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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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2 April 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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BULGARIA

MASS MEDIA WEAKNESSES ANALYZED, SEVERELY CRITICIZED

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 1, 1985 pp 3-12

[Abridged article by Marko Semov: "Criteria of Journalistic Skill"]

[Text] I realize that we shall be dealing with the most important topic in our profession -- the problem of its quality and efficiency. In other words, this question involves a self-assessment as well, for which reason it seems to me that subjectivism, inevitable though it may be, should be reduced to a possible minimum... In order to achieve this, I read virtually everything written over the last 5 years on the topics of efficiency and quality of our journalistic work and the criteria for judging them, including the annual surveys made by BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST. I shall trace the changes and published assessments. This will provide a relatively objective foundation for comparing such empirical data and their conclusions with the relatively extensive and, it seems to me, conscientious investigation which I conducted for the past month by addressing myself to almost all editors in chief and managers of mass information media in Sofia and two section heads and literary contributors each per publication. Each one of them was asked the following two questions:

1. Based on the criteria of efficiency of our journalistic work, can we speak of new phenomena in the press, radio and television in 1984 compared to 1983?
2. Which are the most worrisome problems related to the efficiency and quality of our journalism today?

Let me immediately say that my personal views coincide with the main conclusions and trends expressed in the assessments of the quality and efficiency of our journalism in the last 5 years and in 1984. Let me immediately emphasize, however, that I too highly value and truly approve of the idea of a 10-day review of Bulgarian journalism. Such an idea is not only useful but imperative, the more so since in our country the criticism of mass information media is poorly developed, not to say totally undeveloped. That which Todor Abazov, our universally respected specialist in media criticism, was unable to accomplish alone is becoming not only a fact but a tradition with the help of our association. The type of script used in recording this tradition depends on us: will it be in capital or small letters on in long primer. Shall we be able to make our profession even worthier of and more responsive to the time in which we live, and even more significant and important in its vocation and social mission.

It is always easier to describe the nature of something than to explain why it is so. For if we start with "it is because" we must get somewhere, we must point at some one... We can and must consider the quality of our work exclusively within the context of our own position, of the fate of this process, of our weaknesses and qualities and our individual responsibilities. It would be neither just nor dignified to seek help and support outside our own responsibilities. Criteria change. They are a dynamic category. Today the most important of all important criteria is that of world standards. The assessment of our development and successes, of that which we lack and which we must yet accomplish demands a comparison. A comparison with the state of the press, radio and television in countries similar to ours is possible, but is something I am unable to do. The most accessible for the time being is the comparison with ourselves. Such comparison, however, conceals some dangers.

First. We may be satisfied with home-grown evaluations and criteria of what we are or should be.

Second. We may be slowing the pace of development of our own thinking, experience and ambitions on the basis of complacent knowledge of previous achievements.

Third. A comparison with oneself could easily make us mistrust our own forces and our possibilities of comparing ourselves against those who are the strongest and most involved.

Fourth. The most terrible danger would be to develop a complacency, self-praise or complacent self-admiration. Human faults are numerous and varied. In my view, however, complacency is the worst. The complacent person does not try to develop. He feels happy with the worst possible happiness and is intoxicated with the worst possible opiate. This is because complacency does not develop anything. It kills and deadens. To the honor of all those whose views I used for the purpose of this report, however, we are not threatened by this danger. The doses of criticism found in the survey were high. This is a pleasing situation and the best indication that the social feeling is alive within us.

Therefore, what are the unresolved problems facing our journalism according to the surveys conducted for one reason or another during the last 5 or 6 years? In most general terms, the conclusions relative to these unresolved and even worrisome problems are recurrent and may be classified more or less as follows:

1. The standardization of our mass information media (our well familiar concern that they continue to look alike or, rather, that they are not sufficiently different from each other).
2. The inability always to react suitably and professionally to pressing social changes. Let me cite the emotional assertion of our colleague I. Yordanov from the newspaper UCHITELSKO DELO: "I believe that one of the most alarming and unresolved problems of our journalism is the obvious and irritating sameness of the mass information media and their weakness in the face of pressing social problems." Could it be that our conscience as

writers, journalists and publicists is occasionally rather timid or hypocritical as we shut our eyes to social phenomena against which we should wage an uncompromising war, against which we should shout openly?

3. Lack of serious work on domestic policy topics and weaknesses in the domestic policy genre.

4. Fear of sensationalism....Aspiration to achieve maximal effects with minimal efforts.

5. Insufficient knowledge of the audience for which we write, aiming at the reader, viewer and listener. The old unresolved and the new problems in the field of information, from its sluggishness and the unconvincing way in which we present it to keeping silent about universally known facts or facts which have already become public knowledge and even to disinformation.

6. The question of cadre training. What type of cadres do we need and what type of cadres are we training....

7. The inadequate effectiveness of our criticism and the problem of the so-called taboos of the critic: zones and departments of which any criticism is forbidden. Engaging in criticism in general rather than specific and constructive.

8. Unresolved language problems. Schematism and cliches in our journalism. Inability to speak with the audience. Instead, we put ourselves above and admonish the public.

9. Unfamiliarity with world experience and accomplishments.

10. A series of unresolved technical and organizational problems.

11. We write more about the quality of the work of others than we write and speak of the quality of our own.

Such are the most general and most specific shortcomings, critical remarks or recommendations which have been the reasons for our own professional dissatisfaction for the past 5-6 years.

I did not start my report with successes. In the past year we have achieved successes which prove our progress. This, essentially, is the answer to the second question in the survey. Most of the respondents categorically stated that nothing can be said about new phenomena in our journalism in 1984. The majority, however, agree that new optimistic features do exist.

Based on my investigation, which are they? For it is within them that we should look for the positive part of my report, as otherwise it could be considered excessively pessimistic.

No, no pessimism whatsoever exists. There are problems. We are resolving some, touching upon others and not as yet thinking about others again. However, there is no pessimism, for we have all the necessary reasons and

examples, which could hit hard anyone who fails to see the colors, the efforts and the results.

Therefore, what is the nature of our 1984 journalistic Eureka (based on the surveys and the answers of some 40 of our colleagues, who answered the question of what was new)?

The successful inauguration of the "Good Morning" and "Knowledge" programs on Bulgarian radio;

Further improvements in the already good quality of the eight-page issues of POGLED, ANTENI and OTECHESTVEN FRONT, and the topic enrichment of NARODNA KULTURA;

Successful organizational work related to the great party and national events in RABOTNICHESKO DELO. The high professional standard maintained in the "Sunday Guest" section;

Successful professionally laid out pages in ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME and TRUD;

High professional publication standards of the periodical OTECHESTVO;

Increased contributions to the press by voluntary contributors;

Successful efforts to present as diversely as possible the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria;

The holiday issues of NARODNA MLADEZH and VECHERNI NOVINI;

Taking up the same topic by more mass information media;

Initial aspiration on the part of our journalists to address themselves to topical social problems even more energetically. Reviving discussions (the National Party Conference, the Family Code).

Negative features: additions to the already mentioned traditional shortcomings of our journalism, such as the lack of development of our journalism's critical-analytical and research functions. A new curious trend has emerged: the okrug and local press has increased its critical attitude at the expense of the central press. Many okrug managers have nothing against mentioning unresolved problems or even scandals in the okrug, providing that they do not reach the central press. The result is a double process: the picture in the okrug is one and the picture which goes to Sofia via our correspondents and special correspondents another. As a whole, criticism in our press, however, is showing a narrowing trend, both horizontally and vertically. There is a persistent inability to analyze processes developing in the field of social reality. Equally persistent is the familiar fact that, as a rule, our journalism remains a journalism based on the fact, the specific case, as a result of which, in my view, we have not made satisfactory achievements in working according to the new economic mechanism and applying Comrade Todor Zhivkov's theoretical developments of the collective as the manager of socialist property, etc. In the final account, this confronts us with the

major and most important question: Can we speak of being ready and able to engage in revolutionary thinking in our profession? Can we get rid of the old fault of drowning in words and worn out statements the new ideas, making the people tired of them before they have reached and become liked by them? Will our readers forgive us for the fact that before they undertake the solution of a major problem, and before we ourselves have understood it, we rapidly wrap it up in our worn out journalistic cliches in which the old and the new reciprocally smooth over their edges, mix and self-destroy?

Has there been something for every one? There has. This, however, is perfectly normal. This year, as indicated by the investigation and reality itself, we tried to find ourselves and to determine our capabilities. We pushed and probed in various directions. We can congratulate ourselves for such successes. Those of them which represent new experiences and new results should be scratched open, studied and mastered by all of us. This is the purpose of our discussion: to reject, approve and consider.

Journalism covering a specific period of time cannot be considered in general terms. It must be considered in the context of the tasks performed by society, not any tasks but the main, the most important ones. The problem of quality was and remains one such main and primary task. It provides a specific characterization of the situation in a given society. In the final account, we can say that the quality of social achievements in the development of society means the quality of its life, production and consumption. It seems to me that from this viewpoint we are facing a comparison between two historically resembling aspects. The first is related to the April Plenum and the new quality of life which it imposed on our entire society and the criteria of our professional skill. We are familiar with the qualitative changes which took place in our life after the April Plenum. Above all, the April Plenum brought with it a new quality of thinking, i.e., of changes in the area which pertains to purely subjective aspects of human behavior. We are frequently told the following: Well then, you journalists, what changes are you making? You write, but then does your writing change the world? It should not be expected of our profession that writing an article would necessarily yield specific results. Furthermore, a specific result is not the most important thing. What is much more important is for us to prepare a change in the way of thinking through our creative work and our profession. This is not only the mission of journalism, but of literature and art. A change in the way of thinking means that we have gradually prepared the changes which will follow in the behavior of the people, changes which are needed. I think that such changes are more important than anything else. If a doubt appears as to the hundred-percent accuracy of a process, the very fact of doubting means that we are on the way to changing this process. That is what we must take as one of the most important criteria of the effectiveness of journalism. Effectiveness can be measured only through the changes which a certain type of creativity (our journalistic creativity in this case) imposes on the social process, on the awareness and behavior of individuals and society. This, however, includes two very essential aspects. The first is that we have the opportunity of making direct changes, which take place immediately after our intervention; the second is that with its entire functioning as a social subsystem, journalism can prepare changes which will take place in the more distant future. Therefore, we can speak of an

effectiveness which has an indirect influence. In this sense, we can cite many indicators and examples of the way in which our journalism brings about some specific results. Let us consider Bozhana Dimitrova's Friday broadcasts. They do not deal in major mental problems involving people, their convictions, consciousness and mass reactions, but in very specific facts, such as why is it that some road has not been completed, why is there no electricity or why has a torn street pavement not been repaired? The question may be formulated as follows: Is this the task of journalism? Should journalism deal with such seemingly petty matters which relate to the hurt or the fate of an individual? I think that we must definitely speak of the need for such a function of journalism, for the simple reason that the fate of the individual is a reflection of many other larger and more significant social processes. The behavior or the errors of an individual or the resolution or nonresolution of a problem in a municipality, let us say, are rarely isolated. Quite frequently, along with their subjective carrier, they may mean that certain phenomena and processes have piled up. The same type of specific broadcasts are individual television programs (Nadya Vasileva's "Beam" television program; some of the press conferences conducted by Dimitur Vasilev, and the valuable letters to the editors sections in RABOTNICHESKO DELO and ANTENI). What can we say on what characterizes our work as journalists in terms of the effectiveness of our profession when it comes to specific cases? Interesting processes develop here, worthy of further consideration and applicable to the area of criticism, i.e., to the way we as a society react to criticism. This is a problem which I shall discuss later. It seems to me that now the great problem of effectiveness also touches on the ability to prepare the consideration of the urgent and major problems by the public mind, defined by Comrade Todor Zhivkov as revolutionary. They involve the sum total of problems related to the need not only to make the world around us gain a better quality, but also to enable us, who reflect and demonstrate how to transform this world, to become, above all, professionals of a new quality. Such is another viewpoint concerning the main criterion of comparing ourselves with the highest examples.

Naturally, we cannot shed our skins like snakes, show up at the editorial premises one morning and say, I bought myself a new suit, and I am a new man.

The matter of revolutionary thinking, which involves the requirement for us as well to become the bearers of a new quality, is obviously long, complex and, above all, difficult. I personally view it as a gradual, constant and steady change of many stereotypes, methods and styles which have settled within us and become part of ourselves. What am I referring to?

It seems to me, above all, that we are facing the question of our place in and attitude toward the struggle between the old and the new around and within us. We would hardly expect someone to say, Here, you have one year, take a look, straighten out, eliminate the old, find a place for the new and take your place, please: you as editor in chief, you as deputy editor in chief, and you as literary contributor. Neither nature nor society can afford such convenient pauses. Let me immediately add first of all that in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and during the period of building socialism our progressive Bulgarian journalism distinguished itself with its lofty and remarkable moral values. Nevertheless, social development itself changes the place and significance of these values. I believe that it is precisely at

this point that we are on the threshold of such a qualitative change. How is the highest class value -- loyalty to the party and the homeland -- expressed today? Is it in words and convictions? We have had no shortage of same, nor do we have any today. We are quite able to say words, make speeches and put statements together. It seems to me that it is at this point, on the problem of our moral values and the very need for a revolutionary way of thinking, that matters change greatly. The trouble is that today what is demanded of our people, and above all of us, are high-quality deeds in addition to high-quality words. Deeds with which, when we come out in the international market will not make us stand timidly on its the edge, hands tucked inside our apron, waiting for some money-bags in trouble to pat us on the back. We must be in the center of the market place and let the world buy our goods as being the best. This does not exclusively apply to the makers of calculators and Surp i Chuk shoes, the growers of tomatoes and the makers of wine in Purvenets village, Plovdiv Okrug.... This applies to our own selves, to our spiritual output, even before it applies to the Surp i Chuk workers. Wherefrom to start, what to change within ourselves in order to become the creators of such high-quality spiritual accomplishments. It is an open secret that our party has the exceptional virtue of never being hasty or fall behind in resolving economic and moral problems. In many countries such matters are either underestimated or occasionally overestimated and their solution is either delayed or hastened. Consequently, in the course of its long revolutionary history, our party not only has acquired but may even have an innate sense, so to say. Any subsystem within our society would like to find its place in these complex internal social movements it must begin by finding its place in the fate of the new development. Outside the struggle for it there can be no question of criteria, progressiveness or professionalism in the pure and creative meaning of this term.

At this point, however, we come across a few problems. It is no secret that not all of these progressive and modern ideas, which are a mark of superior intelligence and social maturity, reach fruition. New ideas are generated, we welcome them with applause, ovations and strong words, but the more they advance the more frequent are those who gnaw at this novelty, twisting it in order to adapt it to their own habits and possibilities and, which is perhaps the most important and most terrible, to their own interests. Opposition to the new takes many well worked-out forms. The ability to applaud the new, to express our admiration of it while crushing and strangling it with our actions, is quite a popular pastime.... We cannot ignore the point that we cannot speak of any kind of efficiency of our journalism unless we determine our own position in this struggle. Are we contributing, are we seriously and effectively contributing to converting ideas into social truths? What has our contribution been to developing a mechanism which can convert ideas into social accomplishments? Such is the question without which we cannot assess our work, responsibilities and place and role in contemporary Bulgaria. Even if I am wrong, I would not be too wrong by saying that we are for the New. We are short, however, of consistency, courage and even morality, at all times, to struggle for it to the end, to prevent it from dying midway.

Let me, however, take another step in that direction. It is true that journalism is most frequently the imparting of ideas. However, it can also generate ideas itself. It can help the party both downwards and upwards by

preparing the necessary conditions and public opinion for new decision making. How would we answer the question of how many new ideas did we generate last year in support of the party's policy and how many new great and significant ideas did we launch in preparing the people and society for making new decisions?

The question of the effectiveness of our profession cannot be answered without answering this question.

It is thus that we shall be preparing the people in advance for the party's decisions. This is the place which discussions, studies and exchange of ideas hold. A society prepared in advance for a decision is the equivalent of a decision already half implemented.

However, in order to prepare society for what is to come we need information. What is the situation with our information? Let me say a few words on this quite familiar problem as well.

This means, first of all, to be well informed about what is new in the world, what is even newer and what is the latest news. This means that we must write not about the new in general but about what is the latest, and write in such a way that even those who are unwilling to be forced to turn to it. At this point we face a few problems of quality:

1. Do we know what is the latest and how do we go about finding it?
2. Do we know foreign languages and are we interested in learning about the latest developments in the world, in other people's professions and in our own?

The problem of our degree of information remains open, both in terms of what is taking place in the world and at home. But let us consider the world. All sorts of excuses may be cited, but the fact remains that our journalists know few foreign languages, and even if they know them their access to foreign information remains scant. Can anything optimistic be said about the fact that the newspaper UCHITELSKO DELO is not subscribed to any publication in a Western language, and what kind of comparison can be made with the best similar products and what kind of use could be made of foreign experience as a base for professional comparisons? The rest of our press, its international news sections mainly (we surveyed the matter), receives some publications which are read although they remain unused by the personnel of other departments. Our journalism does not deal with international affairs only, and world experience is not exchanged exclusively in Geneva, Madrid and the UN General Assembly. Where could a Bulgarian journalist look for the March 1982 issue of DER SPIEGEL, LE MONDE, PARIS MATCH or LITERATURNAYA GAZETA? Someone may ask, Is this problem so difficult to resolve? Or else, are we still afraid that if we read PARIS MATCH and DER SPEIGEL we shall have our mind corrupted? Woe to us if we still have such fears and such journalists, for in that case any talk about comparing ourselves to world standards will be nothing but blabbering.

