "indigence principle": one part of society supports another part which is worse off. The reduction of certain inequalities is thus not so much the goal as the inevitable by-product of these systems (and at the same time, also the condition for further development). There is wastefulness but this derives not from the social insurance principle but rather its poor and inconsistent application and, to a lesser degree, from the fact that the sphere of requirements for social welfare provisions has not adjusted to developments. (A few examples. Since Hungary did not switch over to a revalorized pension system in accordance with the solidarity principle, i.e., a pension system tied to lifelong earnings and linked to per capita income or national income, two wasteful compromises were built into the system. The pensions are determined on the basis of the final years of an active work life when--chiefly for intellectual workers--earnings are the highest, but at such a time others also have an opportunity for raises. The second compromise is the complete opening of the pension ceiling, which makes unreasonably high pensions possible. The pensions determined first are thus relatively acceptable, which drains off tensions. At the same time, they are generally higher than would be reasonable on the basis of lifelong earnings--and this is wastefulness. Protection is still not offered against price increases, etc, and the real value of the pensions can constantly decline. An example of obsolescence may be the broad, general support of vacation/convalescent pay for those who could pay for the vacation from present earnings.)

The second factor: from recognition that the social welfare system has not adjusted so far to the needs of individuals and even less to those of some groups struggling with special disadvantages, the conclusion is not drawn that special subsystems to deal with these needs must be built into the existing provisions (as happened, for example, in systematic aid for the blind) but rather that emphasis is placed on individual judgment from above.

2. Social development has brought with it a number of new problems. The rootlessness caused by great mobility, rapid industrialization, urbanization, and the weakening of numerous collective values (and partly improvement in the material situation and modernization of traditional attitudes) have produced phenomena such as many divorces, new forms of crime, widespread alcoholism, drug abuse. The widening gulf between the educational system and the division of labor contributed to this: the first developed better than the second. It is customary to interpret this phenomenon as "overeducation," although it is more a matter of "underemployment" compared with training and abilities. One of the results of this is that the more highly skilled labor force does not find suitable work and rejects certain jobs; this takes on the appearance of "criminal shirking of work." These phenomena are often combined (as cause or consequence) with lack of income, poor housing conditions, low cultural "capital" and perhaps health problems, from a poorly developed physique because of childhood circumstances to invalidism resulting from an accident. Besides this, additional new problems arose, for example, from the fact that the health care service is better developed than the social welfare networks, due to which there are many elderly or handicapped, injured persons who are in need of physical care and whose nursing devolves mostly on the family.

All these things together formed the category of "cumulatively disadvantageous situation." Here again a peculiar factor occurs: the phenomena of "poverty" or relative objective deprivation and of "cumulatively disadvantageous situation" blend together. The "cumulative disadvantages," especially if they are combined with "adaptation disorders," require aid tailored to the individual situation (material resources, legal assistance, institutional care, social welfare services, mental hygiene treatment, etc). At the same time, only a portion of the "objectively and relatively deprived" would require such complex and costly "treatment." At least a few characteristic groups should thus be distinguished:

(a) those who first and foremost have material, income shortages. This is a very significant group: at least 40-50 percent of the retirees, half of those with two children and 70-90 percent of those with three or more children,<sup>35</sup> and 150,000 to 200,000 of the elderly not entitled to a pension. It must be made clear that in the majority of cases neither the time of life nor the existence of children means a "disadvantage" (the latter is an especially preposterous interpretation) but rather a shortcoming in the distribution of social welfare;

(b) those who--because of outdated or inadequate professional training, overeducation, geographic reasons, etc, and, furthermore, possible economic reorganizations--are squeezed out of the labor market or do not obtain access to it at all or under conditions they deem minimally acceptable;

(c) those for whom the problem is mainly housing (perhaps maintaining a dwelling is the problem). This is not necessarily combined with an income below the social minimum, although it is often the case. Under the present conditions for obtaining housing, however, acquiring a dwelling of a suitable standard unaided is impossible not only for the "poor" but also for individuals and families of average or above-average income, the founders of families above all, but others, too;

(d) those who have elderly or sick persons in need of constant care in the family, and therefore either an income shortage or continuous overwork plays a role. Such a situation can also arise with single parents raising children;

(e) those who have serious problems running their lives--with or without an income shortage.

Cases (a) and (b) are comparatively the simplest. Since the conditions for their existence can clearly be understood, these situations in the longer or shorter run can and inevitably are to be built into the modern system of social insurance or, if you please, social security.<sup>36</sup> Obtaining income then becomes legal and practically automatic in the case of continuation of the given condition. In concrete terms, it is a question of a minimal civil pension, of maintaining the relative value of pensions and other social welfare incomes, of an increase in the family allowance and--following the practice of numerous European countries--a progressive scale according to the number and age of the children, as well as appropriate emoluments in the case of unemployment. (In the case of unemployment alone, it is true that regulations to prevent possible abuses are necessary. The automatic mechanisms are simple in the remaining cases.)

It is obvious that a solution--if technically simple--to the questions is not possible today. Therefore, as a temporary solution, it is genuinely necessary to expand individual assistance. This, however, must not be based on the out-of-date "special judgment" but rather it must become a subjective right linked to an earnings adjustment or statement of income. The essence of subjective-right existence is that the conditions for entitlement to assistance are fixed beforehand and objectively verifiable, and the amount of help demandable is also fixed. (If, for the given family, the income is below the social minimum continuously maintained and calculated in advance according to family composition, then the assistance is working.) Two kinds of progressive scales can be introduced into the system. On the one hand, while the funds are very scanty and the minimum acceptable social insurance cannot be shouldered for everyone, it can be set down that--perhaps changeably as a category--only a part of the shortfall "works," and this part increases. The other, more essential progressive scale is that the conditions for help can and gradually are to be reorganized into entitlement to social insurance.

Case (c) requires a modification of housing policy, with which I cannot concern myself here.

Not only an assured income but also social welfare services are necessary for the families in cases (d) and (e). The difference is that in case (d) the family does not have to be "changed": enough of the (nursing) burden must merely be removed from its shoulders so that it can function normally. Case (e) is the most complicated. For this, an entire system must be built up--it takes at least 10-15 years according to our calculations--consisting of institutions and professional networks of adequately trained social workers and others with the proper attitude. Here, too, of course, the principle of progressiveness can prevail. The current networks are already partly suitable and can be made suitable for these tasks, but there is also a need for new institutions and for many more specialists trained in the new method.

In order for the preceding measures to be really effective, assurance of quantitatively and qualitatively adequate and full employment and of an appropriate minimum wage level is essential. In this way, the pernicious unemployment incompatible with the basic values of today's society can be avoided or solved, and we can also avoid having active wage-earners dependent on special assistance, which is not only humiliating but also "counterproductive."

Many details of the outlined tendencies and developmental trends are to be settled and worked out, and a series of questions--for example, the connection to price, compensation, wage and tax policy, organizational issues, the forms of democratic participation and supervision--is to be clarified. The essential thing is, however, that if there are only slowly increasing resources and if, on the one hand, there is the political will and the democratic assertion of interests which strengthen it and, on the other hand, the social consensus of values which accepts it, then an independent social welfare policy can gradually be built up, one which is embedded in social policy and which acts in concert with economic policy in such a way that even the compromises tied to interest confrontation do not hog-tie the economy. The developmental tendency of the social welfare policy is to treat the question of "poverty" separately--as long as this is unavoidable--and to create the conditions little by little so that this poverty policy does not gain strength but rather becomes superfluous and part of general social security.

#### FOOTNOTES

27. Karoly Olt, "The Past and Future of Professional Social Welfare Services," SZOCIALIS SZAKSZOLGALAT, January-March 1948.
28. SZOCIALIS SZAKSZOLGALAT, April-May 1947, p 14.
29. Dr Sandor Mikesi, "Hungary's Social Welfare Situation," ibidem, pp 7-13.
30. Istvan Dobo, "The Organizational Buildup of the Ministry of Public Welfare and the Prospects for Social Welfare Work," SZOCIALPOLITIKA, August 1949, p 12.
31. SZOCIALPOLITIKA, January 1950, p 1.
32. SZOCIALPOLITIKA, several places, for example, November 1949, pp 18,19,33.
33. Dr Benedek Jenő, "Evolution of the Legal Concept of Social Welfare," SZOCIALIS SZAKSZOLGALAT, April-June 1948.
34. By way of summary, see, for example: "The Population's Income, Social Insurance, Family Policy," Central Statistical Office, 1983.
35. "The Population's Income Stratification in 1982," Central Statistical Office, 1984.
36. International Office of Labor Affairs, "Toward the 21st Century: the Development of Social Insurance," (Geneva, 1984). In Hungarian: SZOCIALPOLITIKAI ERTESITO, No 1, 1984.

## Welfare Policies, Society, Economy

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian Jan 85 pp 82-88

[Editorial Summation of a Discussion: "Social Welfare Policy, Society, Economy"]

[Text] The ongoing year-long debate on social welfare policy in TARSADALMI SZEMLE has (and could have) resulted in few unambiguous conclusions, although it has contributed to a better understanding and elucidation of numerous significant interrelations. This is one more reason the current summary does not wish by any means to put a lid on today still scientifically--and from the viewpoint of political decisionmaking--open questions; rather, it wants to call attention to a few consequences of the debate and topic which are noteworthy in the judgment of the editorial staff.

Social welfare policy is one of the areas of social activity (in such a sense, perhaps, it can only be compared to the income or wage policy which is otherwise closely connected to it) whose developments are of interest to the entire society, and together they directly and powerfully cut into the predominance of most special interests which exist and exert an influence in our society. Thus the interests of the population's individual groups, the economic organizations, the enterprises, the councils, and the central agencies of macro-economic management are affected alike. It follows from this that nowadays every manifestation in connection with social welfare policy, including scientific opinions, is "value-bearing" and thus just as attractive--though it appears more than once on behalf of the assertion of conflicting social values--as "social equality," "fairness" and "impartiality" in the distribution of benefits, "apportionment according to work," etc. But it also inevitably expresses (and this is natural) determined special interests: the interests of social groups, organizations and institutions or at least the efforts which they believe serve their interests.

Our debate has several such elements. All the more so since a "concept change" in social welfare policy--if there is a need for it--can in such a sense be no more than a kind of shift in emphasis from support up until now for some special interests in the direction of other preferences. Conflicts of interest and the social tensions and disaccords which subsist on them--they are also increased by our economic difficulties--can hardly be settled in debates similar to today's. This is a question of political decisionmaking. But the exchange of views can help--it has to help--the policy to better gauge the possibilities for and the limits on action and to find its way in the tangle of those special interests which already exert powerful pressure in the sector where decisions are formulated.

What are the main issues on which the viewpoints of the debate's contributors have clashed? When we attempt to sum them up, we run the risk of inattention to subtle distinctions which stems from the duty to evoke divergent and contradictory views and have them interact.

In the current debate, the effect is felt from the fact (and we have hereby arrived at the first main debate issue) that the concept of social welfare

policy itself and its relation to other "hyphenated" policies (social policy, economic policy, etc) do not seem sufficiently clear, which automatically introduces the element of uncertainty into both appraisal of the established situation and designation of the things to be done. We believe, however, it would be a mistake in this concept debate to discern inadequacy in the results of sociological research--even though there is obviously still something to be desired in our scientific knowledge. What it comes down to, rather, is that the approach to the concept often expresses a kind of "value judgment" and anticipates some sort of commitment with respect to both the present status of social welfare policy and the estimation of subsequent things to be done. Thus the conceptual narrowing down of social welfare policy's function (for example, that it be a tool for "offsetting" income differentiation, labor market tensions, etc, stemming from the economic reform) presents itself together with a formulation of the things to be done which sees the main route of advancement not so much in the perfection of social welfare tools used up until now as in the search for new ones or in the substitution with other kinds of tools (tax or income policy).

On the other hand, the broader approach to social welfare policy--that of Robert Hoch and Zsuzsa Ferge--directs attention at the role played by social welfare policy so far in the overall implementation of social and economic policy. We must agree that a well-founded and consistently implemented social welfare policy (including its fields which are switching over to social policy, such as guaranteed social benefits in the areas of health care and education) is decisive not only from the standpoint of laying the foundation for economic reform and reducing the "danger quotient" but also (as Kalman Kulcsar has pointed out) with regard to our long-range economic productivity and our entire social development.

After all, why are we debating social welfare policy today? Those expressing their views in our journal have seen an explanation for it in three main factors: first, in the increasingly burdensome worldwide economic conditions, which have made it necessary to rethink social welfare policy in most industrial countries, in our fatherland, too; secondly, in the developing reform of macroeconomic management in our country, which requires modifications in this area; and thirdly, in the shortcomings which in recent decades have accumulated in the operation and institution/resource system of social welfare policy itself. Although this three-factor explanation is present in each contribution, it receives extremely different emphasis.

Maybe we do not misinterpret the individual standpoints if we set down the following. Zsuzsa Ferge is dominated by the fear that the short-term emergency measures which aim at alleviating economic problems can undermine our social welfare system which is unspokenly based on civil entitlement, i.e., it tends toward the universal. In the article by Laszlo Antal and Istvan Hagelmayer, there comes to the fore repeated emphasis on the economic necessity for the population to perceive our economic difficulties in the development of the living standard, and the choice is only in the growth of work income, improvement of the infrastructure, or the social allotments. But in subsequent contributions--in the writing of Robert Hoch and Kalman Kulcsar--the connection of social welfare policy to the economy is formulated by looking ahead to future

prospects: namely, that social welfare policy meets the comprehensive demands not only for economic efficiency but also social development, and that it promotes new output by the work force at a higher level, society's health, the educational standard, a better general condition, etc. While debating the topic over the long range, we must plainly stress the latter connection.

The differences of opinion concerning the "performance" so far of social welfare policy--even more perhaps in the different approaches to the concept--indicate disagreement in connection with the things to be done immediately. There was no dispute about the need for changes, but the viewpoints clashed all the more with respect to appraisal of the situation and the possibilities and methods for advancement.

Laszlo Antal and Istvan Hagelmayer objected that the traditional tools of social welfare policy, consumer price supports and free social benefits--as examples, they mentioned the free social security benefits, among others--are "astonishingly expensive" from time to time and are not suited to reducing income inequalities. Indeed, their operation has the opposite effect: they themselves have become a source of the increase in inequalities. Other contributors, such as Robert Hoch, pointed out that the connections are not at all so direct and unidirectional; for example, the problems of services such as health care provision and education do not spring primarily from the fact that they are free. That they are free of charge today serves much more to even out rather than increase the differences in income. Abolishing their cost-freeness would lead to economic savings in the short run, but the social consequences in the long run would be unfavorable (either with respect to society's state of health or level of learning).

So it is not an apology for our achievements if we regard the current operation--over and above the obvious dysfunctions--of social welfare policy's institutions and tools as unsound in its foundations. It is clearly unpermissible for us to turn a deaf ear to the idea of rethinking, perhaps abolishing, some social security benefits in the new situations of economic and social development, or introducing others. But it is hardly desirable to sacrifice the achievements attained in order to serve short-term economic--more precisely, budgetary--interests, as Robert Hoch has reminded us--with good reason, in our judgment. However, this belongs to those dilemmas which, from the social side, disturb the process of continued development of macroeconomic management.

In point of fact, a more comprehensive issue lurks behind the debate on social benefits: what social necessities does the state, the body politic, undertake to cover, and which ones devolve upon individuals and families? Or approached from another angle: on what basis do the citizens obtain the support of the state, the body politic? Zsuzsa Ferge is plainly and unambiguously a supporter of social welfare grants enjoyed as a civil right, grants which in essence bestow on every single member of society the guarantee of material subsistence. Within this framework the necessities to be covered by the state are "some general necessities which assure existence in its entirety for groups (children, the elderly, the sick, etc) which do not have the opportunity to work or earn an independent livelihood; the fixed needs (education, health care, etc) of all members of society which cannot--or can only with difficulty--be built into

incomes; the needs of some individuals and groups which are in a particularly difficult situation for historical or other reasons, through the satisfaction of these needs they can more closely approach the lifestyle generally prevalent in society."

A concept opposed to this no doubt socially and politically attractive notion was not heard in the debate. Nevertheless, speaking in the direction of obvious limitation are all those opinions which urge, on the one hand, abolishment of today's cost-free benefits and, on the other hand, a coupling of participation in social welfare benefits to "performance," "merit" and "indigence." This is usually done out of well-justified economic and general conceptual considerations. (Here we point out that in the advanced capitalist countries struggling with economic difficulties the social democratic governments themselves are making every effort, as a rule, to preserve the universal social welfare system, and the conservative forces have begun "reprivatization," subjection of social welfare services to the market.) We for our part believe that curtailment of social welfare achievements essentially enjoyed as a civil right and moderation of the burden assumed by the body politic can be only a short-term economic necessity. It is hardly desirable in the longer term.

The debate conducted in our journal in connection with the discussion of the continued development of macroeconomic management has far surpassed the province of social welfare policy in the narrow sense, in short, an analysis of which results of the reform require social welfare policy "treatment," "offsetting," "correction": it entered into the discussion of the economic reform ideas themselves--from the angle, naturally, of social welfare policy or, to be more precise, general social policy. After all, with respect to the growth of our entire society, moderation of the social consequences of an incidental and temporary structural unemployment is not the only or even primary thing of significance--Laszlo Antal and Istvan Hagelmayer spoke about this--but whether unemployment itself can and is to be dealt with at all politically and socially.

And here we must agree with Zsuzsa Ferge, who not only points out its social and political "costs" but also underscores its economic impracticability. He is definitely right in setting himself up against the stiff interpretation of party resolutions connected with it, an interpretation which separates and indeed counterposes the responsibility of the state for full employment and that of the enterprises for efficient employment. Alongside full employment, we consider an improvement in employment efficiency feasible only if the link between state and enterprise policy--on the basis of a sensible division of labor--is strengthened rather than relaxed.

In a similar way, from the social welfare policy side, we can hardly restrict ourselves (and the debate did not restrict itself) to an analysis of to what extent, on the basis of which conceptual considerations and with what kind of social welfare tools it is necessary to counterbalance the probably powerful income differentiation which takes place with the expansion of enterprises and the liberalization of wage regulation. Since it involves one of the key questions of our economic and social development, it is worthwhile to linger here a little.

Our economy's productivity can be boosted nowadays by enhancing material interestness, via work incomes and through an increased differentiation of the latter on the basis of output. The explanation for this is twofold. On the one hand, wages and earnings naturally have a very stimulative effect on the present level of our stage of economic development, the satisfaction of material needs, and society's material living conditions. On the other hand, we have been able to make only restricted use so far of this opportunity which presents itself for material incentive. After all, it is a fact supported by a series of scientific investigations and a mass of everyday experiences that in our wage system in the last 1½ decades the material compensation for work has become detached from the quality and quantity of work performed. Furthermore, with respect to their amounts, the existing and ever decreasing differences in work earnings are not in proportion to the possible and actual differences in output, i.e., aside from a few particular areas such as the "second economy" or the enterprise business work partnerships, they do not carry within themselves adequate material incentive force. This is true even if, perhaps, some domestic statistical indicators (as Zsuzsa Ferge points out) of work income differentiation do not lag behind similar indicators of economically successful capitalist countries. More sweeping conclusions can hardly be drawn from such comparisons, namely, in view of the fundamental differences in social and economic conditions. However, there is no doubt--and the antipathies are perceptible in this--that alongside the stagnation or moderate decrease in real wages and the living standard the implemented work income differentiation is an emergency economic measure whose social and political costs are not paltry. In its course, after all, the material living conditions of worker and social groups, which are in a difficult situation today for that matter, can continue to decrease, something which calls for special attention from the social welfare policy side.

In view of the tensions surrounding this process, particular attention must be paid to the fact that, in the given economic situation, work income differentiation tied to output emerges as an unequivocal necessity; then again, socially and politically less tolerable than before is some sort of differentiation separate from performed work or the existence of the prominently high incomes which thus arise.

In this connection it is understandable that the most often--and perhaps most sharply--discussed issue of the debate has been the introduction of a uniform, progressive, personal income tax system. Laszlo Antal and Istvan Hagelmayer essentially saw in this the chief tool for controlling the surging income mass and income differences and, finally, in a certain sense for implementing a new social welfare policy. This was their starting point: on the one hand, the liberalization of current regulations for income or earnings on the enterprise level, the spread of business, and the growth of incentive power led to the greater outflow of income mass and the increase in income differences. On the other hand, today's operative submechanisms of income distribution, the traditional tools of social welfare policy (social security benefits, consumer price diversions, etc), are not suited to controlling income ratios and differences. That is why the progressive personal income tax ("an adequate tool, substantially different from the current one, for implementing the distribution principle") is necessary.

On the other hand, Robert Hoch--who accepts in principle the need to introduce the wage and personal income tax system--pointed out its limitations: this instrument of income regulation cannot undertake the functions of the social welfare policy's system of instruments, indeed, it is only very restrictedly suited to controlling the incomes themselves, and its own necessary stability runs counter to the requirement that it regulate the mass of surging income or purchasing power by adapting to the prevailing market conditions. If it takes upon itself the general formation of income differences, it also becomes an instrument for holding back output, like the current wage regulation. There was general concern, moreover, that the personal income tax was suited to the control and suppression of those very work-derived income differences whose differentiation is unsatisfactory today and that it was unable to bring under control the other, not insignificant, "invisible" incomes. Every contributor who addressed himself to the question admitted that this system--it has no institutional and jurisdictional background, tradition in our country--is cumbersome, expensive and complicated and that, furthermore, its introduction could be the source of newer social conflicts, tensions, corruption. (From this standpoint, the possibility that the system is open and that one citizen can examine another's income can hardly be called unequivocally attractive.)

That is why it is perhaps not unjustified to call attention to that part of the April 1984 Central Committee resolution which proclaims the introduction of a personal income tax system necessary but underscores the importance of "the appropriate preparatory work" and the "separate decision" in this issue.

It follows from our economic difficulties--and it would be an illusion to deny it, as Laszlo Antal, Istvan Hagelmayer, Otto Gado and others have indicated--that alongside the enormous social, political and direct economic significance of social welfare policy, a quantitative growth program for which the material conditions do not exist cannot be placed on the agenda. By no means is it a matter of "what we are mixing ourselves up in" but rather--unfortunately, we are compelled to express the issue thus--"what we are striving to preserve," as far as the short-term agenda is concerned at least. After all, social welfare policy is a question of material resources--even if this is an oversimplified formulation. Nowadays, therefore, its further development can be approached in at least two ways (just like any other social dilemma having material relations, be it a matter of incentive or instruction). On the one hand: how do we manage the available tools, do we make good use of them, is there a way for us to improve them if necessary? On the other hand: are the tools at our disposal adequate for the performance of those tasks whose fulfillment we expect nowadays from social welfare policy? We believe it would be wrong to call into question the justification for either the former or the latter issue: both (the latter in the writing of Kalmar Kulcsar) received space in the exchange of ideas.

We do not and cannot agree with those views which routinely refuse to discuss or weigh the tools' adequacy (be it a matter of wages or social welfare benefits). Is it not somehow possible--within social welfare policy's own framework, by carefully examining our priorities perhaps "from outside" or by improving the efficiency of consumption--to bring about regroupings?

In view of the serious economic and social problems of our time, we can hardly allow ourselves to routinely forego a discussion of certain paths to a solution. But if we proceed along this path, the demand is justified: to propose a change in the distributional relations and to disarrange the interest structures connected with them is truly worthwhile if it brings with it a certain reality in progress toward a solution.

There seem to be two conditions necessary for the utilization--different from the foregoing--of the tools which stand at the disposal of social welfare policy: on the one hand, clear concepts of the fulfillment of which functions we can and do expect from social welfare policy in the midst of our time's economic, social and political realities; on the other hand, the institutional, personal and attitudinal factors necessary to carry out tasks which have perhaps changed. In this connection, there emerged in our debate: who are the active participants today in the implementation of social welfare policy and who will they be in the future? While the "centrally" directed programs and measures for action come in for more and more criticism nowadays due to their alleged or actual inflexibility, indiscriminateness and exorbitant cost, primarily those notions and demands which pertained to the tasks of government and central agencies emerged in the exchange of ideas. Then again, they only tangentially sketched what part such traditional social institutions as the family or the economic organizations, the enterprises, have had so far in the realization of social welfare policy goals.

But it is obvious--and there is agreement on this for the most part--that not only more efficient use of resources but also (much more than this) the fulfillment of social welfare tasks is scarcely conceivable nowadays other than by the apportionment of roles, initiatives, responsibilities and decisions among central agencies, other institutions (local councils, economic organizations, etc) and the population at large. In social welfare policy, however, this process (similar to economic policy) cannot be restricted to modifying the distribution of "burdens," namely, to shifting the costs of measures financed up until now by central funds onto families which are otherwise in increasingly troublesome financial situations (which Zsuzsa Ferge rightfully fears) or perhaps onto enterprises which likewise bear increased loads.

During the ongoing improvement of macroeconomic management--inasmuch as the party resolutions of the past decade imply the need for this in principle--there has emerged the emphatic demand that "a better manifestation of divergent interests must be made possible, and the reconciliation of interests must be developed further," namely, in the very issues which are tied most strongly and most directly to the interests of working people, those linked to their living and working conditions. It is evident that these--over and above the issues of wage, employment or general labor policy--are chiefly of a social welfare policy nature.

The representation, manifestation and reconciliation of interests is too complicated a social process for precise description and institutional regulation. It is apparent, however, that while there are established, official and unofficial, institutional channels for the reconciliation of interests in wage determination, we can note fewer similar phenomena in questions of social welfare

policy. It must also be clearly perceived that in the "social welfare arena" primarily those groups must fight for the assertion of their interests whose opportunities are more unfavorable than those of others. Thus the danger also exists that the same social groups in both areas strive successfully to obtain an advantage or to preserve the advantages already gained. So that this does not happen, i.e., so that the drawbacks do not pile up, it seems necessary to turn increased attention to the method of reconciling interests in social welfare policy or to the representation of the interests of those social groups which have a special need for it. This is not in essence a new perception, since the need to provide for particularly vulnerable social groups has received political formulation for decades. (In the debate, Kalman Kulcsar discussed those in the disadvantageous situation.)