I will not claim that the question of our level of information on domestic matters, on what is taking place in our country, has been resolved any better. Not even the monthly encounters with very high party and state officials have developed into any kind of tradition. It is considered a real event if a minister were to meet with journalists working on subjects related to his ministry even once a year. Is this matter not important and is it not insulting to our journalism? Let me not go any further, for there are departments and managers who are totally unreachable.

It has become the practice, when arriving in an okrug, to go first to the okrug committee and state the specific topic about which one intends to write, providing that permission is granted. If one goes to a plant to write a critical article one must also present oneself to the director, tell him quite specifically what one intends to criticize and even ask his permission to do so. Unfortunately, our work is frequently subject to gross interference.

Consequently, we come to a range of problems which require a truly qualitative change. This is a question of our relations with objective and subjective factors of the entire reality which is the subject of our work as journalists. We are frequently being disinformed, unfortunately quite successfully. The first thing is that we are ignorant of the truth. The second is that responsible people, particularly in the okrugs and the ministries, twist it as it suits them, sending us on wild goose chases. Third, we ourselves are inclined to yield or else trustingly to accept wrong information, thus lying to our entire audience.

Here are examples of disinformation in which both the sources and we personally participate with pleasure. For example, how can we explain, other than with the wish to please superiors and people closer to our correspondents, the fact that for 2 full months informations and reports from Vidin, Razgrad and Burgas okrugs, as accurately and mercilessly recorded by our colleague Metodi Tanev, on anything having to do with watering the crops claimed that everything was in perfect order, and then suddenly, starting with the middle of August, it turns out that the situation is worse than grave. A central newspaper even published in the same issue reports on the very good organization of irrigation in Vidin Okrug and a commentary on the status for the country at large, this time based on facts provided by the NAPS [National Agroindustrial Union] and the "Water Resources" DSO [State Economic Trust], listing this okrug as one of the worst?

The picture of the ripening of the crops was similar. The indications were that there was a widespread 10-15-day delay. All of a sudden, it turns out that precious time for harvesting a golden crop had been lost. At this point we come to the most sensitive question, that of our work following the national party conference on quality. We were swamped by words on quality and were dizzied by examples of the manner in which hundreds of plants hastily became high-quality producers. There was boasting, disinformation and taking wishes for reality until we were hit on the head by the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial. Let me also mention the embarrassing question of the so-called departmental interviews. As a rule, they are self-organized for the purpose of throwing gold dust in the eyes of the public. Another sensitive question is that of journalistic competitions. As a rule, they are won by individuals or

collectives who have provided the best description of the work of specific departments. In practice, however, everyone knows that they are won by those who know how to praise the work of said departments best. I am not aware of anyone having won for criticizing best and most extensively the work of a given ministry. Speaking honestly, this develops an interest in us to conceal the shortcomings of such departments and leads to changes in the structure of the problems, to shifting the emphasis of the topic in the newspaper and, in the final account, and please forgive the word, to professional corruption. Can you work for a publication, be responsible for the problems of a ministry and, at the same time, be the ministry's press secretary? Albeit isolated, this was nevertheless an alarming case. Similar trends are endangering the Bulgarian television program "For One Billion," which under the pressure of one ministry or another and, according to malicious gossip, one cash register or another, is gravely in danger of turning from organizer to advertiser of goods. How else to describe departmental trips and the free airline tickets of the Balkan BGA [Bulgarian Civil Aviation].... We must travel, most people must travel, for travelling, as our now deceased friend and colleague Petko Rusev would have said, leads to knowledge, to knowledge of self and to comparison! But at what cost? Here our practice must absolutely change.

Now we come to problems related to the shaping of new qualities within ourselves. Do we know how, are we interested in changing our way of thinking or, more precisely, are we interested in doing so? Consequently, we come here to the major, old and still unresolved problem of encouraging those who could make changes within and around themselves. The current fee system in no way encourages the knowledgeable, capable and high-quality journalist. Furthermore, I dare to say that we still give priority to volume, to the old type of artisan work (although of much lower quality). The great and true battles for records and accomplishments always include a competition element. A winner can emerge only through competition. How do we compete in a newspaper when we are dealing with a new work quality? Can all of us clearly answer this important question? The fact that in our country the status of special correspondent was not accepted, unlike the case with the Soviet press, for example, and that both in terms of possibilities and fees equalization is widespread eloquently proves that, in terms of organizing our work the newspapers, the radio and the television, are not ready to change the quality, to make a qualitative, not to say revolutionary, leap.

This problem comes closer to another one -- to that of competition among individual publications. We want to compete against the best examples in the world without competing within the country. Is this possible?

We are not surprised to hear that the topic of competition among our newspapers and even between radio and television is taboo. This old artisan truth in our craft -- the struggle for news and information -- quite gently and, generally speaking, without any fight, surrendered to equality, tranquility and sheepish expectation of BTA [Bulgarian Telegraph Agency] releases. Naturally, such competition may not go beyond the final result of a project. Consequently, we touch upon the question of the free layout, which is the end result of the quality of an edition. Wherever competition exists the creative worker forces himself to exceed his own possibilities. Occasionally this

develops into a struggle for skill and professionalism which, in turn, leads to a new quality of the work.

Still within the same context is the problem of the free contracting between editors and individual contributors, the solution of which is being advanced slowly and clumsily. Let us hope that this question, which has reached an advanced stage at RABOTNICHESKO DELO, will soon become not the alternative of an idea but a true example, an example which we need and which indicates a possible solution to at least one of the ways in which we can compete against ourselves.

Secondly, we also come across another question which, although not particularly alarming to our mass information media, is alarming to many collectives: that of the manager of the collective, in our case of the newspaper, the editor in chief, etc., to be interested in admitting by his side persons with such new and difficult qualities. Let us rephrase the question: has it become common practice in our publications to promote people exclusively on the basis of ability, knowledge and skills? So far, we have neither the mechanism for nor even the belief that if you are a manager it would be to your advantage to have by your side most intelligent people, people who could take over at any moment, which could only improve things.

There is no need at this point to deliver tirades on the consequences of such practices, for the grey stream is not found exclusively in the writers' coffee shops. We rarely use this term although we have frequently choked on it. That was the purpose for which we legitimized and drafted said gray terminology we find soothing: good material, useful article, modest publication.

Nor do I intend to discuss the question of creative jealousy which, although not strictly Bulgarian, remains a feature of ours. The socialist revolution, which affected the people in everything else, proved to be weak in the face of jealousy.

We come to the very important problem of the young, who should be the bearers of these new qualities as a matter of principle, those moral and professional qualities we are discussing.

Unquestionably, compared to the old, the young have a number of advantages. They show a lesser tendency toward dogmatism, their decisions are bolder, they are more inclined to struggle against conservatism and conformism. The struggle against the obsolete and the old is their exceptionally important quality. They have a stronger feeling for what is regressive and old-fashioned and are more eager to adopt the new. These qualities in the young are of exceptional importance in this matter -- the revolutionary way of thinking in our work. This is the exceptional advantage which they have over the middle and older generations.

By itself, however, this is insufficient. It raises a series of questions which we have not entirely answered from the viewpoint of the need for a new type of quality.

The first is that of their professional training. This topic as well has been gnawed on from all sides and keeps being uncomfortable and escaping us. I think that this too is a topic of a special serious discussion, for which reason I shall bypass it for the time being.

The second is that the extent to which it remains a problem of the relationship between old and young in editorial rooms. It is a dangerous fallacy and grave error to think that the young can do anything, that they know everything and that they are the bearers of only that which is new and progressive, and that the opposite applies to the middle and older generations. Many young people come to the editorial premises not naturally, but through connections and with inappropriately high arrogance because of this method of hiring, feeling that the world consists of two parts: they and the rest of us. What is worse, many of them arrive quite untrained, but primed to think that the old should immediately stand up and tell them, "You are welcome," we were waiting for you, and that they must rush not just anywhere but specifically at the front page, which they should write almost exclusively themselves.

Consequently, without raising a new problem and without considering this problem as nonexistent, I think that another area for a change in quality is finding the proper correlation between the old, with their revolutionary experience, professional sense and practical wisdom and eye, and the new ambitious young people.

But let us say another thing about the young generation: it is no secret that in human history no generation can squeeze past between rain drops, and if it does it means that it was carried by the wind. There was a generation which made the revolution, which carried it on its back, as the saying goes, and which paid the terrible price for our socialism with its own life.

Some members of this generation found the strength to make and, furthermore, made themselves the necessary changes in some basic areas of social life with the April 1956 plenum. Young people joined these experienced revolutionary cadres, took over and undertook, together, to implement this bright ideal, saturating with oxygen our spiritual and human air. That was the Bulgarian April generation which did and is continuing to do a tremendously meaningful and vitally important work for the blossoming of socialism. We face today a new qualitative step. New and fresh reinforcements must be added to those young revolutionaries who made the April plenum, and who are still showing us a new exceptionally valuable and durable task. It is a question of quality, of high quality of our work and life. Such is the worthy nature, the meaning of the new and probably the fate of the next April generation of socialist Bulgaria. The task now is of a different nature. It is a qualitatively different task which demands new qualities of those who will be resolving it and a new type of training at school, in the university and beyond. For it is a question of the use of modern technology, which must not only be known but developed. Such equipment must be inexpensive and be made of raw materials which are not always available to us. Consequently, in addition to knowledge and familiarity, this requires exceptional creative imagination and, in this sense demands more of our engineering intelligentsia than of its colleagues in other countries.

Someone may object, saying that these are purely technological problems. I raise this question, however, because the problem of quality, considered in its broadest possible meaning, as a summing concept, expresses, in the final account, the level of development of the entire society and resembles a link which ties the vast area of technological and economic to social problems. Our journalism is precisely this type of combination or link which transmits requirements and information within the social system. It is true that purely economic problems of quality in industry, agriculture or consumer services can be resolved without the help of journalism. However quality as a level of social maturity, a feature of a society and a style of life of that same society is a problem which cannot be resolved without the help of journalism. But even purely economic and technological quality problems are our topic. The new idea itself of achieving a different production quality is a topic of our journalism, as is the establishment of an organization for the implementation of this new idea, awaiting our help. So is the hard bureaucratic or economic opposition to the implementation of the new idea. Once again, it is our business, once all this has been accomplished, to see to it that production conditions and quality of output are observed. We are very willing to Bulgarize foreign virtues. It has now become fashionable to Bulgarize even Bulgarian virtues, using the pertinent expression of Tosho Toshev in TRUD: "This too will do." Surmounting this "This too will do" is not a purely economic problem. It is a problem of consciousness, of a spiritual tuning which could turn "This too will do" into "This will no longer do." Is this an easy task? Who will carry it out in the spiritual field? Literature will, it absolutely will, but this will take time. What about in the meantime?

In the meantime there is us. This is where our true place is. It is here and nowhere else.

And since we are speaking of criteria and efficiency, we shall recognize the hard, long-range effectiveness of our work by the fact that an eventual change may take place somewhere in a certain way and to a certain extent, in one of our readers, viewers or listeners. This will become clear only as the end results are in.

However, all end results have a psychological side which is equal or frequently greatly superior to the technological side. I believe that a special new topic is that of the psychology of quality which is closely related to the problem of interests but is far broader than the latter. Our journalism has been and, I believe, will always remain on the side of those who create, who think and who search in the field of innovation. Innovation is a kind of mental tuning, a special direction in the creative possibilities of the individual. Our press publishes a lot of materials on the rationalization movement. Thank God for this, for there is a lot of bureaucracy and opposition standing on the way of anything new. However, cases of following up the fate of a rationalization, i.e., of trying to glance at the other psychological half of this creative effort, are relatively few, not to say very infrequent. Yet how often have we published studies of its other aspect -- of the heavy loss to the state precisely from the use of rationalizations. Consequently, the problem of the new has its different, its speculative aspect, an aspect of speculative mentality which we frequently ignore, prejudiced as we are in favor of the need for and fate of something new.

I gave you an opposite example to prove the comprehensive nature of the psychological viewpoint on the problem of quality. This includes many undeveloped areas of psychology and labor.

The ideal solution of all other technological and economic problems includes an entire range of psychological topics directly related to quality. First is the problem of the mood with which we go to work. Think of the number of unresolved or poorly resolved problems which influence this mood. I think that this is the place to raise a purely professional question. In the morning we go to work with pure and good intentions, as a rule and, most importantly, in a good mood. If we are commuting, we listen to the radio. Once again we listen to the radio as we prepare our work place. What is our radio discussing during this morning hour? It is talking about unresolved problems, managers who fail to do their jobs, and scandals. I recently heard a report on a case of death. Let us admit that our radio colleagues present such news on a talented and highly professional level. However, it is precisely at this point that I would like to share with you the following question: Is such professionalism well considered psychologically? Should our person, who is in a good mood, begin his job angered by someone else's scandals? What type of quality, what kind of imagination and high results could we expect of such a person?

The second problem is that of the atmosphere in the labor collective. We write a great deal, but it seems that we should write a great deal more and, above all, much better, on the subject of this collective and what it takes from and gives to the people.

We have many topics. Are they powerful enough, however, do they shake up the people, do they help them sufficiently? Should we talk about denunciations, slanders, envy, intrigues, tolerance of lack of talent in the collective where, under socialism, exceptionally important processes affecting the person are taking place?

An entire range of psychological problems, directly related to the quality of the work, apply to the "chief-subordinate" relationship. Have we exhausted them? Hardly.

An entire range of problems related to quality deal with justice in our society, on the micro- and macro-levels. Consider how many thousands of people are dozing at work throughout the year instead of soaring, their hands cut off by injustice, their soul dried up. Who will protect these people from the various types of injustice and who will fight to restore their faith? There will be people to do so, and we shall be the first among them. Justice takes a number of paths and is known by many different names. We must learn these names and teach them to the people. The victory of justice also becomes a criterion of our skill. Let us consider the question of leisure time. How do the people spend it? Is this a problem for the Sociological Institute alone? Or is the entire problem dealt with with an article about a hike to Vitosha and two or three photographs of smiling people? Services, losing time by waiting in line in the stores, transportation, rudeness on the streets, inability to smile and the question of our merriment and our informal

contacts.... As we may see, from whatever side we approach it, the question of quality touches upon all aspects of our human and social daily life.

Consequently, what is demanded of us is not only to know and study it, but to formulate the question of changing it much more energetically, specifically in a revolutionary manner.

We would be unable to resolve any kind of quality problem unless we answer clearly the question of the trust of our audience. The question of trust is quite broad, and I think that we pay too little attention to it when we think about the quality of our profession. We cannot solve any problem related to quality or do any kind of revolutionary thinking if our reader, viewer or listener mistrusts us. And, let us be honest, he does not always trust us, for we frequently write pompously and insincerely and do not supply accurate and fast information. We frequently have no faith in him and frequently try to mislead him in a cheap way. He does not trust us, sensing that we ourselves are less trained and more ignorant than he. He mistrusts us because we sometimes needlessly misrepresent facts or unjustifiably ignore them.

Frequently our information contains no information. It is frequently slow. We wait for someone else to steal a march on us, although we know, but quite frequently forget, that today's Bulgarian citizen knows foreign languages, listens to the radio or watches all kinds of television or video cassettes and will do the same tomorrow.... Meanwhile, we go on talking to the people in the usual manner, keeping silent in the usual way about things they know, pretending that no such things exist, and bypassing them. For example, the circus caught fire in front of the entire Sofia population and the only thing left was a half burned chair. We, however, came out with the news, a full day later, that the struggle to put the fire out had been waged successfully and had been won. What kind of victory was this? If this was a victory, more power to us. The illusion still rules that if we keep silent about something it will remain a secret. It turns out that nothing remains secret. I think that it is high time for us to react suitably and quickly instead of waiting to be drowned under rumors and only then make a decision. In the spirit of all I have said so far, let me raise the question, for example, of the accidents with some of our airplanes. We keep silent while foreign centers report them. We too report them after that, but frequently in such a way that it remains unclear whether the airplane crashed or took off.

We frequently ignore the greater faith in socialism shared not only by the population of the socialist countries but also by those who live outside socialism. However, such greater faith means something when it is related to higher standards and, as a rule, also means greater criticism of its shortcomings. Therefore, the modern reader, viewer and listener wants information presented on his intellectual level, sincerely and convincingly, for he has developed his own views on many of the processes which take place in society and sometimes is more familiar with them than we are and is skeptical. As a rule, skepticism grows with the development of culture. The more cultured, better educated and knowledgeable a person is, the more skeptical he becomes concerning things outside his own awareness, things inculcated by others. We hardly take the skepticism of our readers into consideration.

I would like to say a few more words on the question of the person in our journalism. What kind of a person do we write about? As a rule, if he is a positive character, our person is a social angel, a normal person; if the character is negative, he has gathered within himself all the vices of the past. Yet a person is a person, with good and bad qualities. Obviously, in order for him to act one way or another, properly or improperly, he has been influenced by other factors which have triggered the manifestation of something good or bad within himself. In our writings about people there are no layers, colors or hues. It is no accident that Kalin Donkov has captured the interest of our audience. He has tried and succeeded to depict what is human and inhuman in man, and to see man in his complexity and full inner drama. We very frequently write about people without having made their fate part of our own, without having studied their background and the reasons which led them to their present condition and without having seen their behavior in the full complexity of circumstances in which it is displayed. Without this, however, there is no sincerity, persuasiveness and conviction.

The perennially sensitive and, it seems to me, perennially serious problem of our journalistic language is also part of the problem of trust. All surveys and studies made so far indicate that our language is poor, cliched and boring and I do not believe that I would greatly err by saying that in this respect our efforts have not yielded significant results. The problem of language, therefore, is not simple. Language is not a self-seeking aim in journalism. It is the means through which one is able or unable to reach the person and to instill in him the desired feeling.