Thus it is necessary to strive consciously for a disclosure and reconciliation of interests during the ongoing examination of the concept of social welfare policy. After all, only in such a way can we arrive at a result which--if it does not and cannot meet with general social approval--is acceptable to the majority in society. The interest relationships and the socioeconomic realities which lay the foundation for them are all the more essential nowadays, because precisely through them social welfare policy has become the significant and topical issue which affects all cooperation and solidarity within society and indeed--to take one step further--political stability, while it also goes hand in hand with the implementation of principles and interests included in the party's ideology.

12327

CSO: 2500/232

POLAND

# POLICEMAN SHARES PERSONAL DETAILS, POLITICAL VIEWS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 23 Mar 85 pp 7,8

[Article by Joerg Bremer: "Mirek Is on the Police Force--Encounter in the Masovian Wilderness--A Young Pole Describes His Way of Life"]

[Text] Warsaw, March.--It took me at least three-quarters of an hour to discover that he was a policeman by profession. By that time we had already become friends, even though such familiarity is not at all acceptable in Poland and even less in Warsaw where policemen are derisively called occupiers. One does not usually become friendly with a policeman, for when he checks documents, when he apprehends or arrests someone, there is only a relationship of authority and subordination. A person wearing a uniform cannot hitch a ride in a foreigner's car; that is probably stated in some manual. Authority disdains fraternization. But things didn't quite go that far.

The rain was coming down in buckets and it was gray and hazy when just the two of us were waiting at a bus stop between two villages in the vicinity of Warsaw. Neither one of us had an umbrella and there was no place to take shelter. Every passing car sprayed our legs with muddy water. Moreover, the bus did not arrive on time but was about half an hour late. We were drenched while waiting. Already somewhat nervous, he noticed that his matches had become wet as he tried to light another cigarette and asked me for a light. I couldn't accomodate him, but we started talking.

He was over 30; his trousers and winter coat were as gray and earth-colored as the scene around us. He also wore a tweed cap, just like any other Pole in the winter, even though it does not protect against rain; is too thin to protect against the cold and cannot be pulled down over the ears. My companion-in-waiting had visited his parents. He told me in detail that his parents lived primarily from the proceeds of a fruit garden without asking how I happened to be in the Masovian wilderness outside of the city. Since his parents are way over 70 years old, he sometimes takes half a day off to see them. He didn't own a car but expected to do something about that soon. I asked him whether years ago he had stood in line with other purchasers of a small Fiat Polski. His answer could have made me suspicious--he merely said that there were other possibilities because of his occupation. The right explanation did not occur to me immediately--after all, one can purchase a car more quickly with foreign currency, companies sometimes find it easier and good connections always work.

In Poland one can talk at length about cars, about the long lines in front of shops and about family problems. Men, too, get involved and, just like the Germans, get excited about the Federal Sports League. He then asked about my nationality and flinched only slightly when I mentioned capitalist Germany. He must have felt somewhat uneasy but didn't show it. He also asked about my work and I told him in detail about press conferences with Urban, the Polish government spokesman, and about the latitude in the choice of topics. The young Pole was visibly impressed, responding that much too little was known about life in the West and that much was being written in the newspapers but definitely not everything.

This remark caught my attention. A Western foreigner usually hears only references to dishonest Polish propaganda when the subject is broached. A torrent of words is often followed by the remark about being better informed because of friends and relatives abroad and because Western stations also provide excellent reports. My companion-in-waiting responded with the official version even though he was not speaking in an official capacity. When the bus arrived at last, we found seats together and continued the conversation.

We soon used the familiar form when addressing one another. Mirek offered me his hand which did not appear to be the hand of a worker. He didn't want to talk about politics; instead he described his way of life as if thereby providing answers for my attempts to understand the political contrasts within Poland. When I talked about the antithesis between state and society, he interrupted me by saying that he had no chances for promotion and that in the rural areas little had changed since the war. The state had been concerned about the large enterprises and had viewed the little farmers with suspicion. The greatest changes in his father's property during the last 30 years had been the connection to the electric grid and the construction of a water supply line. He had contributed part of his first salary to the latter endeavor.

Mirek explained to me that progress for him means something quite different from what it means to a West German. His dream had always been to move to the city to escape rural poverty. To him, he stated, progress was a real bathroom with a commode inside the house, while I probably dreamt about a personal computer. He laughed when he told me that his parents had learned little more than reading and writing; he, on the other hand, had graduated from a technical high school. When I asked whether the village priest had not given lessons, he evaded the question and told me about a nun who had taught catechism for Communion. This taught him nothing of practical value and since he has been working, he lost contact to the Church.

Gradually I became curious. In Poland, even if one is a non-believer, the Church is always admired as the bulwark of social freedom--but not by Mirek. Instead he maintained that many sermons appeared to him as an escape from reality; the Church, aside from nice-sounding words, offered nothing to cope with reality. When I voiced doubts, he interrupted almost rudely; men-of-the-cloth are privileged. A young priest gets a car very soon and has hardly any other expenses. One only needs to take a look at the life-style of many a clergyman: Five-room apartments, a bath with marble tiles, hardwood floors

and beautiful oriental rugs in the living room. In addition, there is often an ostentatious church building. Farmers and workers in the area, on the other hand, live in deplorable apartments. Mirek referred to several priests by name and then emphasized the modest rowhouse in which General Jaruzelski lived. He also mentioned that government spokesman Urban, whom I had cited so frequently, and his wife lived only in a two-room apartment. Mirek expressed himself precisely and to the point; he was not didactic, this is how he saw reality in Poland. He was proud of his three-room apartment, as he told me, which had no rugs but a set of living room furniture and enough beds for himself, his wife and two children. He also had a washing machine and a refrigerator. "It only took me 5 years" and others might have to pay three times as much.

At this point I asked about his profession. He hesitated but then said that he was a policeman at a Warsaw police station. Many questions crossed my mind at this point: How did he happen to choose this profession? How did the murder of the priest Popieluszko by his colleagues affect the police? What did he think of the snooping and the supremacy of the police? But I used restraint and said that no state can exist without police, that crime must be combatted and street traffic had to be regulated; I also said that it was wrong to abuse all Polish policemen as members of a Soviet occupation force and agents. Mirek didn't at first believe me, but admitted to suffer from the rejection of those around him. His wife and children saw almost no one except families of his colleagues. This had not been the case before martial law had been proclaimed. I interjected the thought that this was the people's response to the brutal acts of the police who confronted citizens with water cannons, tear gas and clubs and who arrested and imprisoned them. Mirek did not fail to answer and told me in almost the same words as those used by Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski that it had still been a Polish solution. I suppose he quoted General Jaruzelski when he compared the extremists of "Solidarity" with the Red Army Faction terrorists in the Federal Republic. I rejected this comparison and asked Mirek about his own activities on 13 Dec 81 when martial law was proclaimed. He said that he had participated in some arrests and remembered primarily the viscious responses often received after a polite reading of the internment orders. But he could understand that.

From now on Mirek didn't let me get a word in edgewise, asking whether "Solidarity" had a ideology while underground which would help Poland to weather the crisis and saying that only diligence could bring about productivity and that Lech Walesa, himself, dodged work. The West did not provide money to increase productivity, but delivered paper and technical equipment to print leaflets calling for a strike. This he had seen himself. Then Mirek told about an operation in an illegal print shop but stopped himself quickly--he had to maintain official secrecy.

We had been in the outskirts of Warsaw for some time when he started on a summary of kinds: "Freedom for the poor is a luxury," he said and continued by saying that at his age, having an apartment, a car and a television set is an above-average achievement "which I don't want to see threatened by superficial talk from the (solidarity) extremists." But didn't he only achieve all this because as a policeman he beat and interned his fellow citizens? Mirek admitted that for him there had been few opportunities to find a niche

in society. An education is almost impossible for children of farmers. How could he get out of his parent's social stratum? How could he have gotten enough money without being crooked? An uncle of his who worked in the Secret Service gave him the appropriate advice. Now his life is being made difficult from many sides: in the court the entire police apparatus is being criticized as if all policemen were criminals; the Church misses no opportunity to blacken the image of policemen for their followers; even the newspapers are now frequently critical. "But I have not regretted my decision."

Isolated as he and his colleagues now live, there is hardly a way out of this career without leaving Warsaw, Mirek continued. The "Solidarity" subversive organization is maintaining lists of every policeman. If he should now work in some other office, he would be treated as a spy of the Secret Service. To be a "policeman in the city or a little man in the country," those are the only alternatives even today. The bus had reached Warsaw's main railroad station a long time ago. We drank vodka together in a bar to comfort our wet feet and to toast our friendship. Occasionally we meet. When one of his children had the flue, I helped with medicine. I don't know his wife. Mirek is afraid because she talks too much.

12628

CSO: 2300/364

ROMANIA

ENHANCED ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY, ECONOMY HAILED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 10, 8 Mar 85 pp 8, 9, 17

[Article by Stana Buzatu]

[Text] The elections for deputies to the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils--an event of particular political importance in the life of the Romanian nation--are a new proof of the realities of the democratism of Romania's socialist system, heightened by the power of the free and independent creation of the people being led by the Romanian Communist Party with wisdom and scientific, revolutionary clearheadedness. It is comforting in this reality to identify the rise of millions of women in Romania, who represent half of the country's population to the condition of freedom and human dignity, that which is claimed and assumed as subjects of their own history. By defining the new social condition of women in Romania as exercising the prerogatives as true subject of history, we are synthesizing the major significance itself of socialism in one of the areas which has been and which remains the field of powerful relevance for the overall status of civilization.

Our party has the merit of having placed the problems of woman's status in society and the family and her human condition among the major goals of the revolutionary strategy of building the new system, feeling that the way to consistently have a democratic and humanist solution to the multiple aspects accumulated by a thousand years of history of exploitation and discrimination against women is a true test of the superiority of our social system.

It never would be enough to return to the dates of our modern history which in the era inaugurated by the 9th party congress mark the decisive and salutary points when these problems were to be judged in their entire importance, when the maturity of political and ideological responsibility of our party and its critical and constructive spirit were to have their word, which considerably reshaped the vast thematic area, theoretical and practical, of the areas around the problems of increasing woman's role in social life.

In the spirit of respect for the truth, once again in this context, also, we shall dwell on the energetic initiative of the frankness which inspired the multilateral and thorough analysis made by the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in the summer of 1973, an analysis devoted and

dedicated to increasing woman's role in the social, economic and political life of Romanian society. This event which occurred in the life of the party and the country shows the measure of innovation and creation in the revolutionary thinking, of the clearness and communist militantism--characteristics which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was to give to all the program documents adopted by the high forums of the Romanian Communist Party as a mark of the total responsibility borne by the party for the entire nation of ensuring the consistent implementation of the principles of socialism and communism. Since then, since this historic event which is organically and harmoniously integrated with the vast universe of revolutionary thinking and practice of Romania's president and his philosophical and political work, since then the subject of woman's assertion in Romanian society has been on the agenda constantly in everything that our party and state has undertaken.

The balance of the grand achievements now being presented to our people for the elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils also is being made specific under the conditions created for the superior and equitable utilization of the women's immense potential for creation and thinking in the area of material and spiritual life. The enthusiastic and unanimous will of the Romanian nation expressed in the proposal for the candidacy of the party's secretary general for the supreme state organ--an eloquent demonstration of the unity and cohesion of our society--is completely interpreted by the thoughts and feelings which the millions of Romania's women nurture for the beloved and esteemed leader of the party and state, founder of the modern Romania, tireless promoter for asserting woman's social-human condition to higher levels and her role in all areas of society's development.

In the spirit of the grand initiatives and historic openings made by the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, both at the theoretical level as well as that of revolutionary practice, woman's social-political status is not and should not be considered an adjacent area secondary to the structure and contents of new socialist social relations but rather as one of the intrinsic components of the principled bases of these realities, as definitive constituent elements for the program options of building the new system. "One of the great achievements of our system is providing the conditions for asserting the women's creative potential and energy in all areas of activity of society; they represent half of the country's population. The women have a decisive role in the development of society, in maintaining an appropriate structure of age, population and in raising and educating the children--decisive factors for the future of our socialist nation." (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Road To Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Volume 10, Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1974, p 257).

Here, as in all the definitions of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we have defined explicitly the interdependencies between the overall progress of our system and the quality of the new status of women in social life, at the same time formulating the requirement to transpose the principled recognition--

implicitly legal devotion--of the social nature of the female problem into specific programs of action, capable of harmonizing the theoretical rigors with the women's realities of work and life. The program guidelines worked out and promoted by the RCP, particularly during the last decade, involve the total components of the system--economic, political, ideological, scientific, cultural--at the macro- and microsocial scale, which permits preventing oversights between the various factors involved in the rise of woman's social status. In this period, as a result of the exactingness with which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally has followed up on the practical application of the guidelines established in the party and state documents, considerable progress has been recorded in the area of the orientation and vocational formation of women, of their integration into the production processes and in the area of promoting them to leadership jobs at all levels of organization and operation of our society.