The problem of the authors is related to the quality of our journalism and the changes in the quality of our life. Unquestionably, the qualitative change in the degree of our competence may be achieved two ways: by upgrading our individual competence as journalists on the subjects we write about and by the penetration of people with high intellectual standards, who know what they are writing about, in all of our mass information media. In this respect, it seems to me, both positive and negative trends may be noted in our press. For example, whereas the number of specialists discussing one problem or another or one aspect of our reality or another has exceptionally increased in our press, the number of such outsiders declined drastically in television. Creative journalism has become strongly dominant in a number of central press publications. Apparently, we did not understand quite accurately the thesis on the nonprofessional author developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. We took the idea of the nonprofessional writer as meaning any outside contributor to the newspaper, whereas what was meant was the nonprofessional author who is a specialist on the problem we intend to write about. In such a case, along with maintaining its own views, journalism should become a mechanism which would translate the language of the specialists, of the most competent people, into a stance held by this society. To begin with, we must obviously discuss matters with our audience as equals, at least as one equal to another. We must drop the tone and self-confidence that we are somewhat better than those for whose sake we write. The problem of the qualitative characteristics of the audience is already becoming problem number one. At this point we face a number of unresolved problems pertaining to our knowledge of the audience with whom we are conversing. Generally speaking, it is as though we look upon it as the "average reader" or "the average listener." What does this mean?

Obviously, if we want to make a qualitative change in our own ideas of our ability as journalists and of our tasks as such, we must understand once and for all the nature of the culture of those to whom we speak and compare it to our own. At that point we would come across many conclusions which would leave a very sour taste in our mouths. I do not know whether this is the precise reason for which we avoid making such studies, for they would not make us excessively optimistic as far as our own professional possibilities. Could our journalism be falling behind in training people compared to the training of other specialists? This leads us to an old and sensitive problem, in my view, of what kind of journalism cadres to train and how to train them.

Another very interesting question is that of the development of the efficiency of our criticism. This may be the most important of all problems related to the question of trust. Are we expanding the range of our critical sights, are we reaching all areas which should be criticized, or do we narrow our sights to areas most convenient to criticize? Could there be entire departments whose work cannot be criticized? It is no secret that it could, and that there may be more than one or two such departments. This has been extended to many departments on the basis of reasons of state, so that, gradually, the criticism territory of our journalism has been reduced to very narrow strips. I think that this process is becoming increasingly apparent and that it deserves very serious attention, for we have narrowed the territory of criticism both horizontally and vertically.

The second question related to effectiveness worth mentioning here is whether we, as journalists, are able to react to the deceptions frequently practiced upon us by various bodies in the okrugs and in Sofia. There still are people who consider us, journalists, as functional performers of specific tasks set by the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers. It is true that the task of journalism is to help unreservedly the party in the implementation of its assignments. However, this does not mean to agree or be trapped by parochial or private interests. Gross errors in our life are frequently concealed behind party interests. We must be able to determine accurately when something has to do with the party's interests or with the interests of someone hiding behind the party's interests. This, however, takes us to the next very essential question, that of our awareness of our own civic conscience and civic dignity. I do not agree that the entire fault lies in the inconsistency of the journalists when they adopt a critical line of thought regarding one phenomenon or another. The quarrels which follow a critical article are sometimes so extensive that a journalist is able to write a serious critical piece of work two or at most three times a year. The rest of the time he is forced to give explanations, to the point that the next year he says, "Enough such criticism! Let me sit down and write something pleasant, something good." This question of our ability to react and to be accurately oriented is also a question of the quality of our work. At this point the quality of our training as journalists and of the quality of our morality as journalists converts into a quality of our communist morality.

But let us go on. Our studies indicated a qualitative change related to the time it takes the various units to react to our criticism. It seems to me that the statement that the time has been reduced, even if true, suffers from a major fault. Although deadlines are observed the answers are very

frequently formal. This matter deserves a separate study on the way individual departments manage to answer criticisms. Some say, "This critique is accurate, you have noted the right things and we shall take all the necessary steps to correct the shortcomings." This is one variant of the answer to criticism. Another one is that "Your criticism is just, but the objective difficulties are so numerous that we would be very happy if you could help us to resolve the problems." They thus gradually shift their own tasks to the journalists and gradually involve the journalists into finding them the raw materials they need, thanks to the intermediary position held by journalism. The third variant, naturally, is to reject the criticism and to conceal shortcomings, a variant which, I believe, is already on its way out. Today everyone acknowledges the criticism but answers it in such a way as to shift the blame on others. Consequently, when we speak of deep qualitative changes once again the question of the moral and ethical values of some journalists and of journalistic work comes to the fore.

Our attitude toward objects is increasingly becoming a target of our criticism in us, as journalists, and in the interpretation of this sensitive and complex phenomenon under socialism. The cult of objects is not an exclusively socialist phenomenon, but a phenomenon afflicting any developing society or, more precisely, any society which is becoming richer. However, since objects are seriously interfering in our lives and since we, the people, have begun to engage in moral compromises for the sake of objects, they have become a very important yardstick of social maturity and civic consciousness. In this case, what I mean by objects is overall consumption, in the broadest possible meaning of the term which, both under capitalism and socialism, is a question of the quality of life: what we consume, how much we consume and at what cost do we consume it. It is not important in this case whether a telecast has resulted in dismantling someone's summer cottage in Dragalevtsi but whether another 50 cottages have been built on the same site. It is also a question of our ability to see the broader social processes behind a fact which reveals an attitude toward an object. Therefore, the question of the attitude toward consumption, on the broadest possible level, is a very serious problem of our journalism, a problem which we are still solving as a rule on the empirical level. We catch the violator, we rough him up as much as we can, we prove that in order to buy himself a car he has committed thus and such violations, but then we are unable to go beyond this fact and to interpret the entire range of values related to the specter of consumption as a whole.

Consequently, we must not only analyze a social fact but change it as well. I think that we would not be wrong in saying that in as much as we can hope for changes in the quality of our life, in all its varieties, such changes largely depend on the extent to which journalism understands its place in this process and to which it will be able to regroup its forces, the forces of society, in resolving one problem or another.

Requirements relative to quality may be quite demanding in terms of our society as a whole. Above all, however, they are twice as demanding toward us, toward the quality of our work. Apparently, we must pursue two types of efforts: the first involving changes within our own selves and the other to struggle for changes in the people around us. This is a hard problem to resolve and which we are not likely to resolve in a matter of a few months or

a year, but one which is related to the beginning of a revolutionary turn in our thoughts and actions as a society and our existence as a developed socialist state. In this case, this means our existence as members of a profession with great ambitions and great responsibilities.

We have no honorable solution other than to do everything we possibly can, I would say, we must do even that which is beyond our forces in order to reach the level of the need for a revolutionary change in our thinking and behavior and that of those around us. Is there a task more enticing than that of serving such a revolutionary idea? Is there a worthier time than that of being a witness to and participant in such social transformation?

Our journalism has its inspired leader, hidden reserves and adequately inspiring objective.

12970

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EMIGRANT DISSATISFACTION STORY REVEALED AS PROPAGANDA

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 11, 11 Mar 85 pp 118-120

[Article: "Nothing But To Return--The GDR Intends To Rob Its Citizens of the Desire To Emigrate By Engaging in a Psychological Campaign"]

[Text] The call came from the other side--where Carla-Maria Horn, 24, is from. Uncle and Aunt in Frankenberg near Karl-Marx-Stadt "just wanted to ask" their niece in Bonn whether she was really coming back from the West--to the GDR.

The relatives had got the news from NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. Uncle Hermann discovered the name of his niece in the Wednesday edition of the newspaper--as one of "more than 20,000 former ones" who allegedly regret having moved to the West so much that they would like to return to the GDR.

"It says here," said Uncle Hermann on the telephone, "that you were disappointed by the real capitalist conditions in the FRG." The new Bonn citizen was amazed. "I thought it was a joke," she said later.

Carla-Maria is content in the West. She has "quite a nice apartment," is employed as a pharmaceutical specialist with a Swiss company and drives a brand new Audi. She says she "never" wants to go back, that NEUES DEUTSCHLAND has "misused her name."

There were exactly 113 names with which the central organ had filled its whole page 3 last Wednesday--the names of "disappointed persons" who, unemployed and full of nostalgia, allegedly wanted nothing but to return to the GDR. The as yet unprecedented attempt by the GDR to unmask the enormous push to the West as a big mistake culminated in the magnanimous announcement that applications to return made by families with children would be given "priority."

By the weekend West German newspapermen and radio reporters had managed to question 57 of those 113 persons. The result shows NEUES DEUTSCHLAND to be off quite a bit or, looking at it generously, exactly half right. In every other NEUES DEUTSCHLAND case, those who have moved here do not want to return to the GDR. The paper's data are in part false, in part outdated, incomplete or based on misinterpretations.

The case of Carla-Maria Horn is typical. The young woman, an assistant pharmacist by trade, early last year came to the Federal Republic with her brother, a pharmaceutical engineer. Later their mother also came. Because the son had considerable trouble adjusting, she was in fact prepared to return with him to the GDR, and mother and son submitted an application to the Permanent Mission of the GDR.

The mother, Rosemarie Horn, states: "This application was rejected. Now my son is doing better, and he wants to stay here. I myself, in any case, would have gone back only because of my son. My daughter has never wanted to return to the GDR. All in all, the whole matter is a confused story."

There is no doubt that of the not quite 40,000 persons who came to the Federal Republic from the GDR in 1984 quite a few would like to return if they were allowed to do so. In addition to those who adjust here quickly, there are people who simply cannot make do--because they are unemployed, feel isolated or have personal problems.

That there should be more than 20,000 such persons, as NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes, in the opinion Bonn government officials is "pure fantasy," however. So why does the East German state party now spread the tale about a powerful push to the GDR? There is only one plausible explanation: it is a further attempt to reduce the pressure for leaving the GDR.

Erich Honecker's hope to reduce this pressure by letting citizens move to the West by the droves in 1984 has not been fulfilled. Those who had to stay behind find their situation to be all the more painful--particularly since the flight via West German missions abroad apparently has been effectively stopped since the occupation of the embassy in Prague, when the GDR no longer guaranteed any departures.

The campaign in the central organ of the SED indicates that the GDR is approaching the departure problem with a new idea: instead of strong pressure, psychological influence.

In the past, if someone wanted to leave he had to figure on being treated rudely, with the GDR authorities refusing to accept applications for an exit visa and holding out the prospect of punishment. Only very few persons let themselves be converted that way. Applicants often would lose their jobs or be offered humiliating substitute work. For example, an East Berlin newspaperman would be offered a job as a cleaner's assistant.

The fact that the SED realized that the departure wave could hardly be curtailed by pressure alone first became apparent in fall 1983, when the GDR Council of Ministers issued a decree (on 15 September) "concerning the settling of questions of family reunion and marriage between citizens of the German Democratic Republic and noncitizens."

This ukase created a legal basis for part of those wanting to leave, removing their applications from the arbitrariness of officials and functionaries. Now "the state authority responsible," thought it need not do so, "may" approve exit visas for the reunion of parents and children and marriages.

Early this year SED chief Honecker went one step further, instructing the interior authorities as a rule to process applications of citizens wanting to leave.

Fitting in with this internal directive are the "recommendations" passed by the GDR Council of State Monday last week "concerning the work of local people's representations with citizens' applications." Some of the passages read like instructions for handling GDR people wanting to leave--and probably were meant to do so. For example:

"It is necessary everywhere to speak openly and in a comradely manner with citizens about their applications, to discuss the problems, jointly to search for the best solutions and to bring about changes where this is possible and necessary."

The "recommendations" were printed in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Tuesday. The day after, the central organ carried the story about the "20,000 former ones" who were already sick and tired of the Golden West. And, almost as if in passing, while introducing the emigrants wanting to return, the SED stated that it had made an additional change in its course.

As recently as a year ago, one could read in the SED central organ that whereas "numerous former GDR citizens" had applied for a return to their country, it was "impossible to meet such a request, understandable though it is." Last week, on the other hand, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND wrote: "The Foreign Ministry has been instructed to examine the applications."

The SED propagandists evidently have learned a new lesson. Many a person returning to the GDR will be a welcome witness for the SED of the picture of horror its propaganda is painting of the Federal Republic day in and day out--the picture of a ruthless society which pushes more and more people first into unemployment and then into dire poverty.

It is in accordance with this pattern that those 113 citizens were selected whom NEUES DEUTSCHLAND identified as allegedly being ready to return. In the process it became clear, however, what trouble SED propaganda, otherwise specializing in pure ideology, has in coming up with solid data.

GDR citizens too were able to follow on West German television the indignant denials of persons allegedly wanting to return. "For heaven's sake, I would rather die than go to the other side again," said Steffi Zielinski, 19, in front of television cameras, adding that she earns "very, very good money" as a waitress.

A just as clear vote for the West was issued by Bernd and Regina Moosrainer from Treuchtlingen about whom NEUES DEUTSCHLAND had reported that "they would like to return to the GDR...since they are experiencing a constant professional and social decline." Bernd Moosrainer earns DM 2,900 [a month] and lives in "a wonderful apartment."

Businessman Hans-Dieter Wallbach, who has a wife and two children, has called Muenden his home for the past 3 years. He says: "We feel very comfortable here; I really don't know how they hit on our names."

A poll among 57 of the 113 persons names showed that 29 actually want to return to the GDR. On the other hand, 28 of those polled now feel so comfortable that they would like to stay here, and 18 of these thought differently in the past and applied for permission to return with the GDR Permanent Mission in Bonn.

"The shock for a moment at being without a job" prompted Johanna Kalms from Giessen to make a return application in behalf of herself and her family, but now she thinks "We will manage here all right."

Lathe operator Bernd Motz from Bad Kreuznack last July made an "inquiry, more or less, whether I could return." He says "things were a little difficult in the beginning, as they are for anyone."

In some cases a refusal from the GDR mission in Bonn ("We see no need for you to move back") only triggered the requisite courage for making it in the West.

Physician Wilfried Weber, 41, was so much at a loss in Gross Umstadt in Hesse, his new home, that he went so far as to turn for help to his former GDR employer, a polyclinic in the Erzgebirge--without success. Now he has a successful practice in the West and says, "Things are looking up."

On the other hand, lathe operator Reinhard Oehme, 44, who came to Vellmar from Dresden a year ago, says he wants to return "today rather than tomorrow." Oehme's case is typical to this extent: Over there he was recognized as a worker and decently paid; here, being over 40, he cannot find any work any longer. "I have come to understand the system here," he says; "at my age I can do nothing else than work as a concierge, without social security and medical insurance."

Almost all those who want to go back to the other side are well over 40. The best job a 45-year-old woman who used to be an officer in an industrial firm in Karl-Marx-Stadt was offered in the Golden West was an assembly job for DM 9 an hour.

It is primarily social problem cases which the GDR will have to confront again--families such as that of unemployed animal keeper Manfred Hill, 43, who with his wife and three children lives in the attic of a shelter for the homeless in Berlin-Spandau. "The beds had not even been set up yet when the bailiff came," says a woman who also lives there, likewise from the GDR.

"At our age one should not do such things any longer," says Marga Trentzsch, 46, about her unsuccessful move from Dresden. Mrs Trentzsch and her husband, Manfred, 53, still live in transit quarters in Philippsburg, Baden-Wuerttemberg. She is sick and cannot work any more. Having lost 25 pounds in the West, she says: "I suffer miserably."

So those who would like to throw themselves into the protective arms of socialism are predominantly people whom Honecker's GDR found it easiest to let go--the old and dispirited, the sick, the ones with social and psychological problems.

What massive psychological treatment the GDR is meting out to the approximately 500,000 citizens wanting to leave was made clear by another piece published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. A couple of days after publishing the list of returnees, the paper, on Friday, featured 31 readers' letters--supposedly the voice of the people.

The party-tailored tenor concerning the "soldiers of fortune who sought personal advantage with capitalism and logically had to fail in doing so" is unequivocal: let them "stay well out of reach!"

8790

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POPULATION DECLINE WORRIES EXPERTS

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 35, 5 Mar 85 p 1

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 5 Mar 85: "GDR Experts Do Not Expect Simple Reproduction of the Population in the Foreseeable Future"]

[Text] GDR experts calculate that simple reproduction of the population cannot be achieved in the foreseeable future. In specialized literature, however, they point out that simple reproduction of the population is a strategically important task and must not be abandoned as a long term goal. They assert that if it is not attained in a period of roughly 3 to 4 decades, serious negative consequences will follow (e.g. unfavorable age distribution in the population, a decline in labor force numbers and an increasing economic burden due to the growing proportion of pensioners in the population).

In the GDR experts' opinion, a prerequisite for the simple reproduction of the population is a much stronger expression of the GDR families' desire to have children, especially with regard to having second and third children. It is, however, precisely the desire for third children which is diminishing despite the GDR leadership's sociopolitical measures to stimulate it during the last decade. In view of the diminishing numbers of births recently noted in the GDR, experts admit that "sociopolitical measures" to promote births have only limited effect. They did, of course, contribute to the large increase in births in the GDR after 1976, but did not have a lasting influence on parents' pleasure in having children and their motivation to have a third child. GDR scholars cite the GDR citizens' strongly developed ideas about affluence as being one reason for this.