It is appropriate to dwell on the rates and quality of woman's social-vocational integration since one cannot speak of the true assertion of the processes of her emancipation without creating proper conditions for cultivation and superior utilization of woman's creative potential in all areas of material and spiritual production. In the last decade, half of the growth in worker personnel came from the women so that currently they represent 40.8 percent of total worker personnel in industry, 42 percent in science, 64.3 percent in education, culture and art and 74.6 percent in health protection, social assistance and physical culture. Thanks to the regular concerns demonstrated on the basis of the goals and tasks included in the program adopted by the 1973 RCP CC Plenum, a more and more close correlation of women occupying the labor force has been achieved with the rise in innovations in the technical and technological structures, in diversification of the branches and subbranches of the national economy. The fact is proven by the more emphatic rates of the women's integration in the period we are referring to, particularly in the highly technical branches such as chemistry, machine construction, electronics and electrotechnics and so forth.

The qualitative dimensions belonging to the processes of woman's social-vocational integration are powerfully affected and stimulated by the profound democratism of our party's policy in the development and modernization of education, which provides for the unhindered access to vocational formation and qualification for all sons of the country according to their own aptitudes and inclinations, closely linking this with production practice and scientific research, qualification and increase in qualification of the labor force to correspond to the broadening of the range and content of the professions under the influence of the modern scientific and technical revolution. In this regard it is revealing that currently girls represent 46 percent of secondary school education and more than 67 percent of post-secondary school specialization, while they represent more than 44 percent of students in higher education. These conditions convincingly illustrate the broad opportunities created by our state in the equality of chances for cultivating aptitudes and talents without any kind of discrimination and they explain the current level reached by Romania in forming a valuable stock of female cadres with solid training. Women represent more than one-half of cadres with secondary studies and more than one-third of those with higher studies, more than 20 percent of total engineers and in higher education they exceed 30 percent of teaching cadres. A large

number of women are members of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences as well as of other prestigious forums of education, science and culture in Romania as well as abroad.

Far from laying out merely a problem of "feminist" interest, the information mentioned should be interpreted as an appropriate measure of the realism of Romania's strategies for development since it is hard to conceive of the success of fulfilling the program goals with a complete mobilization of high quality of the creative potential which our nation has available, without the cultivation and judicious utilization of it. At the same time, these references are first-rate arguments for the superiority of the democratism of our system in one of the areas of extreme importance in the dialects of the process of building the new social status of women, an area with broad and significant reverberations in the status of civilization and culture as a whole and of the assertion of woman's personality in society and the family. Once again the natural need for comparative reflections and specifically historical determinations is felt, able to establish basic truths. And precisely because the context in which we are marking this new 8 March is that of carrying out an act of basic political and democratic option by nature and its high social-human finality, it is appropriate to carefully recall, with the necessary discernment, the picture of the female condition in times long gone. The awareness of the achievements of socialism, particularly among the young generations, requires urgently that we turn the pages of the nation's history in order to build judgments and sow lasting feelings in the experience of the socialist present and firm commitment on the path of building the communist future. In all regards, the democratizing of our system gives it an authentic and significant extent to the level of woman's work and life and her achievement of human dignity and freedom. Such comparative references and judgments are all the more necessary in the modern era in the context of which the formulation and promotion of alternatives for social-political development reflect to a greater and greater extent the pressure exercised by the hard facts, those which are discriminatory and the lot of women in many parts of the world. De jure discriminations join with the de facto ones, even in the countries considered--on the strength of the economic criteria accredited--as the heads of the categories of developed and superdeveloped countries. Specialized international organs are furnishing alarming information on the discrepancies existing in the world. At the lower limit of these discrepancies, however, is the woman's conditions for work and life everywhere--doubly and triply discriminatory. The social-political scene in the capitalist countries frequently is marked by what a number of exegetists of the phenomenon called the "feminist rebellion." Actually it is a matter of contesting more and more vehemently the capitalist system which, openly or in a dissembled way, dictate the rule for the inequities, discriminations and oppression of woman, the first victim of unemployment, blocked in her legitimate aspirations for professional formation and assertion, subject to an arsenal of means of manipulation and mystification which threaten her very identity.

These succinct and extremely summary references in other historical and social zones in no way should be felt to be parentheses or digressions from the subject of this theme. We know that on the strength of some circumstances,

about which we have spoken and written, socialism has been and still is being presented in terms of extremisms, while with regard to the underestimation or denial of achievements and deformation of social realities of the new system, the female problem is "privileged," if we may put it that way.

Of course, as we shall stress in the following, our party does not idealize the progress recorded by the new system, either in this area of social life or in others. In the view promoted by the RCP, particularly in the last two decades, the work of building socialism is not a triumphal march but rather it includes extremely complex processes and it requires overcoming various contradictions and difficulties which appear and it requires the courageous promotion of new solutions in agreement with the objective laws of social development. In light of these definitions which in the period mentioned have gained the stature of permanent features of Romanian social-political thought, overcoming the social-political practice, the problems of the female condition benefit from thorough, shaded analyses which permit understanding the dialectics of life itself, a fact capable of intensifying the ability of the subjective factor in making us aware of this problem and the multitude of aspects which it raises. All this, however, does not cancel out the basic truths which depend on the historical realities of the revolution and socialist construction in Romania. Even more, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes, the very recognition of the action of contradictions and concordant action for solving them in a timely fashion, identification of the objective and subjective causes for certain failures are indicators of the strength of the new system, of the creative ability of the communist party to ensure the conscious leadership of the new work of social building. It is a reason for legitimate patriotic and revolutionary pride to identify in the Romanian concept the distinctive notes for a multilateral, profoundly original progress opened with the generosity of social innovation and scientific knowledge of woman's work and life in the general context of the changes being produced in the structure and superstructure of society in accordance with the stages of development and maturation of the new system. On this subject, what is constantly being emphasized is the fact that the real status of women accumulates the roles as mother, worker and citizen and that the harmonization of these levels and the responsibilities incumbent on women bring numerous tensions and contradictions. It is extremely important to bring out the increasing share which the social aspect has in each of the hypotheses mentioned, thus understanding that the evolution of woman's role in our society, according to the program orientations mentioned, cannot be conceived of as a mechanical, linear total of the qualities which such hypotheses imply.

That is why, proceeding from such considerations, the policy promoted by Romania toward the family, recognizing in explicit terms the value and social function of motherhood, establishes a coherent system of social, economic, legal, moral, cultural and educational measures intended to facilitate harmonizing the roles belonging to women in accordance with their status in society and the family. The meaning of this policy at the same time aims at the creation of a favorable framework for the fullest possible utilization of the qualitative, professional, political and social-cultural ascendance of woman's personality in fulfilling her noble mission as the child's first educator, in shaping the moral-spiritual profile of the young generation. "Our party bears responsibility for the future of the people and for

that reason is giving great attention to cultivating an attitude which is full of concern and responsibility for the family and for the young generations. The family has a very important role in the development of society and our socialist nation and for that reason it is necessary that it demonstrate the highest responsibility for foundation and consolidation of it," as stressed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu ("Romania on the Road To Completing Socialist Construction," Volume 2, political Publishers, Bucharest, 1968, p 105 ).

The family, the first school on the long and difficult road of forming the human personality, benefits from the multilateral and constant aid of our party and state leadership in fulfilling its high responsibility for asserting new relationships within it based on equality of the spouses and on cultivating a climate favorable for woman's real emancipation, a fact with immense consequences for forming and educating the young generation in the socialist spirit and for promoting progressive concepts and models of behavior in social life. Multiple aspects incorporated in this area are the subject of party and state policy on the family, a fact illustrated not only by the dense spread of legislative regulations but also by the large investments allocated by our state for creating a broad network of maternity units, day schools and nursery schools for children and for the social protection of mother and child and for extending and diversifying the range of services year after year for easing housework and so forth. In this context, for example, we report that today 98.2 percent of Romania's children are born in a health institution, that more than 4.5 million children receive state allocations and that, starting in 1977, a system was instituted to aid mothers who have more children under 18 to care for, that in the last 20 years the percentage of children included in nursery school has risen from 18.6 percent to 75.4 percent and, with regard to the nursery schools, the number of places has increased more than 17 times.

As shown in the report to the 13th party congress, the allocation of more than 430 billion lei in the current five-year plan for social-cultural expenses directly corresponds to a growth in these expenses per family of from 10,440 lei in 1980 to around 13,000 lei in 1985. The volume of goods sold to the population is rising by more than 7 percent, while the providing of services has risen about 80 percent compared with 1980.

On the basis of the directive program for raising the standard of living and continuing to raise the quality of life for the 1986-1990 period, "there will be continuing improvement in health assistance, placing a special emphasis on prevention and on protecting the people's health, on increasing natality as the objective requirement for development and preservation of our young socialist nation." (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1984, p 31). The awareness of these remarkable achievements is extremely important in the objective and scientific evaluation of what socialism means for woman's new status.

Socialism is an original work not only through the radical change in its material and objective conditions and through achievement of political power and establishment of new, higher relations, lacking any kind of exploitation but rather through the fact that it inaugurates a new type of progress whose superiority is authenticated, above all, by the quality of the historical subject, by the place where it belongs in the mechanisms of social determinism.

It is precisely this dialectic of the objective and subjective which is the basis for the most important reflection in our party documents on promoting woman's new status.

As a result of the lasting concerns of the party and state leadership and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for full assertion of women's ability throughout society's life, there has been a considerable rise in the number of women elected or appointed to leadership jobs at all levels of political, economic, scientific, cultural and public life. Currently women are carrying out jobs which are particularly important in the party and state leadership, in the RCP CC Political Executive Committee, in the government as a first vice premier-minister, first premier, in the leadership of ministries, in the county party committees as first secretaries and secretaries and in the leadership of the people's councils. There has been a considerable increase in the number of women heading big industrial centrals and enterprises, state agricultural units and cooperative units. Nearly 250,000 women are part of the collective leadership organs and the leadership forums of the mass and public organizations. An eloquent proof of the constant concern of our party and state for the increasingly more important role of women in our society is this week's national conference of women, a broad democratic forum in Romania.

Clearly, the processes to promote women in the leadership of society are developing fully. The references mentioned are inevitably limited and subject to the changes occurring on the strength of demands, the measures being undertaken on the initiative and under the leadership of the party. However, what is important is that we discover and orient the formative, educational and instructional results of the acts involving women in taking and carrying out decisions--a true school for shaping the communist and moral-spiritual profile of all members of our society.

So we understand the broad human and humanizing perspective of the spread of measures adopted by the Romanian Communist Party for increasing woman's role in all society life and for bringing out the creative ability and social-historical innovation of women from cities and villages at high levels, with this being a powerful source for the multilateral progress of modern Romanian society.

8071

CSO: 2700/141

ROMANIA

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES ON CEAUSESCU REELECTION

Israel Herzog Message

AU091946 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

On the occasion of your reelection as president of the SR of Romania, I am glad to extend to Your Excellency sincere greetings and best wishes for personal happiness and for the well-being and prosperity of the friendly Romanian people, on behalf of the Israeli people and on my own behalf.

I express my hope that the good relations and fruitful cooperation between our countries will further continue.

Chaim Herzog, President of the State of Israel

Iran's Khamene'i Cable

AU221246 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

I want to convey congratulations to Your Excellency on your reelection as president of the SR of Romania. I express the hope that during your new term existing relations of friendship between our countries will continue to develop and deepen.

I want to take this opportunity to wish Your Excellency great successes, as well as prosperity and well-being to the Romanian people.

Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Iraq's Husayn Congratulates

AU062033 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On your reelection as president of the SR of Romania, we take pleasure in conveying, on behalf of the Iraqi people and on our own behalf, warmest congratulations and best wishes for complete success to you, as well as wishes for progress to the friendly Romanian people, and for the flourishing and constant development of relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries.

Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq

Al-Qadhdhafi Message

AU091948 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

On the occasion of your reelection to the position as president of the SR of Romania, I take pleasure in conveying to you warmest greetings and best wishes for health and happiness and prosperity to your friendly country.

Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi

Mubarak Message

AU062032 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

I take pleasure in extending most sincere congratulations to Your Excellency on the trust shown by the friendly Romanian people, who reelected you as president of the republic to achieve their great aspirations under your wise leadership.

I want to take this opportunity to express to Your Excellency our profound esteem for the sincere efforts you are making to achieve a just and global peace in the Middle East. I want to pay homage to the relations of friendship and close cooperation that link our peoples, relations for the consolidation of which we will continue to act in the common interests of Egypt and Romania and the cause of peace and international security.

Please accept, Mr President, best wishes for your personal happiness and good health, and wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly Romania people.

With the highest of considerations,

Muhammad Husni Mubarak

Ethiopian Party Leader

AU101849 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania:

Having learned of your reelection to the position of president of the SR of Romania, I take great pleasure in conveying to you cordial greetings on behalf of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE], the people and Government of the Socialist Ethiopia, and on my own behalf.

Your reelection to this high position clearly shows the trust, respect, and appreciation of the Romanian people for your clear-sighted leadership.

At the same time, I believe that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our fraternal countries will continue to develop.

Allow me to take this opportunity to extend to you best wishes for personal happiness, progress, and prosperity for the fraternal Romanian people.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the WPE, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, and supreme commander of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia

Vietnam's Truong Chinh

AU091944 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

On the occasion of your reelection, by the Grand National Assembly, to the position as president of the SR of Romania, I convey to you warmest greetings.

May the friendship and relations of fraternal cooperation between our countries further develop and consolidate in the interest of the Romanian and Vietnamese people and the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

I wish you, Comrade President, much health and complete success in your high mission.

Truong Chinh, chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Fidel Castro Message

AU101845 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

On the occasion of your reelection to the position of president of the SR of Romania, we convey to you warm greetings, on behalf of the Council of State of the Republic of Cuba.

We wish you new successes in fulfilling the high responsibilities once again entrusted to you as head of the Romanian state, and we express our desire to continue to develop relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation, relations which link our peoples for the benefit of peace and socialism.

With affectionate greetings,

Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Councils of State and Ministers of the Republic of Cuba

CSO: 2700/145

ROMANIA

ROMANIAN, EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS EXCHANGE DINNER SPEECHES

NC202028 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1830 GMT 20 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Mar (MENA)--Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu hosted a dinner banquet tonight in honor of Prime Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali. The dinner was attended by the official Egyptian delegation accompanying the prime minister and by ranking Romanian officials.

In a speech on the occasion, Kamal Hasan 'Ali expressed Egypt's admiration for Romania's stand on Egyptian efforts to find a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict. The prime minister called on all peace-loving countries to support the Jordanian-PLO agreement, adding that Egypt supports it because it is an important and positive development. Egypt's support reflects its belief that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, he said.

The prime minister pointed out that President Muhammad Husni Mubarak's initiative and intensive diplomatic efforts seek to provide new impetus to the peace process in the area and to arrive at a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian issue. This would permit the Palestinian people to regain their legitimate rights, the foremost of which is their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own confederated state; would bring about Israel's withdrawal from all of the territories it occupied in 1967; and would ensure the right of the existence to all of the area's states.

The prime minister said that Egypt is extremely concerned about the painful developments in the war that has been draining the human and material resources of Iraq and Iran for more than 4 years. Egypt is also very much concerned about the consequences of the current grave escalation in that war, which is threatening security and stability in the Gulf area in particular and in the entire Middle East region.

Kamal Hasan 'Ali added that Egypt calls upon the international community to act to persuade Iran to come to the negotiating table in the hope of sparing blood and saving its resources, as Iraq has already expressed its readiness to negotiate a peaceful settlement.

The prime minister declared that Egypt supports all efforts to put an end to the nuclear arms race, so that comprehensive peace may prevail in the world. Egypt has noted with satisfaction the resumption of the Geneva talks on nuclear arms,

and calls on both superpowers to do their utmost to achieve success and to restore hope to the world of a future that is free of the specter of war.

The prime minister pointed out that the Egyptian people, led by President Husni Mubarak, are currently confronting the challenges of development through hard work, implementing their 5-year developmental, economic, and social plan. This plan, initiated in 1983, seeks to upgrade the masses' standard of living and to achieve their goals.

He said that Egypt, as a Third World country, views the issue of development as its highest priority, defining it as an international issue requiring concerted efforts by the international community. He added that international economic cooperation has made it impossible for the Third World to achieve integrated development without being affected by the relationships governing the international economic situation. This, the prime minister added, has prompted Egypt to support the creation of a new international economic order.

The prime minister said that Egypt, as a founder and active member of the Nonaligned Movement, appreciates Romania's policy efforts to promote the atmosphere of peace and international cooperation that can enable the world to achieve successful economic and social development.

In his speech, the prime minister praised the close ties that link Egypt with Romanian and the two countries' strong relations, the result of summit meetings and the constant contacts between Presidents Mubarak and Ceausescu. He added that these contacts govern the course of their relations in the various economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields.

In conclusions, the prime minister expressed complete satisfaction with the continuing development in the two countries' relations, saying that these relations will continue to develop through joint action, and adding that his visit to Romania will contribute to the consolidation of joint cooperation.

In his response, the Romanian prime minister emphasized his country's appreciation of President Husni Mubarak's constructive efforts to find a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East situation. He stressed the need for Israel's withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967, and reaffirmed the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to an independent state, as well as confirming the rights of all of the region's countries.

The Romanian prime minister said that his country supports the convocation of an international conference under UN auspices, to be attended by all concerned parties, including the PLO.

He stressed the need for an end to the Iraq-Iran war. The Romanian prime minister also referred to current international issues, calling for support of the efforts of the developing countries to secure economic and social development. He also called for concerted efforts to prevent expanded production and proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The Romanian prime minister concluded his speech by praising the strong relations between Egypt and Romania. He praised Egypt's efforts to bolster development, and emphasized Romania's desire for close bilateral cooperation in various fields.

ROMANIA

RCP CC MESSAGE TO PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA

AU072005 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] To the Central Committee of the People's Party of Panama:

On the 55th anniversary of the creation of the People's Party of Panama [PPP] we convey to you, and all the militants of the party warm comradely greetings and best wishes for new successes in your activity, on behalf of the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Romanian Communists follow with keen interest and feelings of revolutionary solidarity the activity carried out by the PPP for defending the basic interests of the working people and promoting a process of social transformations in keeping with the Panamanian people's aspirations for liberty, national independence, well-being, and peace.

Under the conditions of the extremely tense current international situation, and the growing danger of war, the RCP believes that the fundamental issue of our times is to safeguard peace, to halt the dangerous course of events towards conflict and war, to halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. Under these circumstances, it is more necessary than ever to strengthen cooperation among all parties, revolutionary, democratic, and progressive political forces, and among peoples everywhere in the struggle for freedom, national independence, detente and cooperation, and for peace and progress.

We express our belief that the relations of close friendship and solidarity between the RCP and the PPP will continue to develop for the well-being of the Romanian and Panamanian peoples and the cause of peace, progress, and socialism.

The RCP Central Committee

CSO: 2700/145

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES CONGOLESE ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU111932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Bucharest, 11 Apr (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on 11 April Albert Servais Obiaka who presented his letters of credence as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of the Congo to Romania.

In his address on the occasion the ambassador expresses his country's willingness to further strengthen and develop the fine relations of economic cooperation with Romania, to consolidate the friendship between the two countries, parties and peoples. He is also highly appreciative of the foreign policy Romania has consistently promoted for a lasting peace, broad collaboration and understanding among all nations.

The Romanian head of state points in his address to Romania's determination to impart a still more dynamic course and a rich content to the Romanian-Congolese collaboration, in keeping with the understandings covenanted together with the leaders of the People's Republic of the Congo, with a view to carrying into effect the cooperation ventures enshrined in bilateral documents. He emphasizes that action must be taken more particularly for the intensification and growth of commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, on the basis of long-term agreements apt to confer on them stability and prospects.

Restating Romania's stance on world developments, the president shows that his country has a sustained activity on an international plane, taking firm action for the cessation of the arms race, for disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost, for the safeguarding of peace, which are major problems of our time. Developing broad relations with all states, the president also shows, [as received] Romania pays great attention to the consolidation of friendship and cooperation with the African states, with all the developing and nonaligned countries. We actively support those countries' efforts for independent socioeconomic development, and their people's fight for the abolition of colonial domination, against the imperialist, neocolonialist policies of domination and dictate, for the observance of each nation's right to self-reliant socioeconomic development.

The Congolese ambassador's accreditation occasioned (?an) exchange of warm salutes between President Nicolae Ceausescu and the president of the People's Republic of the Congo, Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU, SUDAN'S AL-DHAHAB EXCHANGE GREETINGS

AU152013 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 15 Apr 85

[Text] Khartoum, 14 Apr (AGERPRES)--Messages of friendship were exchanged between President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and General 'Abd al-Rahman Siwar al-Dhahab, commander-in-chief of the People's Armed Forces, chairman of the Military Transitional Council.

On the occasion, satisfaction was expressed for the deep-going friendly ties existing between the two countries and peoples, for their productive cooperation in all fields.

The two countries' resolve was also expressed to firmly work for the further development of economic and political links, of relations in other domains, in the interests of the Romanian and Sudanese peoples, for the intensification of their cooperation internationally, for a policy of peace, national independence and collaboration.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call paid on General 'Abd al-Rahman Siwar al-Dhahab by Gheorghe Airinei, Romanian ambassador in Khartoum.

CSO: 2020/118

23 May 1985

ROMANIA

## BUCHAREST REPORTS CEAUSESCU'S ARRIVAL IN OTTAWA

AUL51015 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0817 GMT 15 Apr 85

[Text] Ottawa, 15 Apr (AGERPRES)--Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Elena Ceausescu arrived on Sunday, 14 April, in Canada, for an official visit as guests of MME Jeanne Sauve, governor-general of that country, and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

The arrival ceremony took place at the upland military airport in Ottawa which was flying the state flags of Romania and Canada.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu were greeted by MME Jeanne Sauve, governor-general of Canada, and her husband Maurice Sauve, who cordially welcomed the messengers of the Romanian peoples. The distinguished guests and the hosts friendly shook hands, expressing satisfaction at that meeting in Canada, at the opportunity to conduct a dialogue.

The commander of the airport, Colonel W. I. Partington, invited President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu to the large area specially arranged for state honours presentation.

The state anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was played and a 21-gun salute was fired.

Canada's anthem was played after the Romanian President reviewed the guard of honour.

The visit of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu was recorded in the visitors' book of the airport as an event of outstanding importance. The distinguished guests were invited to sign the book.

The governor-general of Canada and Romania's president made addresses during the ceremony.

After the ceremony concluded the distinguished guests, accompanied by the governor-general of Canada, left the airport making for Ottawa.

The streets and avenues of the Canadian capital were adorned with the state flags of Romania and Canada.

At the Government Palace--the residence assigned to the Romanian guest for their Canadian sojourn--President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu cordially conversed with Governor-General Jeanne Sauve and M. Maurice Sauve.

An event of outstanding importance in the history of the multilateral relations between Romania and Canada, the new Romanian-Canadian summit dialogue is meant to help expanding and deepening the mutually advantageous cooperation, to the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of international peace, detente and understanding. The Canadian visit by the Romanian president emphasizes the two states' wish to strengthen their collaboration in the world arena, thus contributing to the building of a climate of peace and security, to the settlement of the complex issues of contemporary world in the interests of all peoples.

CSO: 2020/118

23 May 1985

## ROMANIA

## CEAUSESCU VISITS MONTREAL ENTERPRISES

AU181444 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1426 GMT 18 Apr 85

[Text] Bucharest 18 Apr (AGERPRES)--On 17 April, before leaving Canada, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu visited two big, representative industrial units of the Canadian economy: the nuclear electric power station "Gentilly II" and the "C. A. Electronics Ltd." enterprise in Montreal.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu were greeted by Michel Benoit, vice-president of the "Hydro Quebec" company, by other representatives of that company. At the electric nuclear station the hosts presented technical data on the construction and operation of that unit similar to the one which is being built in Romania at Cernavoda and showed they were interested in cooperating with Romania in this field and thought highly of Romania's concerns over the fulfillment of nuclear programmes.

The wish to expand and deepen the cooperation with Romania was also expressed during the tour of the "C. A. Electronics Ltd." The firm delivered a series of command and control systems for the Romanian Atomo-Electric Plant at Cernavoda. The experts of the firm who had finely cooperated with their Romanian colleagues showed their interest in further broadening and deepening the cooperation and collaboration in mutually advantageous conditions.

Romania's president thanked for the hospitable reception and wished those companies a good cooperation with similar enterprises in Romania, with Romanian experts, in the application of peak technologies in electronic industry and nuclear energetics.

During the visit in Montreal, the mayor of the city, Jean Drapeau, gave a luncheon in honour of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of Elena Ceausescu.

CSO: 2020/118

23 May 1985

## ROMANIA

## LENIN'S 115TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY MARKED

AU192128 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1839 GMT 19 Apr 85

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Apr (AGERPRES)--The 115th birth anniversary of V. I. Lenin was marked in Romania's capital city through a festive meeting held on 19 April by the Bucharest City Committee of the RCP.

The meeting was attended by Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Vasile Vilcu, chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the RCP, activists of the CC of the RCP, party members since the years of underground activity, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of mass and public organizations, scientists and men of letters, workers, engineers and technicians of Bucharest enterprises, representatives of youth organizations, officers and soldiers.

Present also was the ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, E. M. Tvazhelnikov.

Ion Mitran, member of the CC of the RCP, editor-in-chief of the newspaper SCINTEIA, spoke about V. I. Lenin's personality and revolutionary activity.

Showing that the Leninist theory of the victory of socialist revolution was fully corroborated by the remarkable results obtained by the peoples of the Soviet Union in all spheres of socialist construction over the seventy years or so that elapsed since October 1917, the speaker said that nowadays the USSR was playing a highly significant role in the international life, in the contemporary social development as a whole. He further showed that the Romanian Communist Party's experience confirmed the rectitude of the Leninist principle of continuous advancement of the revolutionary theory, emphasizing that an essential factor of the RCP policy's success, of the victories the Romanian people scored under its leadership in the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation forty years ago, in the building of the new social system was its capacity of applying general laws of social development to the specific conditions in Romania, of optimally solving the complex problems of the socialist revolution and construction.