While more than 245,000 children were born in the GDR in 1980, the number was only about 228,000 in 1984. By the end of 1983, the GDR population had dropped to 16,701,000; the figure for 1984 is not yet out, but the population decline may well have speeded up due to the emigration movement.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LISTING OF ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS, ENROLLMENTS PUBLISHED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 2, 1985 pp 12-17

[Background article: "In the GDR and East Berlin There Are 71 Universities and Colleges and 245 Technical Schools"]

[Text] At present, students are being trained in the GDR and East Berlin at 71 universities and colleges, and at a total of 245 technical schools. The "Decrees and Reports" of the GDR Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs, published at the end of last year, provides a list of these academic institutions and specifies which state authorities or other institutions are in charge of them. According to the latest official GDR data available (as of late 1983), about 298,000 students attended these academic institutions; almost 168,000 of them were enrolled in technical schools, about 130,000 studied at universities and colleges.

Universities and Colleges

Of the 71 universities and colleges as well as academic institutions of a collegiate nature, 29 are under the direction of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs (in the following text, the name of the respective district will be listed in parentheses, if the town is not the district seat).

The most important academic institutions with the relatively highest enrollment in the GDR are the six universities, which without exception have a long tradition and whose fields of study offer a wide spectrum. The six universities heading the ministry's list are:

--the Humboldt University of Berlin (East); the academic institution, founded in 1810 under the name of Friedrich-Wilhelms University, was reopened in 1946 and received its present name 3 years later. About 20,000 students attend it annually.

--the Karl-Marx University of Leipzig; its academic predecessor, the University of Leipzig, started its teaching in 1409. It was reopened at the beginning of 1946 and received the name of Karl Marx in 1953. On the average, 15,000 students are trained there annually.

--the Martin-Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg; its tradition goes back to the University of Halle, founded in 1694 and merged with the University of Wittenberg in 1817. The university, which received its name in October 1933, was reopened in 1946. About 10,000 students are enrolled there annually.

--the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena (Gera); the university was founded in 1557, its present name dates to November 1934. It was reopened in the fall of 1945. For years, its average number of students has been 5,000.

--the Wilhelm-Pieck University of Rostock; its origins go back to the beginning of the 15th century. After the Second World War, it resumed teaching at the beginning of 1946, and in 1976 was given the name of the first GDR president, Wilhelm Pieck. It trains 7,000 students per year.

--the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University of Griefswald (Rostock); this smallest GDR university continues the tradition of the University of Griefswald, founded in 1456 and bearing its present name since June 1933. More than 3,500 students attend it annually.

Technical academic institutions are headed by:

--the Technical University of Dresden, which is built on the tradition of the Technical Institute founded in 1890 and reopened as such in 1946, converted to a technical university in 1961;

--the Mining Academy of Freiberg (Karl-Marx-Stadt), which is the oldest college of mining science in the world and has been in existence since 1765.

In addition, there are five institutes of technology, located in Magdeburg, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Ilmenau (Suhl), Leipzig and Leuna-Merseburg (Halle).

Specialized technical institutes are the following:

--"Friedrich List" College for Communications in Dresden (founded in 1952),

--College for Architecture and Construction in Weimar (Erfurt), which was founded there in 1860 and reestablished in 1946.

Since 1969, the status of college is also held by the eight engineering schools in Koethen (Halle), Zittau (Dresden), Wismar (Rostock), Mittweida (Karl-Marx-Stadt), Zwickau (Karl-Marx-Stadt), Dresden, Cottbus, East Berlin-Wartenberg, and the engineering school for navigation in Warnemuende/Wustrow (Rostock).

The Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs is also in charge of:

--the "Bruno Leuschner" School of Economics in East Berlin, founded in 1956, the only college of economic sciences, and

--the School of Commerce in Leipzig.

Lastly, the ministry supervises the three medical academies in Dresden, Erfurt and Magdeburg, which provide academic training for medical students exclusively.

The Ministry for Public Education has supervision of the nine teachers' colleges which are located all over the GDR. They are in Guestrow (Schwerin), Leipzig, Halle, Magdeburg, Potsdam, Dresden, Erfurt/Muehlhausen (Erfurt), Zwickau (Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Koethen (Halle).

The 12 academic institutions in the arts and cultural fields, where young artists are being trained and which are under the direction of the Ministry for Culture, are mostly concentrated in East Berlin and the traditional cultural centers, Dresden and Leipzig. They are:

--the Art Academy in East Berlin;

--the School of Fine Arts in Dresden;

--the School of Graphics and Book Design in Leipzig;

--the School of Industrial Design in Halle-Burg Giebichenstein;

--four music academies in East Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden and Weimar (Erfurt);

--the School of Dramatic Arts in East Berlin;

--the School of Drama in Leipzig;

--the School for Film and Television in Potsdam-Babelsberg, as well as

--the Institute of Literature in Leipzig.

The Ministry for Defense is in charge of 11 academic institutions where the junior military staff is being educated:

--the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy in Dresden. It was founded in 1959 and gained college status in 1962;

--the Military Political School in East Berlin-Gruenau, where political officers are trained;

--the Military Medical Academy in Bad Saarow (Frankfurt/Oder);

--the Officers' School of the Armed Forces in Loebau (Dresden);

- the Officers' School of the Air Force/Air Defense in Kamenz (Dresden);
- the Officers' School of the People's Navy in Stralsund (Rostock);
- the Officers' School of the Border Troops in Plauen (Karl-Marx-Stadt);
- the Officers' School in Prora (Rostock);
- the GDR Institute of Military History in Potsdam;
- the GDR Institute for Civilian Defense in Beeskow (Frankfurt/Oder);
- the Institute for Foreign Language Training of the NVA in Naumburg (Halle).

The Ministry of the Interior supervises:

- the College of the German People's Police in East Berlin;
- the Officers' School--squads--in Dresden, as well as
- the Ministry's Institute for Marxist-Leninist Advanced Training in East Berlin.

The Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs is in charge of:

- the College for Agriculture and Foodstuffs in Bernburg (Halle);
- the College for Agricultural Production Cooperatives in Meissen (Dresden).

Lastly, the list by the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs also records some specialized technical schools which come under the jurisdiction of various state, party, or socio-political bodies. Thus the GDR Council of Ministers supervises:

- the GDR Academy of Political Science and Law in Potsdam-Babelsberg; it grew out of the "German Academy for Administration" founded in 1947, and in 1953 it received the name "German Academy of Political Science and Law." At times, it also carried additionally the name of former party chief and head of state Walter Ulbricht; since 1972 it is known by its present name.

The State Secretariat for Physical Education and Sports directs:

- the German College of Physical Education in Leipzig;

The GDR Customs Administration is in charge of:

- the Institute of GDR Customs Administration in Ploetzin (Potsdam).

The GDR Trade Union Federation (FDGB) has a central training institution,

--the "Fritz Heckert" Trade Union School in Bernau (Frankfurt/Oder), which started its college-level teaching program in 1956.

The only academic institution of the SED, which is under the SED Central Committee, is listed in the official roster as:

--the "Karl Marx" Party School in East Berlin, founded in 1946, where students can receive doctorates and their qualification for university teaching.

It is not clear why other, comparable SED academic institutions--such as the Academy for Social Sciences, or the Central Institute for Socialist Business Management (both have the right to confer doctorates)--were not included in the list compiled by the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs.

Technical Schools

At present, there are 245 technical schools in the GDR, which are subdivided into technological schools (engineering schools), non-technological schools (especially in the area of medicine), and institutes of a technical school nature (particularly in the field of education).

At the head of the catalog by the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs are 90 engineering schools, and special technical schools or institutes, which are subject to specific ministries (or other institutions) according to their sphere of responsibility; they are located all over the GDR. The following schools are supervised by the following ministries and institutions:

--the Ministry for Coal and Energy directs two engineering schools, one for energy industry and one for mining and energetics;

--the Ministry for Ore Mining, Metallurgy and Potash runs two engineering schools (for rolling mill and metallurgical works technology, and for automation and materials technology);

--the Ministry for Chemical Industry has three engineering schools in the field of chemistry;

--the Ministry for Electrical Engineering and Electronics supervises seven engineering schools in these areas, as well as an institute for training engineering teachers, and one technical school for opticians;

--the Ministry for Heavy Machinery and Equipment runs five engineering schools in these fields;

--the Ministry for Construction of Machine Tools and Processing Machinery has two engineering schools for machine building, and an institute for training engineering teachers.

--the Ministry for Construction of General Machinery, Agricultural Machinery and Vehicles supervises two engineering schools for machine building;

--the Ministry for Light Industry has four engineering schools (two for textile technology, one for garment technology, one for leather processing) and a research institute for leather and imitation leather technology;

--the Ministry for Glass and Ceramics Industry, three engineering schools (two for glass technology, one for paper and packing technology);

--the Ministry for Construction Industry, eight engineering schools in the field of construction industry;

--the Ministry for Environmental Protection and Water Management, one engineering school for water management;

--the Ministry for Trade and Supply, one engineering school for the foodstuffs industry, two technical schools (one for domestic trade, one for the restaurant and hotel industry), as well as one institute for training economics teachers;

--the Ministry for District Managed Industry and Foodstuffs Industry, three engineering schools (one for the foodstuffs industry, one for wood technology, one for machine building and toy design);

--the Ministry for Transportation, two engineering schools (one for traffic engineering technology, one for transport operation technology);

--the Ministry for Post and Telecommunications, one engineering school of the German Postal Service;

--the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs, 15 engineering schools or agricultural engineering schools (some of them with a specific field of study such as grain, dairy, forest industry), as well as two engineering schools for veterinary medicine, and two institutes (one for training and advanced training of engineering teachers, one for advanced training of agricultural cadres for abroad); the ministry's responsibility also extends to four special agricultural engineering schools (for seed management, meat industry) which are allocated to certain state-owned enterprises, and four agricultural engineering schools which are subject to the respective district councils;

--the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, one agricultural engineering school for research;

--the Central Board of the Federation of Mutual Farm Assistance (VdgB), one agricultural engineering school.

There are 56 technical schools in the GDR which provide training for the so-called intermediate medical professions, such as nurses, midwives, laboratory assistants, physiotherapists, dental technicians, etc. Some of these medical technical schools are under the direct supervision of the Ministry for Health; most of them are the responsibility of certain hospitals in the various districts, but are also supervised by the ministry.

Under the direct supervision of the ministry are:

--the School of Pharmacy for Young People in Leipzig;

--the Technical School for Health and Social Affairs in Potsdam;

--the Medical Technical School at the Central Clinic for Heart and Lung Diseases in Bad Berka (Erfurt).

In the individual GDR districts and in East Berlin, there are the following number of medical technical schools:

East Berlin: 2; Cottbus: 1; Dresden: 4; Erfurt: 5; Frankfurt/Oder: 2; Gera: 3; Halle: 8, including one for stomatology; Karl-Marx-Stadt: 6, among them a rehabilitation center for the blind; Leipzig: 4; Magdeburg: 3; Neubrandenburg: 4; Potsdam: 3; Rostock: 3; Suhl: 3; Schwerin: 2.

Of the technical schools, there are 47 institutions for teaching professions, where teachers and nursery school teachers are trained. Directly under the supervision of the Ministry for Public Education is the Sorb Institute for Teacher Training in Bautzen (Dresden).

The East Berlin Magistrate directs two teacher training schools for nursery school teachers and one teacher training institute.

All other technical schools are the responsibility of the respective departments of the district councils. As a rule, the technical schools are teacher training institutes whose number per district is listed as follows; the additional number of institutes for nursery school teachers is indicated in parentheses:

Cottbus: 1 (1); Dresden: 4 (1); Erfurt: 3 (1); Frankfurt/Oder: 1 (1); Gera: 1 (1); Halle: 4 (2); Karl-Marx-Stadt: 2 (2); Leipzig: 2 (1); Magdeburg: 2 (1); Neubrandenburg: 1 (1); Potsdam: 2 (1); Rostock: 1 (1); Suhl: 1 (1); Schwerin: 2 (1).

Fourteen special technical schools are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Culture. They consist of one technical school each for librarians, book dealers, museologists, circus and acrobatic training, club managers, advertising and design; there are also two technical schools for applied art, three dancing schools--including a state ballet school in East Berlin and one special school for artistic dance (Dresden)--, and one technical school department each at the School of Fine Arts (Dresden) and the School of Dramatic Arts (East Berlin).

There are also a number of technical schools which are either subject to the respective government ministry or other central institutions. The GDR minister is responsible for the School of Political Sciences in Weimar (Erfurt).

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs supervises the School for Foreign Trade in East Berlin.

In the area of vocational training, there are two institutions on the technical school level. The State Secretariat for Vocational Training is in charge of the Institute for Vocational Teaching in Magdeburg; the department of vocational training and vocational counseling of the Leipzig district council is responsible for the Training Institute for Home Wardens in Hohenpriessnitz.

The Ministry for Defense supervises a Military-Technical School on the island of Ruegen, and to the Ministry of the Interior belong:

--three technical schools for training their own junior staff, and

--one engineering school for geodesy and cartography, and

--one technical school for archivists.

The Federation of Organization-owned Enterprises (VOB) "Zentrag" is responsible for the Engineering School for Polygraphy in Leipzig, and the Association of GDR Journalists is in charge of the Technical School of Journalism in Leipzig. The GDR Association of Consumer Cooperatives supervises the Technical School for Domestic Trade in Blankenburg (Magdeburg).

The Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs is responsible for:

--two Technical Schools for Economy,

--two Technical Schools for Library Sciences,

--one Engineering School for Installation Construction.

Lastly, the ministry also has supervision of another 19 institutions of a technical school nature which are affiliated with universities or colleges or other institutions. Among them are eight medical technical schools affiliated with universities or medical academies, and eight technical schools established at institutes of technology or engineering colleges. In addition, there are technical school departments at the Museum of Natural History, the Museum of German History, and an institution for special training of translators/interpreters.

9917

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HUNGARY

TWO OR MORE CANDIDATES NOMINATED FOR PARTY POSTS

Party Election Replaces Incumbents

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Feb 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Those Who Have Our Trust"]

[Excerpts] The new party committees have taken upon themselves the perfection of this reform process. What can they rely on, what kind of help can they count on? First of all, on their electors' trust, which we can call a prepaid trust since more than 30 percent of the party secretaries and 43 percent of the committee members are new, but at least as justifiable is the well-earned epithet, partly because the majority of officeholders were reelected in recognition of their work so far and partly because the capabilities of the new ones are not unknown.

After the membership meetings which elected the leadership, of course, the party members ponder the ratio of changes. To what extent is the 30 percent or the more than 40 percent exchange reasonable? Is it too much or too little? The experience of the next few years will give the final answer. At best we can now refer to the fact that the lower party organizations most assuredly weighed their decisions, injected new blood where there was a need for it and stuck by those who were suited to the post. The reasons for the exchange were various. Quite a few party secretaries and committee members quit, others grew tired. And the decisive factor: the party organizations and the previous party committees had fully trained the new generation. The multiple nominations--in 4 to 5 percent of the candidates--prove that there were still reserves left over.

The experiences of past years remind us that some party organizations and party committees are inclined to treat the noneconomic problems as secondary. In more than one place, for example, ideological work was forced into the background, and party propaganda topics were reduced. Although new features of the economy inevitably alter the developed picture of socialism, they have made previously accepted norms and values uncertain. For instance, doubts have been raised in regard to the practical realization of harmony between individual interest and public interest, and the primacy of the latter. How do the small businesses accommodate themselves to socialism, how far have we come in wage differentiation according to output, has there been a loss of appreciation for social activity, where does the socialist society's superiority--together with the contradictions of its development--manifest itself vis-a-vis capitalist society? What role is

played in socialist development by the contradictions which are phenomena alien to socialism, and how can they be brought to an end? How do we employ the principles of Marxism-Leninism under the present circumstances? How do we assess the 40 years which have elapsed since the liberation? We can continue the series of questions at great length.

New Election Procedures

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Feb 85 p 3

[Article by Laszlo Rozsa: "With or Without Alternatives?"]

[Excerpt] No Turning Back to Bourgeois Pluralism

Our economic problems--alongside the pileup of troubles--have accelerated a positive process: we are investigating more purposefully and more courageously the power reserves which lie hidden in our society. During development of the economic and technical factors, however, we experience at every turn that these reserves cannot be suitably exploited without the development of socioeconomic democracy. The logic of reform indicates, namely, that it is impossible on one side to improve the willingness to innovate and the flexible, adaptable conduct of the enterprises and production units, that it is impossible to create on a mass scale a zestful, inquisitive and responsible attitude in a producer if this producer feels his words carry no weight in deliberations and he has no hand in decisions, if in the democratic sense there is no mutual dependence between him and the leader. It is impossible to reduce merely to the category of financial incentive the efforts made to stimulate individual and social participation and meanwhile to neglect the political/moral inducements which perhaps motivate human and producer conduct no less.

There are, however, a few questions the elucidation of which we must not disregard. A group of these questions is similar to those which have generally arisen in connection with the reform and certain measures. It required an elucidation in connection with the reform so that it serves to make the socialist economy stronger and more effective, to reconcile it with the demands of the time and is not the prelude to a recapitulation process; likewise, the measures taken to stimulate the democratic processes must not be steps backward toward bourgeois political pluralism. (Nor toward recognition of the fact that in our present society other ideologies outside Marxist ideology, indeed other political views, exist.) The process, namely, which the guiding principles of the Central Committee congress urge and support for expanding the opportunities of democratic participation and for developing the content of existing democratic forums and institutions does not, on the one hand, impugn the principle of democratic centralism and, on the other hand, excludes--even in hypothetical form--a reversion to bourgeois political pluralism, the end result of which would be a return to the multiparty system. In this respect the choice is fundamental and definitive: not political pluralism but development and encouragement of elements of socialist self-management in society is the solution.