The speaker referred then to the manysided Romanian-Soviet relations stressing that they expanded remarkably, in the interests of the two countries, of the cause of socialism and international cooperation. A decisive role in that respect

has been played by summit meetings and talks, the understandings reached during the recent interview between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev, the speaker said. He also mentioned that the expansion and deepening of ties of friendship and collaboration with all socialist countries, with the neighbour ones in particular, had been given priority by the RCP, and that Romania also developed relations with all the world countries, in keeping with peaceful coexistence.

At the end of his address the speaker highlighted that Romania devoted all its energies to safeguard peace, freeing Europe and the world from the nuclear threat. In that context he also mentioned that Romania welcomed the beginning of Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons, being highly appreciative of the Soviet Union's decision to set up a moratorium on the development of medium-range missiles and cancel the application of other measures in Europe. He also stressed that the Romanian people just as all the other people expected the United States to positively answer that initiative so as a climate of confidence be built in the international arena.

After the festive meeting, the participants saw a documentary and a pictorial exhibition dedicated to V. I. Lenin's life and activity.

The same day, the ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, E. M. Tyazhelnikov, organized a friendly meeting to mark the event, which was attended by Petru Enache, Vasile Vilcu, activists of the CC of the RCP, executives in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association, representatives of central institutions of mass and public organizations, generals, officers and journalists.

The exhibition "The CPSU's Peace-Loving Leninist Foreign Policy in Motion" was also opened in the Romanian capital. Organized by the "V. I. Lenin" Central Museum and the TASS News Agency, the exhibition mirrors V. I. Lenin's foreign policy guidelines through several pictures of the time, copies of party and state documents, international conventions and treaties, posters and others. It is also illustrative of the Soviet Union's contribution to the defeat of Hitler's Germany which led to the great victory on 9 May 1945, as well as of the CPSU and the Soviet state's international activity, in the years which followed, for the maintenance of peace. The exhibition also casts light on the lastingness of friendly links between the RCP and the CPSU, between Romania and the USSR.

CSO: 2020/118

23 May 1985

ROMANIA

## DELEGATE ADDRESSES GENEVA DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

AU221937 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1852 GMT 22 Apr 85

[Text] Geneva, 22 Apr (AGERPRES)--The Romanian delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference pointed out the need, under the current international circumstances, for all the efforts to be made in view of intensifying the activity of the international bodies and conferences dealing with disarmament, security and collaboration in the European continent and throughout the world.

Approaching problems related to the conclusion of an international convention on banning the chemical weapons, that is currently under debate in one of the special committees of the conference and in three working groups, the Romanian delegation showed that there has to be made a passage to discussing the text proper of the convention, with the participation of all the countries member in the conference, and that to this end the working groups should be turned into groups to do the concrete wording of the convention text.

The Romanian delegation asked that to this end a greater number of experts of international organizations and research institutes should assist the conference on the technical problems posed by negotiating the text of a convention.

CSO: 2020/118

ROMANIA

CEAULESCU MEETS DPRK TRADE UNION LEADER

AU241946 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1904 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Apr (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Kim Pong-chu, member of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, head of the federation's delegation, who is paying a visit of friendship and swap of experience to Romania at the invitation of the GTUCR [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions] Central Council.

The interview occasioned a cordial exchange of greetings between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il.

During the interview, which passed in a warm comradely atmosphere, satisfaction was expressed at the fine relations of friendship and close cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples, including the trade unions in the two countries, which keep developing in keeping with the agreements reached by Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song. The conviction was expressed that multiple possibilities existed for the further expansion of the cooperation between Romania and Democratic Korea in economy, science and technology and culture, in the interests of both peoples, of the general cause of peace and socialism.

During the talk, Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated the solidarity of the Romanian people with the just struggle of the Korean people and stressed the active support to Kim Il-song's proposals regarding the reunification and creation of an independent and peaceful Korea, to the latter's recent initiatives for a negotiated settlement of the Korean issue.

In behalf of the Korean party and state leadership, the guest thanked Nicolae Ceausescu, the Romanian party and government, our whole people for the assistance granted to the struggle for the homeland's peaceful and independent unification.

On approaching current issues of the international situation, they stressed that trade unions should intensify their efforts and mobilize the masses to the struggle against the arms race, the peril of an atomic catastrophe, in defense of people's supreme right to live in freedom and dignity, in peace.

CSO: 2020/118

ROMANIA

DAILY MARKS ISRAEL'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

AU261605 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] On 25 April Israel marks the 38th anniversary of the proclamation of its independence--the national day of the country. Israel is situated on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, junction of the roads which connect three continents, where throughout history outstanding civilizations have flourished. During its almost 4 decades of state existence, Israel has gone through a rapid process of economic development. Utilizing scientific and technical discoveries, the new state succeeded in creating a developed industry and an intensive agriculture, facts that contributed to a notable increase of the national income; at the same time outstanding achievements were registered in the fields of science, technology, culture and other sectors of activity.

The efforts of the Israeli people aimed at socioeconomic progress, as well as the efforts made in the same respect by other peoples of the region, are nevertheless seriously affected by the continuing Middle East conflict, whose consequences have been the waste of huge resources for military purposes--generating permanent instability, distrust, and tension, in addition to having serious implications in the economic and financial fields. Therefore, achieving an overall just and lasting solution to this conflict is a major requirement of the international situation, which could enable all the people in the region to concentrate all their energies on the aims of peaceful and constructive work.

In the spirit of its consistent policy of peaceful coexistence with all countries, regardless of their social system, Romania has established economic and political relations with Israel, in keeping with mutual interests and the requirements for understanding and cooperation among peoples. Between the two countries, high-level contacts and contacts at various other levels have taken place, and these have contributed to examining the possibilities of developing bilateral relations and occasioned the reassertion of Romania's steadfast, principled, and realistic position regarding the solutions, solely through negotiations, to the Middle East conflict. As is well known, our country speaks out for achieving a durable peace, which should lead to Israel's withdrawing from Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war, to resolving the Palestinian people's problems--on the basis of its right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent Palestinian state--and to ensuring the existence and integrity of all countries

in the region, including Israel. Romania believes that an important role, in this respect, should be played by an international peace conference for the Middle East, under the UN aegis, with the participation of all interested countries including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as the USSR, the United States, and possibly other countries which could make a contribution to achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Guided by such principled positions, our country believes that finding just and durable solutions to the Middle East problems would mean a major contribution to the cause of international peace, progress, and prosperity of all peoples living in this part of the world.

CSO: 2700/145

23 May 1985

## ROMANIA

## CEAUSESCU RECEIVES PRC ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU241912 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Apr (AGERPRES)--Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received on 24 April Yu Hongliang, who presented his credentials as ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Romania.

Handing over the credentials the ambassador conveyed to Nicolae Ceausescu most cordial greetings and feelings of high consideration from Hu Yaobang, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Central Consultative Commission of the Chinese Communist Party; Li Xiannian, president of the People's Republic of China; Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

In the address presented on the occasion the ambassador reviewed the fruitful collaboration between Romania and the People's Republic of China on a political, economic, technological, scientific, cultural and other planes and stressed the outstanding role played in the development of these relations by the frequent exchanges of visits between the party and state leaders of the two countries and especially by the visit paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the People's Republic of China and the visits paid to Romania by Hu Yaobang and Li Xiannian, which promoted the relations of friendly collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples onto a new, higher stage. Expressed was also the wish to further make efforts for the strengthening of the Chinese-Romanian friendship and for the further development of the relations of collaboration between the two countries. Assessed highly in the address was also the foreign policy promoted by Romania which campaigned steadily for the observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, mutual advantage, non-interference in internal affairs, for detente in international life, for peace and cooperation in Europe and the world over. It was also stressed that the principled position of the RCP and Romanian Government on the complex issues facing mankind was highly regarded by the peoples the world over.

Thanking for the message conveyed, Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed in turn to Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and Zhao Ziyang a warm salute and best wishes.

The address of reply of the Romanian head of state showed great satisfaction at the steady development of the relations of close friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, appreciating that a decisive role in the strengthening of those relations was played by the summit meetings and talks in Bucharest and Beijing, the understandings reached on such

opportunities, which every time gave new impacts to the Romanian-Chinese collaboration on multiple planes. Expressed was also the confidence that in future as well the principal, economic, technological, scientific and cultural relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China, as well as the collaboration between the two parties would develop continuously in the interests and to the benefit of both peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace.

The address also showed that Romania steadily promotes on an external plane a firm policy of peace and broad collaboration, actively participating in the constructive settlement of the complex issues facing contemporary mankind, in the struggle for the defense of the people [as received] and nations' right to life, to peace, to free, independent and dignified existence. At the same time, Romania's determination was expressed to work in future as well for strengthening her collaboration with the People's Republic of China both on a bilateral plane and in the world arena, in the struggle for the settlement in the people's interest of the major issues of contemporary world, for disarmament and peace, for the building of a better and more just world on our planet.

After the presentation ceremony, President Nicolae Ceausescu cordially conversed with the ambassador of the People's Republic of China, Yu Hongliang.

CSO: 2020/118

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO AFGHANISTAN'S KARMAL

AU291038 Bucharest SCINTELA in Romanian 27 Apr 85 p 6

[Text] To Comrade Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul

On the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the April Revolution, the National Day of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, I convey to you cordial congratulations and comradely greetings as well as best wishes for health and personal happiness, and to the friendly Afghan people I wish peace and progress on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf.

I express my belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and between the RCP and the PDPA will further develop in future for the benefit of the Romanian and Afghan people and for the cause of peace and cooperation throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

CSO: 2700/145

ROMANIA

MANESCU ADDRESSES PARIS INTERNATIONAL MEETING

AU291958 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 29 Apr 85

[Text] Paris, 29 Apr (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook and initiatives regarding major international issues were set forth at the international meeting [of prominent political figures and former heads of state] in Paris by Manea Manescu, vice-president of the State Council of Romania.

Emphasis was placed on the Romanian head of state's outlook according to which the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost, as a prerequisite for the ensurance of peace and security and the guaranteeing of the people's vested right to peace, life, economic and social progress, were major problems of our days.

The importance was underscored Romania [as received] attaches to the implementation of tangible measures of building up confidence and of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in particular, in Europe.

In connection with the international economic situation, the speaker set forth Romania's stance on the need to narrow economic gaps, eradicate underdevelopment, and solve the developing countries' external debt problem, showing that the phenomena of crisis in the world economy and the considerable deterioration of the situation in poor countries required the establishment of a real cooperation and the holding of genuine negotiations between developed and developing countries on the aggregate of problems facing the world economy as well as the taking of specific steps toward establishing a new international economic order.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook and initiatives regarding the major problems of the international political and economic life were received with keen interest by participants. The Romanian president's steps and proposals for a solution to cardinal international problems like disarmament, security and peace, the development and establishment of new-type interstate relations founded on equity and justice were highly appreciated. Numerous participants were highly appreciative of the Romanian head of state's in-depth analysis of fundamental aspects of the contemporary international life, pointing to the realism of his proposals for the resolution of the major problems confronting mankind nowadays.

During the meeting the appeal was circulated the Romanian Parliament addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic, the Congress of the United States of America, the parliaments of all European states and Canada, which was received with special interest. [sentence as received]

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

ISRAEL NATIONAL DAY MESSAGE--To His Excellency, Mr Chaim Herzog, president of the State of Israel: On the occasion of the national day of the State of Israel, I take particular pleasure in conveying to you warm greetings and best wishes for health and personal happiness, and to the Israeli people I wish peace and prosperity. Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Apr 85 p 5]

CABLES TO DPRK--Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the SR of Romania, sent a congratulatory cable to Vice Marshal O-Chun-U, minister of the People's Armed Forces of the DPRK on the 53d anniversary of the DPRK Army Day. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Apr 85 p 5]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO DENMARK--By presidential decree, Comrade Cornelia Filipas has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Romania to Denmark, replacing Comrade Stana Dragoi, who has been recalled. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Apr 85 p 5 AU]

ROMANIAN-BRITISH SESSION, PROTOCOL--The 12th session of the Joint Government Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technological Cooperation between the SR of Romania and Great Britain has ended in London. The session examined the current stage of bilateral economic relations and established further action to increase and diversify trade. It also examined ways and means of implementing the document provisions on Romanian-British cooperation in aeronautics, on achieving cooperation ventures of common interest in other fields, too, and on cooperation ventures in third markets. A protocol was signed by Ion Stanciu, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and John Hunter, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Trade and Industry. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Apr 85 p 6 AU]

DASCALESKU MESSAGE TO ISRAEL--Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, has sent a cable to the prime minister of the State of Israel, Shim'on Peres, conveying him greetings and wishes for health and happiness on the occasion of the National Day of the State of Israel. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Apr 85 p 5]

U.S. 'DEFENSE UNIVERSITY' DELEGATION--Bucharest, 2 May (AGERPRES)--The group of cadres and students of the United States National Defense University who visited Romania over 28 April-1 May, left Bucharest on Wednesday. While in Romania, the guests were received at the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, the Association of International Law and International Relations, and visited the Military Academy, the Central Military Museum, economic units and touristic sites. [Text]  
[Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 2 May 85]