It is nevertheless a fact that both in the economy and in social and political practice an indispensable place can and must be given to the more open expression

of interests and views in the search for solutions. It must also be clearly stated that in this social practice it is accompanied by the more open occurrence of unavoidable conflicts and perhaps by a public life more participatory than up until now. It is also a fact that in this case our public life will be less "cushioned." Its performers and main performers can less often allow themselves to listen when they ought to speak, since according to the rules of democracy they must justify and defend their standpoint in the community in which they work. It may be taken for granted, however, that the decisions and resolutions which arise through such processes find more active support and forge greater unity than those which are made without the community's knowledge and consent.

Hope and Possibility

Dependence on leaders in the democratic sense also undergoes a change, because the public figure must increasingly demonstrate his competence and aptitude not only to his "superiors" but also to his constituents. The competitive elements which can evolve among the candidates will also have their role, chiefly in the fact that the voters prod their candidates into doing good work and having high standards. In this respect, however, no one expects and no one wants "parliamentary dramas" and empty verbal duels but rather they want to become familiar with the candidate's ideas, his alternative to the solution and--last but not least--his ability, his character, his human quality. Our public opinion is rather impatient today and scorns those who, for lack of independent ideas, sensitivity to problems and analytical and persuasive skills, merely read aloud prolix texts and shy away from open debate. In our country there are many who not only are unable to speak their mind but also are unable to win over their listeners through the logic of their ideas and the quickness of their wit. But someone who thinks clearly is able in general to convey his thoughts simply and unambiguously. It is evident that persuasion must have more place in the democratic processes than up until now.

12327

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HUNGARY

LOOKING AT COUNTRY BEFORE PARTY CONGRESS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 12 Jan 85 p 7

[Article by Editor-in-Chief Istvan Soltesz: "Self-Inspection"]

[Text] We would like to be free of all sorts of uncertainty.

Can this spring's congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the key upcoming event of our domestic politics, carry out such a task? Perhaps we are asking too much? Are we overestimating 1985 because after the difficult restraint of preceding years we would very much like to get somewhat more oxygen? Perhaps we are moving our desires into the conference hall, ahead of time and without selection?

Is it a psychosis made up of natural desires and floating, ephemeral dreams to ask today whether a somewhat more indulgent figure can already be seen? Can the approaching conference talk about such things?

Every congress has had determining significance in the given period, even if it was not always auspicious. There were times when the congress was a decorated stage for a policy proceeding on a bad path, a policy characterized by a shocking failure to study Hungarian reality. There is nothing in this to be denied. But without doubt it evoked recognition when a mature, democratic society and the party itself were able to face themselves and carry out a historic correction, with no little support from international progressives. Now the great forum of 1985 opens in a well cultivated political field, in possession of determining experiences valid for a long time, with a leadership surrounded by respect and devotion. Without a doubt it will be able to establish the status of the country with strong consistency of principles and without manipulative embellishments. With a practice consistently linked to the great socialist goals it will propose a course for the next 5 years which can be followed in Hungary, for the progress of the nation without shocks.

The guiding principles of the congress have been submitted to the debating forums of the country in good time. They contain the basic principles of the resolution in an undisguised way, to be supplemented with the opinions of other important organizations, movements, party members and non-party people. Thus the value judgment of the country can be present in the conference hall. The congress cannot become the protocol event of a smaller group; one can expect a

conference imbued with patriotic responsibility and sincere internationalism. Its documents can be authenticated not by a formal concert of applause but rather by national debate and work.

We should not deny our uncertainties, but neither should we deny our right to confidence. Yes, we have a right to optimism, which because of the nature of human desires may believe the immediate future to be somewhat more beautiful than the world realities and domestic circumstances make possible, may estimate the speed of progress to be somewhat faster, and yet correctly represents the will of public opinion. The capacity of society, of the economy, of culture and of the standard of living should grow, we should be more liberated.

It is a fact that the economic and other storms have not broken the rudder of our domestic ship or toppled its mast. We undertook years of fasting that we might preserve our relative freedom of maneuvering, maintaining our economic, political and governmental credibility. We understood that in difficult times honorable survival also can be a fundamental question for a nation. Our faith is given not only by the relative and contradictory achievement but rather by an experience more lasting than this, the lesson that even in the most critical times there is a possibility for and meaning to united struggle. The generations of today have proven again that despite all the hail and destructive storms the thousand year history of Hungary is a history not of failures but rather a history of unbroken and successful new beginnings.

We are not satisfied and we have completed nothing, but when we sing Vorosmarty's anthem, which calls for steadfast faithful service to the homeland, we feel that perseverance in the goal and in the struggle has become our national characteristic.

May there be a few among us who are enervated, a few who find fault, as is customary in trying times? They complain that there were not enough on deck for the merciless attacks of the waves, some perhaps feared a shipwreck, while the nation remained united in readiness for sacrifice, for new confidence can be won with new deeds, in a good debate.

Our greatest anguish is caused by the doubts surrounding peace. We have placed our confidence in the hands of history because we believe in a lawful relationship of world scale, that socialism is the first well organized social force which has a chance to finally eliminate wars. If it could do nothing else but "only" this, even then it would be our rational obligation to support this new world force through thick and thin.

This many interests and obligations have recruited us into the army of those who trust in the future.

One of our ill-wishers stated recently with malice, via the waves of a not exactly friendly radio, that a congress year in Hungary is a euphoric period of self-satisfaction. How little does he know about the present public state of his own country, the public opinion which does not cheer easily, the Hungarian public opinion which is well trained in politics! What he calls the congress

year is also a period of sharp debate, a testing period of work waging war with circumstances. Even with the approved social policy, demographic and income compensating measures we will probably meet in 1985 with painful but unavoidable price increases, annoying bureaucracy in supply and administration and other troubles. The improving effect of our reform efforts can become tangible only in the longer run.

At the same time, in 1985, we must assume not only the annual portions of the work but rather much more--to develop a system of tasks for longer range action with national thinking on the basis of our decisions, the realization of which may finally push us forward.

The debate about all this is not easy, because there is always a strong temptation to regard only our own opinion as sober, realistic and the standard for rationality, and to reject other positions. The work is not easy, because after a period of frosty weather we must achieve quality and put a stop to the decline in income and the reduction in investment gradually, constantly keeping an eye on the balance and not losing sight of the goal, to formulate a program in which the goal of human activity is not merely satisfaction of needs but rather surpassing the immediate needs, transforming and enriching them as well.

However much we desire an existence without uncertainties the hard fact is that the world has a greater influence on our lives than we have on the world situation.

We stick to that aspect of our policy which, with a constant readiness for criticism and with merciless consistency, compares the reality of our goals with the changing circumstances. This adherence is not at all identical with the euphoria of self-satisfaction. Our behavior is characterized much more by confidence resting on self-inspection.

8984

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HUNGARY

MULTIPLE NOMINATIONS FOR ELECTIONS

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 15 Jan 85 p 5

[Article by Imre Szenes: "Multiple-Nomination Elections"]

[Text] If we can choose among a number of possibilities in our small and large affairs we will be able to weigh things better. This will be the right and obligation of citizens in this year's elections, which must have multiple candidates. The party congress guiding principles characterized this new situation in a comprehensive way: "Socialist democracy will expand with the modification of the electoral system."

I asked three representatives how the multiple candidate election will affect them.

Mandate and Prestige

Dr Jozsef Ladanyi, chairman of the Borsod County Council and national assembly representative for Mezokovesd and the area around it:

"To be a candidate for a parliamentary mandate, for one thing, is an honor because it is a sign of special social respect. Thus the person winning the mandate must fulfill his commission with increased responsibility. At the same time, those receiving fewer votes cannot feel themselves to be losers, because in our country no representative lives from this office and one remains a respected person without it too. They can continue to take part in public life."

"I profoundly agree with multiple candidate elections," added Janos Reidl, chief of the quality control group of the Tab computer technology factory unit of Videoton and representative of Tab area in Somogy County. "If I am nominated again and if I should be elected again, I will again assume the great deal of work which goes with this. And if I am passed over, I will not feel that I have failed."

Dr Tibor Lang, director of the Pharmaceutical Research Institute, was elected a representative for the first time in the present cycle, in Ujpalota, District XV of the capital. He also approves of the multiple candidate election because he considers a certain competition necessary in political public life too.

"In this way the population can choose its parliamentary representative from among many more suitable candidates than before. But in a democratic society we cannot have the view that anyone is depriving a candidate of his prestige if he does not get a mandate."

I asked the three legislators if they would give their constituents a sort of overview of their work thus far in the event that they were renominated, and would they provide a part of this for our paper.

Balance--In a Nutshell

In this connection Jozsef Ladanyi spoke first of his experience that in many places the voters still measure the work of their representatives according to what investments or developments they were able to get for their districts. He hoped, however, that if the economic independence of the councils becomes greater then the majority of the local investments will be decided on there and so they may become much less a "lobbying" virtue of the representatives. This is not the task of the legislators, rather it is to decide well in national affairs, and to represent and serve local interests appropriately in harmony with these.

The subsidized lower grade school of the town of Szentistvan was renovated, expanded and given a new gym with 15 millions in council and central money and with local resources and social work worth 5 million. Construction of a natural gas main-line is now under way in Mezokovesd. They are now preparing to provide piped water supply in the town of Szomolya.

Jamos Reidl also spoke of a few similar and other developments. He noted that since 32 small communities belong to his electoral district his activity as a representative is directed primarily at the development of tiny villages, at reducing their well known problems. He always brings these up at sessions of parliament and in the various committees. He feels that he had a part in the fact that in the present 5-year plan the earlier 12 percent of the Somogy County development fund going to tiny villages was increased to 22 percent.

"I succeeded in intervening in the interest of having the preferential railway drafts for pensioners extended to the long-distance routes of Volan as well, beginning 1 January 1983. This is especially important for the tiny villages because their residents must travel to nearby towns or cities for more serious shopping."

Tibor Lang as a scientific researcher tried to use his critiques and his broad domestic and international experience to help those guiding economic policy in the development of a more useful, so-called selective, industrial development. The essence of his parliamentary contributions in this regard was that the development of branches of industry which use a lot of energy and imported raw material should be limited or ended; and it would be justified to provide increased support for the development of branches of industry using less energy, using largely domestic raw material and capable of export.

"I might mention the pharmaceutical industry as an example. It produces exportable finished pharmaceuticals worth a minimum of 100 forints from raw material worth one forint. A selective industrial policy is one of the key questions of our national economy and I have also served this with other data and analyses...."

An Introduction of Public Life Suitability

The voters will justly expect from the two or three candidates competing for their mandate that they will provide a sort of individual program about how they imagine their representative service in the affairs of the country and in the local affairs of their constituents. So I asked the three representatives to outline a few of their ideas from what would express their own programs in the event of their renomination.

"I could only say," Tibor Lang continued, "that I would continue to concentrate my activity on the problems of a more realistic industrial policy, because in this area our national economy could enrich itself with tens and hundreds of billions. And since this is also one of the goals of the economic policy of the party, according to the congress guiding principles, I would devote greater attention to seeing that execution should take place at a faster tempo."

Jozsef Ladanyi answered my question with an objection, because, as he said: "Every candidate here starts with the program of the party, of the People's Front, so it would not be proper to expect some sort of individual programs from them too."

In my opinion it is not justified to feel that an individual program of a candidate is opposed to the comprehensive party and government program affecting national questions. On the contrary, the former might supplement and aid the realization of the latter. In addition, it is primarily by means of his individual program that the candidate might demonstrate his sensitivity to or suitability for public life, his initiative.

"Instead of individual programs," Jozsef Ladanyi said, "it would be better for the future candidates to talk about what proposals or ideas they would have for the solution or acceleration of certain national or local affairs on the basis of the program of the People's Front. The seventh 5-year plans of the country and of our county are being prepared now. So if I am again a representative candidate I will start from this. I consider it necessary to work to see that the work of the newly elected parliament will be more flexible and more polemical, so that, in the words of the party congress guiding principles, it will really 'realize its constitutional functions more consistently in determining and supervising governmental activity.'"

"For this very reason I definitely approve of individual programs for candidates," Janos Reidl continued this train of thought. "Within the framework of this I could only promise continuity, that I will continue to struggle for the development of the tiny villages and for the possibility of preserving their populations. I would urge changes in the working methods of the national assembly so that it would be characterized not so much by formality

and more by considered consultation. I would not restrict criticism to committee meetings, rather we should crystalize there the arguments or modifying and new proposals which could be spoken out in full session. It would broaden this practice if more details of the national economic plans were submitted to parliament, with the possible alternatives."

8984

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HUNGARY

LACK OF MORAL, ETHICAL STANDARDS DISCUSSED

Debrecen HAJDU-BIHARI NAPLO in Hungarian 2 Feb 85 page not available

[Editorial by Jozsef T. Szucs: "The Good and the Bad"]

[Excerpt] These days--because earlier perhaps we had rather kept silent about our problems than had them discussed candidly--we can hear such overstatements that the increased rate of crime and the even more notable moral uncertainty will soon be capable of also deforming the moral aspects of our society. And a disintegration of the moral system certainly would not leave unaffected the other structures of society either. For instance corruption, money under the counter, fraud are approaching the stage where they may disrupt the entire function of commerce and turn it inside out. Moral laxity thus overflows into economic losses. Or is the former caused by certain troubles with management? It is all the same from the standpoint that they cannot be independent from each other. Thus, the alternative depicted by the anxious ones is that moral deterioration can lead to incomprehensible losses and damage within our entire society.

On the other hand, one also encounters opinions that our problems of this type are largely fed on our economic difficulties and, when they are overcome, the crime wave will also abate and the scope of negative phenomena will rapidly diminish.

I wish they would be right!

But these days the journalist tend to become worried after listening to certain experts discussing the topic.

Because, for example, the journalist would be forced to agree that, at the present time, there is hardly a system of moral curbs which would effectively prevent actions deviating from the desirable ones. The law can only determine the guilty ones and it may, perhaps, have some restraining effect. But prevention of the deed should be in the realm of the family, the school, the work place and the everyday norms.

In many cases the individual develops such a disturbance of his basic equilibrium that he does not see a "normal" way out. The rapid changes, the loss of values, the undefined state of the way of life to be followed, the depersonalization occurring in large cities, moreover, the increasing burdens of

making ends meet, they are all phenomena which almost provoke the behavior leading to crime (or even self destruction).

It is true that a part of this is by no means characteristic of our society alone. We could also state that, so far, not only our country but all of the others in this world have been unable to successfully wrestle with these problems. However, this does not at all diminish our responsibility. The less so because we also cannot deny the existence of special "Hungarian" problems.

At this time it is particularly important that we pay attention to those who have a concept, some idea about how to treat the troubles. Because I feel that, on the whole, we are merely at the very beginning of prevention, at recognizing the situation. That much has already become clear that our current troubles should neither be magnified nor minimized. They should be viewed for what they really are: Danger. This, however, can later also bring about more serious situations than the current ones unless we become mature enough to resolve the contradictions.

2473

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HUNGARY

INEFFICIENCY, IRRESPONSIBILITY OF WORKERS CONDEMNED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Jan 85 p 7

[Article by Laszlo Rozsa: "So Where Is Our Responsible Society?"]

[Excerpt] In our society we are more inclined to explain than penalize poor, careless, slipshod work. Yet the moment we accept the irregular as commonplace, when it works its way and is allowed into economic relations, living and working conditions and ethical standards, at that moment we impede the effective process of structural changes. But we are finding more and more that without the firm binding agent of discipline, integrity, good work and high public standards, without the civic attitude which is composed of its elements, neither the new economic regulators nor the technical/technological modernization nor any kind of ambitious growth at all can be attained. The two either develop together, reciprocally, and stimulate each other or they come into such serious conflict with each other that both get bogged down.

This is nothing new. Many have already pointed out that growth and movement away from the current difficult phase depend largely on to what extent in our society we succeed in placing the system of decisions and responsibility on a clearer, more unequivocal foundation. With the increase in enterprise independence, more suitable distribution of authority and decentralization of management, a few things have already occurred in this matter, and the removal of bureaucratic growths in the economy continues. Everyday experiences, on the other hand, seem to refute that we have made some progress in this area.

For example, the general public is regularly informed in the weeks before Christmas that there is a scandalous lag in apartment construction in Budapest. On the other hand, we hardly hear anything about who are the ones responsible for this and, on the economic/legal level, what kinds of penalties have ensued from it--not for those waiting for apartments but for those who are negligent. Since, however, the scandal broke out and the pressure of public opinion increased, it followed that the assembling and installing companies in their hot haste did an even more mediocre job. If we can believe in the information given on television, the technical transfer of possession of roughly 2,000 apartments was not permitted due to such errors. We were also informed that a share of the houses in a recently completed housing development would soon become uninhabitable because the toxic chemical substance which gushes out of the ground is being absorbed into the walls. The housing project has been built, namely, in an area where slag had been deposited

without anyone's conscientiously performing the necessary soil test. A mutual shifting of responsibility is now under way between the district council and the investment enterprise. Conversely, we saw quick and surprising measures in the case of the bread shortage experienced in Budapest last weekend. Those tradesmen who without previous notice did not bake and sell bread paid a fine for the public food supply disturbance they had caused and for neglect of their duty. No matter how much such rapid penalties for responsibility can be welcomed, a person cannot help thinking that--over and beyond the spectacular and simple cases--it would take a lot of time to enforce responsibility consistently, from the minister to the janitor, from the council official to the simple citizen. We would in fact achieve our goals if we took pride not in quick penalties imposed for spectacular cases but rather in increasing the awareness and the assumption of responsibility.