GREEK NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION--Bucharest, 27 Mar (AGERPRES)--Marking the national day of the Hellenic Republic Dhimitrios Serbos, the Bucharest ambassador of that country, gave a reception, on 27 March. The mayor general of Bucharest, Gheorghe Pana, Deputy Prime Minister Ion Avram, ministers, representatives of ministries and central institutions, men of culture and art and journalists participated. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1343 GMT 27 Mar 85 AU]

CANADIAN GREETINGS--Ottawa, 9 Apr (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, sent a message to William Kashtan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, whereby he addresses the latter wishes of good health, happiness and new successes in the activity of the Communist Party of Canada. Thanking, William Kashtan asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed the warmest greetings and wishes of good health and happiness, of other more important successes in the activity of implementing the resolutions endorsed by the 13th RCP Congress, as well as wishes of prosperity to the Romanian people. The exchange of messages took place when the general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada received Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party Collegium, representative of the Romanian Communist Party to the 26th convention of the Communist Party of Canada. [Text]  
[Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 9 Apr 85]

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YUGOSLAVIA

## MEMORIAL MARKERS; COMING TO TERMS WITH WARTIME PAST

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 85 pp 14-18

[Article by Nikola Djordjevic with Oliver Petrovic and Marko Lopusin:  
"Traitors and Graves"]

[Text] The remark that "our past is entirely unknown" (Vitezovic) is no longer a joke: the advocacy of national forgiveness of quislingism which has shaken Yugoslavia for months now is in effect knocking at an open door. It seems that it is not enough that pardon was granted long ago to those who did not dip their hands up to the elbows in blood in helping the occupier and that they are today full-fledged citizens of Yugoslavia. In the name of preserving the nations there is also a demand for ideological reconciliation, which experience teaches us leads only to refrains of "Serbians unite!" and "Serbians stand firm" repeated at least eight times over. To sum up: in the lament over the group of White Guards and Domobran [Home Guard] members whom the allies handed over to members of the Liberation Front in 1945 and were executed by the latter after a brief trial in Kocevski Rog, Ljubljana political scientist Spomenka Hribar in 1984 offers the following expiation. "In the center, in the very heart, of Ljubljana, there should stand an obelisk which would shout to the skies the tragedy of a minor people which in the struggle for its existence became simultaneously its own judge and executioner by an incomprehensible quirk of human fate. This obelisk should bear the simple inscription 'they died for their country.' They did indeed die for their country, each for his own as he imagined it."

(At about the same time political as well as public opinion in Ljubljana, sporadic voices for the most part, the loudest among them individual prominent veterans, expressed opposition to erecting a monument to the partisans who liberated the capital of Slovenia!)

A little over a year earlier a Belgrade poet, Ljubomir Simovic, walked around the field of battle between the partisans and Chetniks on Jelova Mountain in 1944, bringing away these verses from his "pilgrimage": Throughout these woods and meadows/over the gorges and the vales/no one knows how many thousands/upon thousands perished here./But we know that/not one of those resting under the grass/was slain by the hand of godfather, father, son/or brother."

Then the recruits march out of Duvno: "Comrade Tito, for you a Fiat I'll buy, but a Mercedes for Ante Pavelic." Then there is the Christmas eve fever in Split, where youth leaders struggle with "smoking," while a group of 14 or so of their flock on the street strive to outsing each other about the splendor of the Madrid mausoleum of the "leader of the Croats" (they also toast the "Serb from Knin," and from it an echo of the bar room quartet: "That glory around Mount Dinar is a cockade on my father's head").

Specific application of musicology ("the time has come to change the shepherd's flute back into a club") is the pursuit in a Parisian journal of Belgrade scholarship student Milan Mladenovic, who in an article entitled "The next war of Draza Mihajlovic or the Salonikans again between Serbs" argues that the Chetnik leader "was no traitor; he was betrayed" and predicts (in Omen IV) that "Serbia will soon praise Draza Mihajlovic side by side with Milos Obilic."

And at a conference on creative work and cultural policy in the Writers' Association of Serbia there was almost a call for "national reconciliation" or a "halt to the civil war that has been going on for 40 years now" and "a halt to adoption of moral political attitudes toward the buried past."

The lone voice on the scene opposing the latter proposition ("We know how this platform of national rallying of forces ended in the Second World War") was that of Radivoje Cveticanin, executive secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, who was present. But some days later, at the 19th meeting of the Serbian Central Committee, he again was the only one to react to this topic.

As a matter of fact, if we except the extensive Slovene polemic against the idea of a common memorial to the partisans and the quislings (see INTERVJU No 95), only the militia and magistrates seem to have displayed the unshakable revolutionary disposition of the Yugoslav people. For example, many competent conversationalists (politicians and scientists) have refused to help us in preparation of this article on various pretexts, including, believe it or not, "no time available." When we persisted, we encountered silence even on the Federal Committee of SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Associations of the National Liberation War] of Yugoslavia, which, if not the only one, is at least the leading sociopolitical organization which should have something to say on the subject.

#### Dangerous Books

As a matter of fact, Cveticanin was recently joined by the chairman of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia, Mika Spiljak, when at the Croatian Assembly Delegates' Club he assigned the escalation of national grievances described to the arsenal of the special war waged against Yugoslavia by by hostile emigres and the extreme left wing. But 2 weeks before Spiljak, the chairman of the Republic conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Croatia, Stipe Oreskovic, had offered a somewhat different explanation. Speaking as it happened in Split, at a topical conference of the regional committee of the League of Socialist Youth devoted to the material situation of students, while condemning the "Christmas gang" referred to, he also remarked the following:

"As a society we should give thought to the question of whether young people are exclusively to blame when they resort to extremism. It is incomprehensible that in 1984 not a single assembly, from the federal to the community level, discussed questions of vital concern to young people in the current situation. Such a situation can result in dissatisfaction which might be resolved in the streets unless it is resolved by the self-management approach."

At the same time, Oreskovic finds a link obviously missing here in domestic newspapers, on speakers' platforms, and in books, where the vanquished, "socialist bishops and priests having fiefdoms of their own in academies and university departments" launch their own view of history seemingly with no restrictions.

Dr Branko Petranovic, professor of Yugoslav history in the department of philosophy of Belgrade University, agreed on another occasion, in an essay bearing just this title (MARKSISTICKA MISAO 4/83), that is is a question of "disintegration of historical awareness of the revolution." The difference is that he sees the origins of this process in the crumbling of the "monolithic structure" of our social organization and political power since the end of the 1960's and beginning of the 1970's.

Up to that time, he writes, official historiography had been exclusively a part of the prevailing ideology, an instrument of policy, a collection of essentially accurate but onesided, simplified, collective concepts and worn-out models which, through immoderate eulogies of the victor and unhistorical rejection of the consciousness of the previous societal period, have the object exclusively of defending the status quo. Such a history of course recognizes no crises or conflicts, records no obvious lags, failures, or exaltation of personal power, but on the contrary depersonalizes responsibility. Simultaneously, as another extremity, there is the vegetating suppressed consciousness of the opposition in various societal groups (religious, national, social), it as well irrational, mixed with errors from the past.

The opening of the Pandora's box about 15 years ago consequently created an opportunity for the scientific (so-called rational) approach to history, but the remnants of previous concepts (official and unofficial) still obscure perspectives, and this duality also distinguishes the modern concept of revolution. But according to Petranovic emigres do not at all make such an essential contribution to this situation as does, on the one hand, "the segment of the people accustomed to monolithic harmony," full of unjustified concern that allusion to previously suppressed events and details will threaten "the great truth about the revolution," and on the other the highly influential consciousness of the 1.25 million former members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or League of Communists of Yugoslavia who left the party over the last 2 to 3 decades. These former members, embittered, disenchanted, despised, stigmatized, rejected, and avid for revenge, now see an opportunity for demonstrating the correctness of their determinations, especially if the party has arrived at the same conclusions.

All this, states Petranovic, is further complicated by the establishment of national structures, which, based on emancipated republic statist centers, act in ways of their own; by the party, which inclines toward federalism; and by the undue emphasis on national organization in the political system of Yugoslavia.

"In short," we are told by historian Jovan Pavicevic, the idea about 'national reconciliation' did not fall from the sky. They are instigated above all by the current national euphoria. This is the result of a policy which has identified national self-assertion with statehood and has preferred it to class self-assertion, whereby some fundamental material benefits of the revolution are threatened and in this its natural environment the counter-revolution does not seem to be so terrible, especially to the young people who did not experience it.

This is in fact what Petranovic also thinks. "The younger generations are compelled to acquire knowledge of the great crises of Yugoslav history in a rather chaotic manner. Knowledge of the revolution is not of satisfactory quality for youth."

More than persuasive indication of this has also been given by examination of Yugoslav history textbooks for intermediate schools by a joint team of the departments of philosophy of the universities of Zagreb and Belgrade. On the one hand, national history is forced into oblivion (the textbook on Serbia less the provinces), and on the other, through constant emphasis on the "foreign factor" and the "element of enslavement," a feeling of inferiority is intensified and in a veiled manner nationalistic tension is maintained (the textbooks on Croatia, Macedonia, and Kosovo), assert the experts on this team.

"Precisely for this reason," adds a member of the same research team, Dr Djordje Stankovic, "it is no wonder that history has always played an important part in winning over of young people on the occasion of nationalistic upheavals in Yugoslavia since the war. This has been the case precisely on the plane of revaluation of one's own feudal and personal myths."

#### Complicated Times

Colonel General Mihajlo Apostolski, an academician, asks the rhetorical question, "what have we done at all to explain our revolution to the world at large and to our young people? We have left it to others to write about us. We have not found the strength to pool our efforts to elaborate the history of Yugoslavia, at least in the 19th and 20th centuries, when the movements for rapprochement among the Yugoslav nations were the strongest. Work on this project began 30 years ago, but only 2 volumes were published and the work came to a halt. Why? This is now becoming clear to us."

But this attitude toward our own past in reality dates from a much earlier time and constitutes a separate history in itself. As early as 1887 Archimandrite Ilarion Ruvarac, the founder of the critical school of Serbian

history, complains in his essay "O knezu Lazaru" [On Prince Lazar]: "So has it ever been! The inhabitants of Serbia proper and the Serbs have worked, have joined themselves together, and have performed works of heavenly and earthly glory, and the Bulgars have sung and written about these glorious and most commendable works of the Serb, compiled the first book about kings and the first genealogy of a Serbian nobleman, and written the lives of the Serbian saints; when all of them, conscious or unconscious of their origin, the Bulgarians had written all these literary works, what did the Serbs then do? Have I not told you already what the Serbs did, and have you really already forgotten what it was to be a Serb? From age to age the Serb has been a heroic figure."

To make matters worse, we live both in complicated space and in complicated times. From the viewpoint with which we are especially concerned here, without question in the most complicated place in this world and the most complicated time of the century.

To put it more precisely, "the 20th century is a century of radical struggles," we are told by Dr Andrej Mitrovic, professor of general history at the department of philosophy of Belgrade University. "Never before in the history of the world have the ideals of peace, cooperation, and truth been so important and so clearly articulated. At the same time, the struggles are such that these same ideals in the name of which struggle is waged are violated more readily, more frequently, and savagely than ever before. Contemporary society, the most complex one that has ever existed, increasingly packed with intermediate strata, by its very nature generates this radicalism. Similarly, not until the 20th century was awareness formed of a new era, one which people will fashion through their own activities. No previous revolution, not even the French Revolution, had this characteristic. In this century we encounter for the first time political parties whose programs are projections of a new and better society. And, of course, the counterrevolution reacts much more radically to all this, in keeping with the times."

#### "More Royalist Than the King"

And so there was a Hitler and a Mussolini. There was unprecedented bestiality, death factories in the form of concentration camps which were literally factories, since they were maintained by big capital, which profited by them. All this aggravates to the point of irreconcilability the relationships of the sides involved in the civil war, since revolution is also always civil war. This irreconcilability also determines the future attitude of the victors toward the vanquished, something which is also a special trait of our age. Earlier social upheavals overcame this antagonism relatively rapidly, with no danger to posterity.

"In our case," continued Dr Mitrovic, this chasm between revolution and counterrevolution is even deeper, since the counterrevolution itself was very disunited. There was a breakdown of classifications (national, religious, and historical) which had been in existence for millennia, and every attempt at rehabilitation of the vanquished revives those misunderstandings which otherwise the liberation movement alone overcame and thus conquered."

There are still some misunderstandings. For example, the 40 years of historical perspective have not enabled scientists or the participants in the war to decide confidently among themselves the answer to one of the essential questions: was our struggle preeminently a war of national liberation or preeminently a revolution, and what was there more of? The question is not a naive one; the degree of accountability of the vanquished and the victors, among other things, depends on the answer.

"Let us assume the following," says Nikola Bugarcic, member of the presidium of the Serbian Republic OBNOR committee.