12327

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HUNGARY

IMPORT OF PRIVATE AUTOMOBILES

Pecs DUNANTULI NAPLO in Hungarian 8 Dec 84 p 10

[Article by N.R.: "Import Possibilities for Private Automobiles, In Two or Three Years New Models Can Be Expected to Arrive at MERKUR"]

[Text] Will There Be Western Cars?

There are over a million passenger cars in our country, but about 300,000 people are waiting to become car owners. Managers of MERKUR, the enterprise which sells passenger cars, recently informed the reporters about the way car sales are developing in this country, its situation and questions of guarantee and warranty.

The car import plan for the Sixth 5-Year Plan's time period is 406,000 cars but since this does not include the Polish and Yugoslav imports, it is expected that this quantity will be exceeded by 70,000 cars. Since the enterprise has been in existence the most cars--112,000--were sold in 1980 in its show-rooms, and since then due to the inability of its partners to furnish the cars this number has not reached 100,000 per year. It was mentioned as an example that for a long time the Skoda was not among the desired cars, the customers almost had to be "talked into" buying them and in the early 1980s the indirect advertising of this car also began. Thanks to this and last but not least to the improving quality of the Skodas in 1982 20,000 of these cars were sold. At that time there was every hope that this number can be increased. But in contrast with the expectations not more but less cars were imported, in 1983, for example, 13,000 and 9,000 are expected in 1984...

There will be changes even this year but mainly next year as a result of the continuous factory modernization in practically every model, for example, new electronic ignition in the Wartburg and Trabant, and new radiator grill in the Dacia. The real breakthrough in socialist automobile manufacturing is expected for the next 5-year plan. The companies will put new models on the market: beginning with 1987 in all certainty the VAZ 2108, the new Moskvich and Zaporozhyets will also be available in this country--the interesting feature of this latter is it will consume 5 liters and also the new Skoda. Perhaps in these years the opportunity will open up for importing the Polonez, the Oltcit and the Yugo 45 and Yugo 55 models. But this is a function of the cooperative contracts. The question has been asked: When will the new Dacia

show up at the MERKUR? There are no news of any kind in connection with this, just as there aren't any about the diesel Dacia, but the stationwagon variation of the model that is even now available can also be purchased in the fourth quarter of next year.

Naturally it has been asked whether there will be an opportunity to buy cars from capitalist import. Exploratory negotiations in this direction are being conducted with several Western and Far Eastern firms, such as, among others, the Fiat, Ford and Opel, but no agreements have been arrived at for the time being.

According to estimates each year 200,000 used cars change hands in Hungary, of which 20,000 find new buyers through the MERKUR. The enterprise's managers are trying to find out how to increase this number because they feel that their present share [of this market] is low. It has been suggested that the MERKUR should refurbish the cars before reselling them, but according to the opinion of the enterprise's managers this would not be profitable at the present.

The enterprise "transferred" the judging of warrantee issues to the contracted car repair firms which makes things much easier for the car owners as well as for the repair shops. It is a problem, however, that the spare parts management of the repair shops is limited, and thus they are unable to keep on hand the spare parts needed for the guarantee and warranty repairs. Because of this often a car is out of service for weeks and the owners are justifiably angry.

It was also mentioned that each year the MERKUR is sued by an average of 70-90 car owners for various reasons. This number is not large considering that they sell 90,000-95,000 cars but as was mentioned, half of this could be avoided by more flexible case handling, thus also improving the enterprise's shaken prestige.

8584

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POLAND

POLITICAL STRATEGIES OF INTERNAL OPPOSITION ANALYZED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 12, Dec 84 pp 18-29

[Article by Jerzy Lobman: "Old Goals--New Methods"]

[Text] Since the victory of the Great October Revolution, the struggle against the Soviet state, and then against the socialist community, has become a fundamental issue of the foreign policy of the political centers of imperialism. The operations that serve this purpose are essentially of two basic types: confrontational activities and activities conducted on the plane of peaceful coexistence. These positions are joined together dialectically, never occurring in "pure" form. Various concepts are used, from "tottering on the brink of war," "repulsion" and "deterrence" to "peaceful infiltration," "convergence," softening and other different versions of the same goal. The choice of tactics is dictated by various considerations. It is impacted upon by such factors as the internal situation of the particular capitalist states, the state of conflict between these states and the internal situation in socialist countries.

Confrontational factors have gained ascendancy at the present time in the policy of the United States, the major force of the imperialist world and NATO. An analysis of both the internal and international determinants of the policy of R. Reagan as well as of its origins, motives and directions shows that the selected course, although not in a position to escape the realities of the world power structure and pattern of tendencies, is strategic in nature and may continue for some time. We must fully expect this possibility.

The confrontational course of the aggressive spheres of present-day capitalism is not a simple reiteration of similar situations familiar to us from recent history. A characteristic phenomenon of the period in which we live is the commitment of far more powerful material and technical means than ever before to the struggle with real socialism. This is shown by the historically unprecedented increase in arms outlays in the U.S. and NATO budgets, the push for new kinds of weapons, including satellite weapons, and the open attack on the international Yalta-Potsdam agreements, to which peace in Europe is related, as well as the unprecedented growth of outlays for unconventional warfare in outer space, the use of means of pressure, blackmail and economic and political boycott that is in conflict with international law and attempts to interfere directly in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

As in the past, all this will continue to define the major direction and methods of the strategy of aggressive imperialist forces with regard to socialist Poland.

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The coordinated attack of internal and external counterrevolutionary forces on the foundations of the Polish system, on its international alliances and on our party, an attack that has become more intense since the August events, and the radical turn in the situation ushered in by the imposition of martial law that was compelled by the course of events have been analyzed many times and have been assessed in basic PZPR documents. The 13 December 1981 decision initiated a process of the successful implementation of the assumptions adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. It already has yielded significant results. However, we will spend many years working on the full implementation of the line of socialist renewal. The most difficult part is yet to come.

What is already certain?

The opposition has concluded that the strategy of the frontal attack against socialism has no chance of succeeding. New tactics and strategies, a new program are all being sought feverishly by the reactionary camp that deals with Polish affairs abroad and by counterrevolutionaries of every stamp within Poland. A sort of regrouping process is now taking place among them.

Obviously, external anticommunist centers have not abandoned their actions emanating from global antisocialist strategy, in which Poland continues to be an especially endangered element. There are some "steadfast" individuals, operating not only among those that choose the path of illegal activity but also among the part of the opposition that seeks legal planes of operation. Among some of the adherents of these tactics, a sort of osmosis is taking place. The illegal groups are seeking planes of legal expression and activity. Some of the legal groups find themselves on the fringes of what our state considers actions in compliance with the law. The events related to the murder of Father Popieluszko, that had the nature of political provocation against the processes of understanding, normalization and renewal, demonstrated clearly the activism of known extremist groups, attempts to feed negative emotions and take advantage of social agitation for antistate purposes and the search for new pretexts for organizing forms of political diversion.

The internal enemies of the system are characterized by the view that there is no opportunity for a speedy recurrence in Poland of social crises of such intensity as those that occurred in 1970 or 1980. However, there are also views that the situation approaches that of June 1980.

There are also different tactical proposals that emanate from the various assessments. Some, such as the Wroclaw group "Fighting Solidarity," voice the need to continue carrying out active, extremist antistate activity and to preserve the organizational structures of the underground and constant readiness for confrontation. They dream of creating an "underground state"

containing the embryo of the future government. They aspire to penetrate industrial plants in order to provoke unrest and strikes.

Others recommend using a tactic of waiting things out, saving forces and cadres until a "more favorable situation" arises, penetrating legal structures and reinforcing in Poland's official life rightist tendencies, all antisocialist aspirations and attitudes, anti-Soviet positions and the like. These include, for example, someone that signs his name Maciej Poleski, who wrote the following in the fifth issue of the Paris KULTURA for 1984: "Instead of seeking a way to win an all-out confrontation, [we should] focus on small, attainable goals, to which the fact of their simultaneous occurrence will lend a measure of political pressure."

Finally, there are tendencies toward linking both of these tactics. For example, the 25 September 1984 issue of Paris LE MONDE, citing the underground TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE, reported that a group of Krakow KOS [Social Resistance Committee] activists, at the end of August/beginning of September, issued an analysis of the situation in which it advised continuing underground activities but also maintained that "social aspirations" also should be expressed "within the framework of legal organizations."

Thus, the "compromisers," the "centrists" and even the "radicals" voice the slogans of creating an "underground state," a "sovereign nation" and penetrating legal life with the aim to develop agitational "direct actions." Of course, these elements assume different forms in the various groups. For the "radicals," the underground state is the foundation: its activity is the active form of preparation and implementation of confrontational activities and legal activity is only supplemental, a second line. For others, this "underground society" represents the creation of attitudes and a sort of "educational campaign" that are foreign to socialism.

For the "radicals," legal activity is primarily the penetration of susceptible elements for sabotage and diversionary purposes, while for others it is a field for implementing safe "minimal" activity and protecting their own skins. The "radicals" accuse the "legalists" of opportunism and defeatism. These retaliate by accusing their critics of making scenes and exposing "healthy forces" to destruction.

Their intentions are the same, but given their different assessments of the situation and opportunities, it is difficult to establish a uniform concept. Following the announcement of the amnesty, there was much talk in antisocialist circles of plans to assemble all freed leaders of antistate activity to work out joint future plans. In mid-August, these plans were abandoned. The quarrels between foreign antisocialist activists continue. Some, along with J. Milewski, would like to be an "extension" of the foreign section of the underground in Poland, while others, together with M. Chojewski, would be a "Solidarity emigration," independent of Poland to a certain extent.

Personal animosities add to the discord. Amid this chorus of diverse ideas there reverberates the cry of the chief of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe, Z. Najder, who (after so many appeals for unity expressed by the

diversionary radio station under his direction) stated personally on the air on 16 June 1984: "In order to persist in defiance, do the Poles have to have one program of operation?" In the same way, during the previously mentioned case of Father Popieluszko, people such as S. Jaworski called for strikes, while others advised calm. Some tried to make ready aggressive political banners, while others stopped emphasizing their own presence. All these differences, however, do not lead to the conclusion that the opponent is defeated, even though his forces and potential have declined considerably.

We should expect the imperialist centers to choose the strategy of the "long march," to aim toward the obstinate deployment of "explosive material" in our country. As George Bush, U.S. vice president, stated in an address he gave in Vienna in 1982, "Poland ought to be kept on the grill." This means harassment by propagandistic aggression. This means, even in the event of the formal lifting of restrictions, the creation of various kinds of economic difficulties. It also means, despite the lack of success thus far, attempts to put pressure on Poland and those Western governments that are deciding to activate relations with us. It means endless provocation against the USSR and the Polish-Soviet alliance conducted in various forms. Finally, it means aid in the form of equipment and money for anti-Polish activity in Poland and abroad.

Of course, many of these activities are not conducted openly. Some of them are masked as a "defense of freedom," a "defense of Western values" and the like. The statements of Ronald Reagan are a telling example of cynicism. While making reference to his supposed sympathies with the Polish people, at every turn he sets various "conditions," praises the work of diversionary radio stations and reports on increased budgetary subsidies for them and the modernization of their equipment and their scope.

The thwarting of plans of attack on our socialist state by sovereign decision and by the Poles' own hands has become a painful defeat for the major forces of imperialism and its supporters in Poland. One gets the impression, however, that the most radical representatives of counterrevolution have repeated so often that "the authorities are lying in the street" and that "this will be their last fight" that they themselves have come to believe in this state of affairs. The appearances of popularity among the masses and the rate at which they succeeded in pushing the country to the brink of chaos and anarchy in 1980/1981 have turned their heads. Nor have they learned anything from the fiasco of subsequent attempts to reverse the course of events, including the failure of the plan to cause a wave of strikes in October 1982.

The extremist slogans are no longer given any hearing and the obsequious nature of the work of the leaders of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee KOR], the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and the former Solidarity toward foreign principals is becoming more and more obvious for many former adherents as well.

Although many factors are causing clear frustration both in the ranks of the leaders of the counterrevolution and their "theoreticians," their advisers, they continue in their hatred of socialism. However, discussions about the

reasons for failure are beginning to take place. A sort of self-criticism is emerging that concerns, of course, not the essence of their activity, but the tactics they have adopted. Others attempt to continue the present line.

Two positions in particular stand out in the views they represent. One says that the party intended to impose martial law from the very beginning. This is refuted by the patience shown by the party and the state authorities in 1980/1981, the many initiatives and compromises and a multitude of facts and documents. If this theory is upheld here and there despite its obvious absurdity, this happens for two reasons. In the first place, its purpose is the total absolution of extremist groups. Since, from the beginning, the party and the government intended to put an end to the entire business by the "military hand," the further course of events has no connection with one sort of behavior of counterrevolutionary leaders or another.

In the second place, this assessment is likewise a premise underlying attempts to formulate strategies and tactics for the future. From it follows the idea that no "negotiating" with the socialist camp makes any sense, that the authorities are not negotiating partners. Therefore, in the future, all attempts at negotiating should be abandoned and, when the opportunity arises, a shift to purely conspiratorial-forcible forms of operation should be made.

The second view says that opportunities existed for implementing antisocialist plans, but "extremist groups" acted too quickly. As a result, the authorities became aware of the goals of this "creeping counterrevolution" and reacted before it had gained enough strength. Thus, it is a somewhat self-critical theory exclusively with regard to methods. Its underlying assumption is that socialism in Poland can be overthrown, but that this must be effected more cleverly than it was tried in 1980/1981.

Regardless of the details of these assessments, they show a frustration in reaction to the defeat that has been suffered. Of course, we do not overestimate them. The enemy exists and will continue to operate. We must keep vigilant watch over his actions and over the concepts and slogans that are taking shape. These must be nipped in the bud by the methods suitable for each specific situation regardless of the quarter from which the danger issues. This task was stressed on 6 November 1984 in a Politburo resolution on the current sociopolitical situation in Poland.

The part takes into full consideration the fact that, given their defeat, the various activities of the opposition are intended to manifest their presence and vitality in the life of the country. It is also clear that the weakening of counterrevolutionary forces causes their activity to be linked more closely than ever before with foreign centers. They are becoming the most important foothold for the internal reaction.

The progressive ties between Polish antisocialist forces and foreign diversionary centers are evident in their current activity. Antistate activists have become the producers of materials for foreign slander campaigns against Poland that are aimed at undermining social confidence and understanding and strike out at the basic interests of Poland. From the petty, idiotic rumors and libel

used by Radio Free Europe and Voice of America, this extends to statements whose purpose is to elicit a sense of discord in Polish public opinion on such vital topics as the issue of Pan-German revisionism and to the support of the American sanctions. The main channel for transmission of these materials has become recently the so-called "Coordinating Bureau" in Brussels. It disseminated a so-called "report" to the Madrid CSCE Conference, an "Appeal" to the governments and banks of capitalist countries to stiffen sanctions against Poland. Its representatives also spoke out on behalf of Western demands at the MOP [International Labor Organization] forum. J. Milewski, director of the "Bureau," presented a sort of bill for these services at the Polish-American Congress in Chicago, estimating its needs to be \$1 million.

These ties are also evident in the more and more frequent discovery by the security apparatus of cases of the use of equipment and dollars issuing either directly or indirectly from the funds of imperialist reconnaissance services in antisocialist activity. The "Targowica-like atmosphere" that reigns, and not only in the underground, is shown by the obsequious statements made to patrons and sponsors by some "implacable" representatives of antisocialist extremism, including the facts of the cynical support of American economic sanctions and the attempts to "give absolution" to West German revisionists.

Their statements and those of others provide insight into their strategies for the near future, for the next year or so, even before a new "program" and strategy are worked out.

It is clear that the field of the economy is one of the most important fields of the struggle. The economic situation always has an important impact on the mood of society. The enemy advances theories of the "ineffectiveness" of the socialist economy. He says that it is incapable of dealing with the problems confronting it. This does not mean, however, that he intends to wait for the problems he prophesies in the economic sphere to occur. He will try to speed them up and to hamper and complicate the process of our overcoming our economic difficulties as he is able, without neglecting political actions as well.

Statements made thus far indicate that the primary tool the enemy will use to attempt to implement this goal is so-called union pluralism. This pluralism is an element in the statements of persons living in Poland and some church dignitaries and it is noted by foreign diversionary centers and even in official statements (such as those of Ronald Reagan) as a sort of necessary "next step" after the amnesty. Only then would the sanctions be lifted and the anti-Polish policy of the United States and other imperialist centers be changed. This is bait to be swallowed by the naive.

As is known, next year the law on trade unions will take full effect. The advocates of antisocialism would like to make use of it for the legal revitalization of the movement, formally a union movement but in essence a political movement for organizing antisocialist forces. Meanwhile, having learned from the experiences of recent years, they are ready, at least initially, to "moderate" this movement for tactical reasons, taming it down from the Olivet Church experience. The moderates are prepared to make demands for revitalizing

Solidarity per se, abandoning the signboard but not the substance. Others express the need to replace the formula of "a union in opposition to the system" with the formula "a union alongside the system." Only the most radical ones demand the revitalization of Solidarity from the "point" at which it was on 13 December 1981. Actually, sometimes one also hears ideas of infiltrating the new unions and "cautiously" pushing them toward the path of battling against the state. The calls for a boycott that, if successful, would create a premise for "pluralistic" demands are heard more frequently.

One need not be especially perceptive to notice how closely the pluralistic demands are linked with the plans to obstruct and complicate our extrication from our economic woes. A reborn, reinvigorated union movement is emerging as a genuine, autonomous, resilient force representing working class interests, as a partner in governing the state. Past experience of building new unions shows clearly that, from the viewpoint of defending working class interests, the pluralistic splintering of the union movement would be very detrimental. In point of fact, the only real function the existing unions do not perform and do not wish to perform is the function of the antisocialist opposition that is comprised of introducing confusion into social life and impeding the development of the economy. This is tantamount to reducing the national income once again, thus burdening the entire society with enormous costs. There is an indissoluble link between "pluralistic" slogans and the tactic of not only feeding off difficulties but also aggravating them. That is why the slogans of union pluralism are a threat to the interests of the entire society, above all the working class.

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The normalization process is not proceeding at the same rate throughout society. For various reasons, its development is slower among the humanistic intelligentsia, for example. This is so for many reasons, both old and new. They include the enduring nature of resentments and political phobias, as well as the relatively stronger ties with the cultural centers of capitalist countries than exist among the other social strata and, relatedly, their greater susceptibility to capitalist propaganda, even if it masquerades under the guise of Poland's exclusive ties with the "West" and various related historical "bulwark" theories. The tendency to assume poses, complexes and the specific pressure of the community all play a role here. Finally, the fact that the material existence of some of these occupational groups declined during the crisis likewise may have some effect.

Foreign diversionary centers and their supporters within Poland take advantage of this situation, publicizing the ready slogan of "freedom for intellectuals" that suits the tactics of the "long march." Let us add at once that this is merely a slogan. The experiences of 1980/1981 demonstrate clearly that these gentlemen, having gained influence in a given intellectual community, did not recognize any freedom of speech, any ideas other than their own. Their refusal to let not only their enemies, but also people with ideas somewhat different from their own have their say, the removal of these people from various bodies and the fall from grace of anyone that dared express convictions different from their own--all this shows clearly what sort of advocates of "intellectual freedom" they are.

In actuality their concern is only one freedom--the freedom to pursue anti-socialist goals. In the plans of the counterrevolution, the penetration of the particular academic institutional self-governments and the acquisition of followers and position in educational communities, in the "free professions," among people of art and culture are an important part of the plans for building their "sovereign nation," or rather for infiltrating the social consciousness with rightist, antisocialist, anti-Soviet ideas.

The freedom of scholarly work and the freedom to seek creative methods are necessary and self-evident in socialism. It is enough to browse through the bookstores, the theaters and the artistic exhibitions to see that our state conducts a policy of respecting these freedoms. Against all obstacles, a broad and tolerant scholarly and artistic policy is being implemented in accordance with the line of the Ninth Congress. However, "absolute freedom" in the abstract does not exist either in Poland or in any other place in the world. The natural limiter of freedom in society is the basic social interest, the internal and external security of the country and its citizens. If intellectual freedom is respected in our country, there is no freedom for those that wish to demean it for antinational, antisocialist ends.

Elections to the Sejm for next year have been announced. It is easy to anticipate that class enemies will attempt to take advantage of this special opportunity to step up their instigational work. In light of the various currently available statements collected in Poland and abroad, we may expect the major slogan in this field to be the demand for "real elections," meaning only those elections that will allow antisocialist activity to be legalized.

In accordance with the provisions of the Ninth Party Congress, the party is implementing the line of socialist renewal, the democratization of our public life. The deliberations of the 17th Plenum have shown that there is no field of life in Poland today where this policy of broadening the socialist democracy would not be clearly evident. This is one of the enduring, fundamental elements of the party line. However, the implementation of this line, reflected in the elections to the various institutions, rejects the understanding of this document as the field of a political battle between opposing concepts. The basic "recipe" for our country is its systemic principles. They cannot be and they will not be the plane of an electoral battle. The elections will be instrumental in the development of democracy; they will serve as the most democratic expression of a broad social representation in the socialist country. The principle of renewal is expressed in the slogan: "Democracy--yes, anarchy--no!". We understand the expansion of democracy to be the path of the implementation and strengthening of the principles of socialism.

This refers not only to Sejm elections. Antisocialist propagandists have attempted to launch a boycott of the elections to the people's councils. However, it is more and more evident that these slogans are not taking hold and that the boycott campaigns that were to prove the influence of the enemy on society have only shown the decline of this influence. However, anti-communist tactics need not be of only one type, and they are not of only one type. The calls for boycotts surely will appear alongside growing tendencies to take advantage of the process of democratization for personal goals.

This was made clear at some schools and at particular employee councils. Such infiltration tactics fall within the "long march" line. The 17th Plenum emphasized that the party, in developing democratic processes and expanding the plane of understanding, has the important task of not allowing them to be used for short- or long-term counterrevolutionary plans.

The sphere of law and order is another plane of enemy activism. Therefore, we must take another look at the premises underlying the Sejm's passage of the amnesty law--an extremely broad law. One premise is the clear progress of normalization within Poland and the positive changes in moods and views. This enabled decisions to be made that would enable the return to a normal life and work for all those that had learned something from the event of recent years and from their position during this period, and really desired this return [to normalcy]. The second premise is the intention of legislators that were motivated by a desire to act toward broadening national understanding and decided upon such an act of mercy upon the occasion of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland. Amnesty is an act of mercy and not a re-evaluation of the legal or moral assessments of the acts committed by those granted the amnesty. They were punished for these acts according to the law; the amnesty act freed them totally or partially from serving out their sentences.

Two conclusions may be drawn from this. The first is that the amnesty affects only those persons and acts that the lawmakers found the law to rightfully include. The scope of these persons and acts, as the lawmakers established, is very broad. However, the legislators likewise recognized that there are crimes that are so great that even such a broad amnesty cannot include them. This affects a small number of persons sentenced for or accused of acts possessing the nature of treason against the homeland or terrorism.

There is another point, a more important one, for it concerns the future. No amnesty is a blank check issued for future illegal activity. Thus, it is clear that if someone that has been granted amnesty or someone else transgresses against the law in the future, he will bear the consequences stipulated in the law. For the law binds everyone, both citizens and those administering justice. Passivity or leniency toward those that violate the law is also a violation of the law. In political life, as in every field of life, no one will be arrested when no laws are violated.

This issue has a special aspect. Antisocialist activity needs to have "martyrs." There are certain types of people that are only too willing to drape themselves in the toga of the "hunted." At the time of the implementation of the amnesty law, A. Michnik assured Western correspondents that he did not wish to take advantage of this law and that the authorities had to remove him from his arrest by force. If someone that has been granted an amnesty finds himself behind bars, it will happen because he himself and his principals want it this way. Let us repeat, the amnesty was dictated by the good will of the authorities, but also by their awareness of their own strength and potential. They aimed to "close accounts" and to enable all citizens that wish to work loyally for the country to embark upon a normal life. In this sense, it can be a beginning, primarily for the people that it concerns, the beginning of a new life. To make this possible was the lawmakers' intention.

Some people, however, interpreted this differently. On 31 August 1984, L. Walesa stated: "We are waiting for the next step" and he called for the "immediate [application of the] principle of the pluralism of trade and social organizations." As usual, this announcement was merely a cue or a "prop" for the similar demands of diversionary broadcasts. The propaganda that would like to present the amnesty as a forced step to be followed by others (in other words, antisocialist, anti-Polish activity) is perpetrating a conscious lie. This entire theory of "a beginning" is promoted only so that it can be followed by another propaganda outcry on the subject of the hardening of the line and on "deviations" from something and to facilitate the consideration of the reasons for this phenomenon. The technique of first creating a "positive myth" and then a myth of the "deviations" from this myth has been used here by diversionary centers before.

Since we are discussing the sphere of law and order, we must return again to the open provocation represented by the murder of Father J. Popieluszko, censured by the party and the state authorities. Its purpose is known. The direct perpetrators are known. The investigation is being conducted with full consistency and thoroughness. Public opinion is being given a running, accurate account of its progress. All conclusions are being drawn. The vast majority of society has demonstrated a sense of discretion and responsibility. The Catholic Church authorities in Poland have acted in a similar manner.

The same cannot be said for the inveterate fanatics belonging to extremist groups. With the special help of some KSS KOR and KPN veterans, they have embarked upon another attempt at creating antistate structures under the pretext of defending the observance of law and order. In essence they aim to reactivate organizations that formerly planned to destabilize and weaken Poland. This bears no semblance to law and order. In reality, it coincides with the goals of provocation, with its destructive motives. Therefore, it must be condemned universally. Law and order in Poland is being observed and strengthened and it must be observed and strengthened in the future. It binds everyone, with no exceptions. Order, calm and a normal work atmosphere are indispensable for this. Anyone that acts against this, directly or indirectly, incites lawlessness. This cannot be tolerated in any shape or form.

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The extensive inventory of antisocialist activity in the public awareness, especially from 1980/1981 and the period preceding this, must be treated as a separate topic.

The issue of education and historical tradition belongs here. Native and foreign false deniers of history wished to falsify it radically and circulated anew many myths apotheosizing Pilsudski and Dmowski or disseminated completely clerical versions of our entire history. The confusion stirred up, especially in the minds of the younger generation, necessitates an effort to spread the correct picture of the history of our country and the world. This problem is especially critical in the field of historical science, but it also touches a broader plane: the struggle to restore in the broad masses respect for the rational understanding of life and its phenomena, to popularize

a modern, scientific view of the world and to combat the sometime rampant growth of irrationalism. The reason for this is that the reaction feeds off it as well.

Another element of these events is the whole range of economic problems basic to sociopolitical questions. The enemy has joined in the discussion of improving our economic system, aiming to undermine socialist relations at the base, just as he attempted to do this in the superstructure. Wherever he has been successful, he has not limited himself to discussion alone, but has attempted to create faits accomplis.

Very generally speaking, the basic direction of these actions would be attempts to restrict maximally and, wherever possible, to eliminate public property as the nucleus and foundation of the economy of the socialist state. Hence the concepts of the so-called "autonomous Republic" leading to the group breakup of industry and the apotheosis of private enterprise. Hence the aim to restore the spontaneous, uncontrolled play of market forces. Hence the attempts to eliminate the PGR [State Farms] and cooperative farming. In short, the plan is to remove the state from the broadest possible field of the national economy, to limit and, if possible, to eliminate the leading role of socialist enterprises and public property. There is no need to add that the implementation of even a part of these plans would be an element of the downfall of socialism in Poland in general. The struggle with foreign concepts must be conducted on a broad front, every day, on all planes of economic education.

A vital element in the enemy's tactical calculations was and is the consciously evoked state of frustration of young people, leading to all sorts of theories about the "lost generation," the "struggle between generations" and the derivative more or less radical conclusions. The machinery of this propaganda has been grasping, but primitive. The generation was to have grown up in an atmosphere of general falsification, of spurious knowledge about the world, severed from its own cultural and traditional roots, in an atmosphere of a crisis apparently caused by the very essence of the socialist economy.

Counting on their lack of experience and naivete, gratifying the increase in demands and aspirations and taking advantage of gaps in upbringing, [the enemy] offers young people several suggestions. First, cuddle up to anyone that comes out against the system. Second, be finished with the "graybeards" that brought about this situation. Young people are persuaded that their first task is the "struggle between generations," that the real divisions are generational ones. They are not political, social, but generational. Hence the program of nihilism, scorn for the "graybeards," denial of the contribution of our forefathers to the task of liberation, rebuilding and postwar development and, when the opportunity presents itself, the debasement of those achievements that are the heritage and confirmation of socialism.

No reasonable person will deny the important problems of today's younger generation. These problems, emanating from the general situation of the state, combined with the errors that have been committed, but also seriously exacerbated by the chaos of 1980/1981, are a fact. Perhaps the difficulties are felt more severely by youth than by older people that have experienced the

difficulties of the past. But the only advice for them is to mobilize for creative work, not to demobilize. It is the conscious perception of the realities of Poland and the world, and not a frustration engendered out of the principle of satiating desires based upon the propaganda of an artificially glossy, false picture of the capitalist world.

This entire process of "overblown aspirations" and their simultaneous frustration, the lack of rational explanations and the stuffing of the heads of young people with all sorts of demagogic slogans has only one purpose--maintaining disorientation and discontent and creating emotional states that have an antisocialist coloring [that render youth] susceptible to actions aimed against the order of the system. They are actions that may be used for every strategy implemented or planned by the enemy. Thus, the tasks outlined by the Ninth PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum, in which practical work, upbringing work, social work and political work are combined into one, are of tremendous importance and currency.

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The 13th KC Plenum and the National Conference of PZPR Delegates emphasized the task of spreading the truth about the current international situation and the dangers that exist at present. This issue is consciously distorted and blurred by enemy propaganda. Here the question of war and peace and everything that is related is a basic issue. Specific, key questions also must be clarified, for example, who is setting the arms race in motion, who favors a freeze on disarmament talks and the like. Knowledge must also be disseminated among the public about the whole makeup of the machinery of imperialism underlying its struggle against socialism, a struggle that is being conducted by imperialist centers themselves and by their supporters in Poland.

In this context, such phenomena as the nature of this "Westernness," discussed widely at various intervals, and the flirtations of some antisocialist activists with West German revisionism appear in their proper light. The August statements made by J. J. Lipski in the columns of SPIEGEL and the September declarations of J. Giedroyc and B. Wildstein in response to a Radio Free Europe poll, among others, are examples of this. Here the obsequious, anti-national role of these statements assumes an especially coarse, repulsive nature.

People (including people in Poland) that favor the continuation of the Reagan sanctions simultaneously promote the idea that a deep change in Polish domestic policy could lead to the "West's" resolving our problems for us. This notion is supposed to justify the anti-Polish policy of the White House and undermine our morale.

We know what the "West" gives and where it puts us. The capitalists "give" within the framework of their strategy, which does not have the purpose of stepping up either the development or the strengthening of socialism. That is why what they "give" ought to be carefully and cautiously observed. As Virgil wrote: "Beware of Greeks bringing gifts."

All of the enemy's actions join together and combine with anti-Sovietism. The battle against the enemy thus requires that we disseminate continually the truth about the USSR and its achievements and role, about the entire meaning of the Polish-Soviet alliance, a cooperation that has been confirmed so clearly in recent, extremely hard years.

It is extremely important that we familiarize society with issues related to the USSR and the other socialist states and with the possibilities created for our country by cooperation with them. We also must explain the need, or rather the necessity, of our continual activism in the entire process of reorienting economic relations. This reorientation is warranted by our deepest national political and economic interests, as well as by the ideological bond, oneness of aspirations and the struggle for peace. This is the next, constant plane of battle. There is no doubt that our place and relations in the socialist community will continue to be attacked continually by enemy centers.

From the extensive presentation and explanation of these two basic truths--the characteristics of imperialism and the world of socialism--emanates the fuller substantiation of the rightness and the logic of Polish foreign policy that has been verified through the entire 40-year period and continues to take the difficult test.

The enemy attacks both indissoluble elements--socialist patriotism and internationalism. We shall defend both consistently and we shall strengthen both in the consciousness of society, in order to prevent the move towards old goals by new means.

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POLAND

ATTITUDES OF WORKERS TOWARD NEW TRADE UNION ANALYZED

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[Report titled "Trade Unions in the Opinion of the Large-Industry Working Class"]

[Text] How do the workers perceive the role and tasks of the trade unions in our sociopolitical system? Which of the needs and aspirations of the workers should the trade unions satisfy in the enterprise? How much does the model picture of trade unions, constructed on the basis of the workers' views, differ from or concur with the range of powers which the new law, dated 8 October 1982, gives the trade unions? How strongly is it conditioned by the experiences of the trade union activities during 1980-1981? Is the assertion that "post-Solidarity sentiments" have a large influence on the workers' perception of the functioning of trade unions in Poland substantiated?

How did the new trade unions spring up in their enterprises? What is the workers' attitude toward the new trade unions and on what is it based? What is the degree of acceptance and confidence of the workforces in the new unions? What is the opinion on the activity of the new unions thus far as a defender of workers' rights and interests, and especially those of the workers in the enterprise? What do the workers expect of the new trade unions?

These problems were the subject of study by the Center for Public Opinion Studies. The Center conducted a questionnaire survey among workers employed in large-industry workplaces. The purpose was to learn the opinions of the workers on trade unions and their functioning in the country as a whole as well as in their enterprise.

In order to learn the differences in views and opinion on trade unions among workers who are or are not members of the new unions, the former "Solidarity" members, and members of the branch and autonomous unions, two variables were primarily considered in the analyses: present and past union membership. It was to be expected that the opinions of the workers questioned would be colored by at least these two factors. In some cases others variables were applied also, i.e., sex, age, membership in sociopolitical organizations, etc.

Sociodemographic Breakdown of Those Questioned

The object of study were those employed in large-industry workplaces (enterprises employing 3,000 or more workers) representing important subsectors and branches of industry and all regions of the country. The basis of the study was a questionnaire sent to 2,136 workers selected at random from 45 enterprises. The response was 98.6 percent. Because the study was representative the results can be generalized in relation to the large-industry working class in the entire country.

Approximately three-fourths of those surveyed were men. The decided majority has an elementary and basic trade-school education, one-fifth completed a secondary trade school. These are primarily workers employed directly in production and approximately 10 percent of them are masters, foremen, etc. Almost 50 percent are young people, less than 35 years of age, 30 percent are between 35 and 45, 17 percent are between 46 and 60, and 3 percent are over 60. Every seventh worker surveyed belongs to the PZPR, every 15th to the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, and 3 percent are activists in self-governments.