"If things are simplified to such an extent that armed conflicts in wartime are here interpreted exclusively as settling of scores between two camps of different ideological orientations (as a civil war between classes), the conqueror could of course be asked why, at least for humane reasons, he is not capable after so many years of rising above this curse of tragic divisions of the past. However, in a country which lost its independence and was divided by four occupying armies, the internal forces were distinguished primarily on the basis of whether or not they fought against the occupier and for liberation or collaborated with him (irrespective of whether for national, religious, or class reasons). Let us not forget that the various quisling formations here numbered 500,000 persons. This is our 'contribution' to fascism. Thanks above all to them, Yugoslavia was a scene of monstrous betrayals and genocides resulting in 1.7 million victims. Consequently, can we even consider the same treatment for those slain at Jasenovac or the Sumadija village of Darosavo and their butchers? It would be the same as killing again those driven to the scaffold by their patriotism. 'More royalist than the king', as the saying goes. This must not be forgotten."

Oblivion in Bronze

Dr Rene Lovrencic, professor at the department of philosophy of Zagreb University, continues:

"It has in principle not been possible for wars to be humane, and it is unreasonable to expect them to be, but what happened in our country is among some of the worst excesses known in Europe, except for Poland and some parts of Russia. But while there the Germans were at work, and here it was an invasion of foreign occupiers, there was truly heavy pressure for domestic settling of scores, a unique explosion of long accumulated prejudices, antipathies, and hatreds. It assumed such horrible forms in our country, with such a considerable number of participants, that no national or any kind of reconciliation with it is feasible. Nor are joint memorials at all logical in this case. The monument which Franco erected in memory of his own followers and of the republicans was merely a demagogic act performed not after the civil war but after the Second World War, when fascism had suffered a moral defeat. Hence we do not see how this can be compared at all to our situation."

Historian Dr Drago Roksandic, a docent at Belgrade university, born in 1948, says that "it is no wonder that advocates of war 'oblivion' are so loud. There are so many places of execution in Yugoslavia which are not marked, so

many of them with which calculations of one kind or another are performed, with improbably great differences between the minimum and maximum versions only when Jasehovac is involved. My birthplace, for example, is known to many people only for the massacre in the Orthodox church there in 1941. Far fewer know, even in Glina, that there were five large-scale massacres in the same region in the same year, mostly before the uprising. The entire village of Bucicko Tabariste, for example, was massacred on the night of 28/29 November. 250 people were killed. Not even newborn babies were spared. And how many marked massacre sites there are which are in such a miserable condition that they always cause pain and rage again in those who have not forgotten. Lastly, it sometimes seems to me that the greatest 'forgetfulness' is to be found where there is the most concrete and bronze, and it really is not clear what sense there is in that."

All this, we are told by Lieutenant Colonel Antun Miletic, chief of the Military Historical Archives and chairman of the SANU [Serbian Academy of Science and Art] subcommittee for study of genocide in the Second World War, does not at all mean that the partisans were tender in skirmishes ("They carried both firearms and side arms. They did not fire pea-shooters.") Although Tito, supreme commander of the People's Liberation Army and the Yugoslav Partisan Detachments directed as early as 8 November 1941 that we were not to respond with the same measures to the enemy's threat of the death penalty for crimes, there were nevertheless excesses. It is difficult to remain composed when you see your village put to the torch and parents, wife, and children killed. Even incomplete data show that the enemy shot, hanged, butchered, or blew up 15,172 women and 9136 children (21,928 women and 6691 children were tortured and mistreated). In Slovenia alone the occupier and the traitors liquidated about 19,400 civilians for the sake of frightening and reprisal. Lastly, 305,000 soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army lost their lives in combat.

And how did we get revenge?

"According to official, unpublished data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Information Directorate of the Yugoslav government, as of 15 May 1945 the Yugoslav army had 341,515 prisoners of war, including 221,287 occupation force members and 120,228 traitors. They were amnestied and pardoned by the presidium of AVNOJ (on 3 August 1945), by the decision of the Yugoslav government on final repatriation (9 May 1945) and by numerous releases following petition. Some of them died, and some escaped.

"To be more precise, by 18 January 1949 209,669 occupation troops were repatriated; 6215 died, 4225 signed employment contracts, and 1178 had been sentenced or were under investigation. As regards the traitors (ustashas and Independent State of Croatia home guards, Slovene home guards, chetniks, Moslem militias, legionnaires, Nedic guards and volunteers, Volksdeutsche, vermahahtovci, etc), in August 1945 101,335 were either amnestied or released following petition (55,000 of them were assigned to Yugoslav Army labor battalions). Only 18,873 were sentenced to execution, and by the end of February 1946 this number was reduced to only 11,096 persons.

The low figures are also explained by the wartime amnesties. On the reasonable assumption that not all collaborators with the occupiers and occupying troops were where they were by their own choice or out of conviction, on several occasions Supreme Headquarters issued proclamations inviting them to join the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army by 15 September 1944. Many responded, individually and in groups, as well as entire formations including commanding personnel (most of whom were not even demoted; this was the policy). Consequently, persons who failed to act thus by this date were considered to be traitors of their country. And war criminals, of course. The Supreme Headquarters proclamations did not apply to them.

"Special treatment of war criminals," says Lieutenant Colonel Miletic, "was also required by the Moscow Convention of 30 October 1943, at which the allies decided that 'occupier criminals and their abettors are to be returned to the country of their crimes, to be tried under the laws of that country.'" Lists of these crimes and their perpetrators, by surname and given name, were drawn up in Yugoslavia by a government commission headed by Professor Dr Dusan Nedeljkovic. The work of this commission was paralleled by the work of regional commissions in the republics and provinces. Their findings had the force of law."

#### Applause of the Condemned

In the aggregate, according to Dr Gozze Vuko Gucetic (who retired in 1982 as federal public prosecutor), about 200,000 persons in Yugoslavia were found guilty of treason and collaboration with the occupying power.

"I myself, as presiding judge of the court martial in Mostar, sentenced only 5000 of them at the end of the war and immediately thereafter. My conscience is clean, since there were no reprisals. However, there is no judiciary without error, and so we as well condemned innocent people. But most often the condemned persons themselves applauded us. Literally. Especially since every traitor was entitled and enabled to become a full-fledged citizen after serving out his sentence. I think that this is more a kind of pardon, the farthest a court could go in coming to terms with their treason. And really, it is entirely satisfactory. The national liberation war and the revolution were not a chess match after which the opponents could shake hands like gentlemen. Moreover, for the most part the people did not ostracize these persons, and no one demanded that they do so. However, as I recall, for some time Yugoslav People's Army officers were not allowed to take as wives women from the families of traitors, and each of them had to obtain permission to marry. Of course, this was not the right thing to do, and it was not official policy. Even in wartime, and later, our principle was that children were not to be held accountable for the sins of their fathers. Nor did we take revenge on the dead. We buried a large number of those condemned to death following their execution, but whenever the family of a deceased person requested it, I personally always gave permission for their taking the body and burying it themselves. Admittedly, they could do this only at night, without a funeral, and thus without public honors, but with the right to mark the grave.

Only permission was never given to inscribe the symbol of the traitor forces on the tombstone, or words in support of the persons buried, since this would be displaying solidarity with their deeds and a sort of propaganda of treason."

#### The Stake

"Such, almost verbatim, is the wording today of republic and province laws on burial and graves; they prohibit data, photographs, inscriptions, and other identifying marks of membership of a deceased person in enemy movements. And this is all that is prohibited. No more and no less. Of course, the laws are there to be violated. Ever so often, and cross my heart more and more frequently, the newspapers report an ode to a notorious criminal found inscribed on a marble tombstone."

#### A vampire ball?

At least thus did people in Montenegro last year misunderstand this, and they sharpened their burial procedure law into a stake. Graves of enemies of the National Liberation War henceforth may not be marked at all, in any manner, even with the name of the deceased. The law is even retroactive: existing tombstones and memorials to such persons erected in the past (there are about 300 of them) must be removed within a period of 1 year. Every person who disregards this provision is to be punished under article 17 (subsection 1, paragraph 3) of the republic law on public order and peace, with 2 months of imprisonment. And so, in January 1985 (Orwell was a little premature) we read that the Dujovic brothers must serve this sentence because they inscribed the name of their father (a chetnik) on their mother's tombstone. The decision of the Titograd municipal court regarding the offense was confirmed all along the line, up to the Supreme Court of Montenegro. In the meantime, on the initiative of the 2 condemned men the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia convened and decided that there was no need to review the constitutionality of the article 17 in question.

"Traitors are traitors, and graves must remain graves," says Jovan Pavicevic, however. "This should not be intensified to such an extent and in this manner, since the descendants will develop complexes and the feeling that society is stigmatizing and rejecting them. Needlessly. The taking of sides in the war was not a biological, genetic category but a historical class category, and accordingly the adage about the chip off the old block cannot be applied here. Such an ugly interpretation of history is just as dangerous as the historical one; it leads to needless politicization of society. So what if the son of a partisan from the beginning is a reactionary? Must we excommunicate his father for that reason, or should we perhaps be lenient toward the son because of his father?"

Drago Roksandic speaks out once again on this topic. "Any black or white understanding of the events in Yugoslavia from 1941 to 1945 is to put it mildly a caricature of historical reality. There is something truly maniacal, fascistoid, in petrefaction of the invented wartime fronts over the 1945 to 1985 period, especially when it is reduced to opposition of "revolutionary" and "counterrevolutionary" nations. I have always been consciously or

unconsciously against holding children responsible for the deeds of their parents. After all, what kind of socialism is it that fails to broaden its social base? Of course, all this has nothing whatever to do with wartime 'pardon,' 'forgetting,' or 'reconciliation':"

Hier ruhen...

And while this "war beyond the grave" goes on, Wehrmacht soldiers who died in Yugoslavia rest in peace all over our country in orderly, marked graves. In Vrsac, Skofja Loka, Zagreb, Celje, Varazdin. It is, to be sure, an accomplishment of international law. But again it is not.

"I think that it is humane to bury an enemy soldier to keep dogs from digging up his bones and to keep these graves from being desecrated as happened in some cases immediately after the war," INTERVJU is told by Dr Milan Bulajic, our prominent specialist in international law and until recently head of the international affairs service of the Federal Secretariat of International Affairs.

"We are also bound to do this by the Geneva Convention, in a document dating from 1949, which states that "parties to an (armed) conflict will make certain that dead persons are properly buried, that their graves are respected, grouped according to citizenship, and marked so that they can always be found." However, Yugoslavia is not obligated, either morally or politically, and especially not emotionally, to arrange these graves as the Germans have been demanding for years, with crosses of corrosion-resistant metal, flowers, paths, benches, and open areas, especially if these troops behaved genocidally, burned, pillaged, and raped. They nevertheless persistently ask that this be done for their soldiers, regardless of the fact that they still have not paid the war reparations which the same international law obliges them to pay. On occasion they even enter into direct negotiations with our communities and, exploiting our economic difficulties, make private arrangements with them in this connection."

"In Pula, for example, a monument to a German officer was erected by one of our labor organizations which does business with a German firm whose owner, the son of this officer, in return allowed the Pula organization a discount in purchase of machinery. A model cemetery according to German taste is the one in Skofja Loka (several hundred soldiers who died as prisoners of war), which the community organized in agreement with the appropriate Federal Executive Council commission. For some time the militia protected this grave from incensed veterans. Another "memorial" with which the German side is satisfied is situated near Bitolje, where German soldiers fallen in the First World War are buried. And even closer to Bitolje their immediate opponents, members of the Salonikan Front, rest in graves covered with weeds. And while we are still talking about this war, note that in Kosutnjak Park in Belgrade stands a square stone inscribed HIER RUHEN SERBISCHE HELDEN/OVDE POČIVAJU SRPSKI JUNACI [HERE LIE SERBIAN HEROES], the only monument erected by the Germans themselves, fascinated by the heroism of the 1915 defenders of Belgrade. But it is in wretched condition and can be reached only with the assistance of a guide, perhaps because it is not covered by international law.

"I would like to erect a memorial 3 meters high to the hero Schulz, who suffered at the hands of his own people because he would not fire on our patriots," states Bulajic. "He separated himself from his own troops and stood in defense of my people. Why do we now not believe in him, what he was, and where his sympathies lay? A new friendship with the younger generation of Germans should be built on his grave."

#### A Futile Task

"The roadside monument to Joseph Schulz which the poetess Mina Kovacevic erected on her own initiative in her own courtyard in the village of Vrnjani, community of Gornji Milanovac (in violation, one feels, of the Serbian law on burials and cemeteries), thereby earning the odium of local activists, is, we hear, still standing. Thank God. But at the Vrsac cemetery, where Sterija Popovic also rests, there still stands the memorial tablet of the Rithen brothers, and from it, or more precisely from 2 photographs, smile Willi and Steph in the uniforms of the Third Reich. Everything is, after all, relative."

Docent Djordje Stankovic reflects that "our past enemies need not be our present enemies. Our present-day actions can be justified only by rational arguments. The past, however, as one of the most significant rational arguments, can serve only as a moral lesson. From the viewpoint of the human community, accountability may be required only for the actions of persons now living; the current generation bears no responsibility whatever for the past. Consequently, we must not increase the magnitude of the past over that of the present, nor must we foster a sense of superiority of the present over the past. That is a futile task. It will lead us again to catastrophe or to apathy, in either case by irrational visions into a world in which all traces of man will disappear."

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