Union membership prior to 13 December 1981 was as follows: Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity", 67 percent; subsector unions, 19 percent; autonomous unions, 1 percent; unaffiliated workers, 13 percent. The study showed that in January 1984 almost 25 percent of those surveyed belonged to the new unions and 75 percent were not in a union. (Table 1)

Table 1. Degree of Unionization According to Union Membership Prior to 13 December 1981 (Total Surveyed, 2,136) in Percent

<u>Union Affiliation</u>					
<u>New</u>	<u>Former</u>				
	<u>Subsector</u>	<u>Autonomous</u>	<u>"Solidarity"</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes...	48.1	54.5	20.2	12.6	24.9
No....	51.9	45.5	79.8	87.4	75.1
Total..	19.0	1.0	66.8	13.1	100.0

In comparing both these structures it can be said that approximately 55 percent of the former members of the autonomous movement, 48 percent of the former members of the subsector unions, 20 percent of the former "Solidarity" members, and 12.6 percent of workers previously unaffiliated have joined the new trade unions.

A MODEL TRADE UNION AS DEPICTED BY UNION WORKERS SURVEYED NATIONALLY

The materials contained in this part of the report suggest what kind of union the workers are demanding. These are opinions on the position and tasks of trade unions in our sociopolitical system. A detailed analysis was made of

answers to the following questions: What role and tasks should the trade unions in our country perform? In your opinion what should the trade unions concern themselves with and what would you personally expect from the trade union to which you would like to belong?

The large majority of those surveyed (80 percent) believe that trade unions in a socialist state should primarily defend the rights and interests of the working people and, as a detailed analysis of the replies would lead one to conclude, that their tasks and capacity to act are limited solely to functions dealing with the defense of claims. The absence of recommendations as to other tasks and functions is significant. This point is also confirmed by the observation that the slogan "trade unions are the defenders of the rights and interests of the working people" was interpreted by the workers as the necessity of defending the working people against the actions of the authorities only after those of the management and administration of the enterprises. According to the workers, trade unions should not only transmit the demands of the working people to the authorities, they should, above all, fight effectively for the implementation of these demands. A lot of emotion appeared in these opinions; quotes such as these are characteristic: The trade unions should fight, they should not allow themselves to be intimidated (...) they should check up on the authorities and hold them accountable (...) the union activists should be unbending and unyielding (...) the trade unions should always be on the side of the employee, the worker.

The second slogan, in addition to "trade unions are the defenders of the rights and interests of the working people" in response to the question: "What kind of union?", was "independent and self-governing." In this case too the underlying themes were: independence and self-government as to the party, the authorities and enterprise management, these are "our" unions, genuinely workers', and not unions imposed upon us.

An analysis of these replies allows us to suggest that the workers react very emotionally to the question "What should the trade unions be? Much more frequently the replies define the tasks and function of the unions by saying what they should not be, rather than by a thoughtful replies which would make it possible to construct a model picture of the functions and tasks of the trade-union movement. Thus the following question may be asked: Do the workers really have their own vision of what the functioning of trade unions in our country should be? It is difficult to answer that question unequivocally. It would appear, on the basis of the replies analyzed, that they really do not have such a vision and that their answers are emotionally conditioned by the experiences of the trade unions during 1980-1981.

In emphasizing the claims-defense character of trade unions, the workers surveyed primarily pointed to the need for the unions to take action in such areas as wages and cost of living, occupational safety and working conditions, and broad social-welfare matters. The problem of regulating the wage system received the most emphasis, followed by the problem of settling management-worker disputes generally, either locally or nationally: workers-authorities problems.

In answer to: "What would you personally expect from the trade union to which you would like to belong?" most of the workers said: fair wages, employment security, and better working conditions. These three matters are the first and most important category of expectations. The second deals with the ability to influence decisions on matters pertaining to the working people made by management and self-government, by the government and the central authorities, and transmitting to them the opinions of the workforces. In this second category of expectations the need for union self-government and independence was strongly stressed. The third category of expectations--the least important to the workers--pertained to improved interpersonal relations, security of vacations and social services, and availability of hard-to-obtain goods.

Attention should also be called to the surprising unanimity of the workers surveyed on the matters discussed. No essential statistical differences were determined among union members and nonunion workers, former members of the subsector unions and former members of "Solidarity." All are in agreement both as to the claims-defense nature of the trade unions and the ranking and type of expectations from the unions to which they would like to belong.

It would be well in this part of the report to call attention to an aspect which, in our opinion, is interesting. In talking about the tasks of the union movement, 25 percent of the workers surveyed differentiated, by terminology, workers' interest and labor's interest. Typical of this group were statements that trade unions should defend the rights and interest of the laboring class. However, our study does not allow us to determine unequivocally whether deeper meanings lie behind this and whether this group strives for purely labor unions or is this simply a matter of language. We call attention to this only because it is interesting and may perhaps in the future become an inspiration for study on this subject.

Union Pluralism or Monism

The definite majority of those surveyed (approximately 80 percent) was in favor of union monism--one union organization in an enterprise. The remaining 20 percent of the workers were for organizational pluralism, perceived either as political pluralism (making it possible for people of different political views to affiliate in trade unions), or as a pluralism of interests of different workers' groups (separate trade unions for laborers, technical-engineering cadre, plant administration, etc.). It may be said, therefore, that the idea of union pluralism, so much in vogue during 1980-1981, is not very popular among workers today. They do not express support for multiplicity of trade unions in their enterprises. There is no significant difference on this subject between unionists and nonunionists. However, former members of "Solidarity" favored pluralism twice as often as former members of other unions.

Method of Settling Collective Disputes

The use of a strike as a form of pressure by trade unions in a struggle in defense of the rights and interests of working people is definitely unpopular among workers. Only 6 percent of those surveyed believe that strikes, and

frequent ones at that, are necessary because there is no other way by which trade unions will win anything. Of those 6 percent "strike radicals" the definite majority (over 90 percent) was former members of "Solidarity" who now do not belong to unions. On the other hand, the most preferred method of settling collective disputes is a system of talks and negotiations, even of long duration. Almost 70 percent of the workers surveyed were in favor of this solution. The high percentage of antistrike declarations allows us to conclude that there is a firm conviction in the minds of the workforces that strikes as a form of pressure are ineffective and damaging.

The Position and Tasks of Trade Unions in Enterprises

Another object of our interest was the problem of how the workers look at the participation of trade unions in the management of an enterprise under conditions of economic reform. To delineate the various forms of this participation, a four-degree scale of participation in management was used, beginning with a decisive voice in management, through joint decision and the right to express an opinion, all the way down to excluding trade unions entirely in the right to participate in decisionmaking in certain matters.

In examining the replies it can be said that the workers are demanding that the trade unions be granted broad powers--exclusivity of deciding and jointly deciding. The restriction of trade unions simply to expressing an opinion is unpopular, and refusing the unions the right to a voice in any matter is definitely unpopular. According to the workers, there should be almost no matters in any enterprise in whose settlement the unions do not participate. Most frequently (50 to 60 percent of the workers) gave the trade unions exclusivity in deciding such matters as occupational safety and working conditions, division of social services, and cultural and travel-recreational activities. In the opinion of 25 to 35 percent of those surveyed, the unions should have a deciding voice in such areas as the division of the enterprise's profits, prizes and bonuses, and setting wages and salaries. Fifteen to twenty percent of the workers opted for exclusivity in deciding, by the union, the hiring and firing of the manager, establishing the plan and the size of the enterprise's production, and evaluating employees' work results. The apparent tendency here to give the trade unions such farreaching powers in decision-making is, in our opinion, the consequence of the claims defense nature of perceiving the tasks of the unions, as discussed earlier.

Certain differences of views and opinions appeared here between unionists and nonunionists. The former, much more often than the latter, give exclusivity of decisionmaking in the broad area of social-welfare activities to the unions. The nonunionists, on the other hand, more often assign exclusivity to such areas as: management of the enterprise, establishing the plan and size of production, dividing the enterprise's profits, and hiring and firing the manager. The dissimilarity of matters emphasized by both groups is typical also in the analysis of differences relative to former union membership. The former members of "Solidarity" are closer in their views on this subject to the nonunionists. But in general it must be said that workers are in favor of farreaching rights for unions regarding their participation in managing the enterprise, and rights of a decisive nature. They do not accept the role of joint participation by expressing an opinion or submitting proposals.

At this point the following question must be asked: Are such far-reaching demands for authority for unions in an enterprise linked to a readiness to accept responsibility for decisionmaking? It appears--and this is our own thought based on an analysis of all of the results of the survey--that such a picture of trade unions is strongly defined and mythologized by the experiences of the activities of former "Solidarity", and that to a much lesser degree it is a reflection of the actual need to satisfy the workers' aspirations to jointly manage an enterprise. It is also possible that it was specifically during that period that these needs were aroused, but that the related need to bear responsibility has still not reached their awareness.

Opinion on the New Law on Trade Unions

An analysis of data shows that almost half of the workers surveyed are not familiar with the law and are not interested in it. This percentage is even higher among nonunionists (over 60 percent); of the unionists, every fourth one said he was unfamiliar with the law. Of the remaining 50 percent of those surveyed who said that they are familiar with the text of the law, 30 percent felt that the rights it contained were sufficient, 15 percent said that they were definitely insufficient, and an equal number had no opinion. An analysis of the reservations on the law permits two types of thoughts. First, that unfamiliarity with the law does not at all exclude the expression of an opinion on it. Second, that an unfavorable opinion on it is more conditioned by criticism of a decision to dissolve the former trade unions than by a true assessment of the range of rights embodied in the law. How else can one interpret the charge that is raised that the law restricts the self-government and independence of the unions because they are established by the government and the party. Thus criticism of the law stems primarily from the lack of acceptance of the new unions and the atmosphere under which they were established. It turns out that without being familiar with the law, the range of rights guaranteed by it can be assessed as being definitely insufficient. Here, too, membership in the new unions makes a difference in the opinions. Nonunionists have an unfavorable opinion on the law twice as often.

Is it possible under these circumstances to talk about mutual relations between the model of expectations as to the role and function of trade unions, demanded by the workers surveyed, and the range of powers which the law dated 8 October 1982 gives to the unions? It would appear that in the light of what has been said about the claims-defense nature of the perceived union tasks and the relationship of the workers to the law, the assertion that there is a common basis in these opinions--they were influenced by strong post-Solidarity emotions among part of the workers--is justified.

Opinions on Sociopolitical Institutions and Organizations from the Standpoint of the Functions They Perform as Spokesmen in Defense of Workers' Interests

Analysis of the question: "How much do the above-mentioned organizations and groups of persons in your enterprise care about workers' matters?" showed that most of the criticism was directed at the plant administration (officials), followed by the technical-engineering cadre and the party organization. Most of the favorable evaluations, however, covered the masters and foremen. Some

significant differences appear here between the unionists and nonunionists. The latter are much more critical in their opinions on almost all organizations and groups of persons acting in the enterprise. But the opinions of both groups are in agreement as to the fact that the plant administration (officials) care the least about workers' matters. In evaluating other organizations, the differences are already large: plant party organization, 45 percent favorable opinions by unionists and 17 percent by nonunionists; enterprise management, 30 and 16 percent respectively; self-government, 25 and 15 percent; and trade unions, 37 and 11 percent. (Table 2.) It is possible, therefore, to construct the following ranking of the degree of confidence in these institutions in the enterprise: Among unionists: party organization, trade unions, masters and foremen, enterprise management, self-government, technical-engineering cadre, administration. The dissimilarity in the positions of unionists and nonunionists on this question appears to express the polarization in perceiving the social reality in the plant.

Table 2. Plant Sociopolitical Institutions and Organizations by Degree of Confidence in Opinion of Unionists and Nonunionists (in Percent)

<u>Institutions and organizations</u>	<u>Unionists</u>	<u>Institutions and organizations</u>	<u>Nonunionists</u>
1. Party organization	44.8	1. Masters and foremen ...	37.1
2. Trade unions	37.1	2. Management	19.7
3. Masters and foremen ...	36.0	3. Party organization	17.1
4. Management	29.6	4. Self-government	14.8
5. Self-government	24.7	5. Trade unions	11.2
6. Technical-engineering cadre	14.4	6. Technical-engineering cadre	9.9
7. Administration (officials)	9.5	7. Administration (officials)	7.1

Table 3. National Sociopolitical Institutions and Organizations by Degree of Confidence in Opinion of Unionists and Nonunionists (in Percent)

<u>Institutions and organizations</u>	<u>Unionists</u>	<u>Institutions and organizations</u>	<u>Nonunionists</u>
1. Government	48.7	1. Church	29.8
2. Sejm	48.5	2. Sejm	29.4
3. PZPR	47.0	3. Government	25.2
4. Trade-union federations	36.6	4. PZPR	20.0
5. Church	20.9	5. Trade-union federations	16.1

The same conformity appears in the opinions on national institutions and organizations. (Table 3.) The unionists have the highest opinions of the government, the Sejm, and the PZPR (47-49 percent of the favorable opinions), followed by the trade-union federations (36 percent); the lowest is the church, with 21 percent. The workers who do not belong to unions give their highest opinions to the church and the Sejm (30 percent), the government (25 percent), and the PZPR (20 percent); the lowest are the trade-union federations, with 16 percent. In this case, too, the percentage of favorable opinions among nonunionists is decidedly lower.

In discussing these comparisons it is well to add that an analysis of replies to the question on an opinion on organizations and institutions, both in the country as well as in the plant, shows a considerable tendency on the part of those workers not belonging to unions to be critical. It is also worth noting that workers in general are restrained in their opinions, as indicated by the high percentage of those who replied "it is hard for me to say" (40 to 50 percent).

It seemed interesting to us to go deeper into the questions on an opinion about the PZPR, both nationally and in the plant. Generally speaking, the PZPR nationally was held in somewhat higher regard by the workers than was the party organization in their enterprises, and this was true in the case of unionists and nonunionists (see Tables 2 and 3), but these differences (3 percent) are not significant. Overall, every fourth worker (25 percent) had a favorable opinion on the activities of the party.

In the light of the above opinions, to whom do the workers look for the fulfillment of their political aspirations? Which organization is to express their interests and strivings? In their opinion, the trade unions should perform these functions. To the question "Who, in your opinion, should ensure that workers have an influence on what is happening in the country?" almost 45 percent of the workers replied that that is the task of the trade unions. Ten percent said that only the workers themselves can do this (without naming any forms of organizations or institutions). Seven percent of those surveyed indicated an attitude of complete resignation, saying that no one, none of the existing political organizations, is able to guarantee them their proper place in the decisionmaking process. Slightly over 4 percent of those surveyed (nonunionists five times more frequently) said they hoped for the return of "Solidarity" as the workers' political organization.

Analysis of the replies allows us to say that the workers want to realize their political subjectivity through the trade unions. This applies to both unionists and nonunionists, despite the differences between them in their opinions on the party. The former, more frequently than the latter, believe that this is the organization which expresses their political interests. No other sociopolitical organization can compete with this (recommendations for other organizations were on the order of 0.5-10 percent).

How, then, should this growth of interest in the trade unions as a workers' political conduit be explained?

There are at least a few reasons for this state of affairs. In explaining the phenomenon of the growth of interest in trade unions as the workers' political organization, we must also consider the effect of the August 1980 events on their consciousness and their hopes, whose embodiment was the idea of independent, self-governing trade unions, even if the opinion itself of "Solidarity's" activities, by the majority of the workers, were to be definitely unfavorable.

Therefore, it would be interesting to suggest the following thesis: Since, in the opinion of the workers, the trade unions are perceived as a basic, institutionalized channel through which the political interests of this class are articulated, then how, in view of this, do they feel about the new trade unions which were established by the 8 October 1982 law?

Level of Acceptance and Confidence in New Trade Unions

An analysis of replies to a direct question on the relationship of the workers surveyed to the new trade unions shows that 25 percent definitely support the new unions, 23 support them with reservations (their membership depends on the results of their activities), and 40 percent are not interested at all in the union movement and do not intend to take part in it. Approximately 10 percent said that they were definitely against these unions. A distinct difference in replies is apparent according to present union membership. Among unionists, total acceptance dominates (65 percent), but about 30 percent have a lot of reservations as to the activities of their unions, and 5 percent express a complete lack of interest in them. Those not affiliated with unions have a different attitude: 50 percent are not interested in the unions and do not intend to join, 14 percent consider themselves to be opponents of the new unions, 22 percent accept them with reservations, while 14 percent definitely support them. The factor which differentiates these acceptances is again the former union membership. The former members of the autonomous unions declare the highest degree of acceptance, followed by the former subsector union members, and the lowest level of acceptance is expressed by the former members of "Solidarity."

On the basis of the declarations of those surveyed, it can be predicted that 54 percent of those who do not now belong to the unions do not intend to join them, 36 percent may possibly join, depending on the results achieved by these unions in the enterprise.

In the light of these statements, is there any substantiation for the thesis expressed by western propaganda that the workers in the large-industry workplaces are completely boycotting the new union movement in Poland? It would seem from the statements of the workers, as contained in the questionnaires, that this is not all that common. Almost 50 percent of the total number of workers express an attitude of acceptance of the unions. Of the nonunionists, every third worker supports them, including every second member of former "Solidarity."

Reasons for Lack of Acceptance and Mistrust

The first conclusion which occurs after the answers to the question on the reasons for the lack of acceptance of the new trade unions and the mistrust in them are analyzed is the domination in the consciousness of those surveyed of a sense of disappointment, disillusionment and dissatisfaction with the former unions, post-Solidarity sentiments and after-effects. This conviction occurred regardless of the favorable or unfavorable opinion on "Solidarity," and the opinions on this subject are not significantly colored by present union membership. Among other reasons the workers most often mentioned the following: The incorrect way in which the new unions were established, lack of self-government and independence, nonrepresentativeness in membership, lack of confidence in new-union activists, and visible results of activities.

Slightly over half of those surveyed said that the decision to create a new union movement is good, while the remainder said that it is wrong or withhold

their opinion on this matter. Unionists approve the decision twice as often as the nonunionists. Among the nonunionists, former "Solidarity" members express disapproval three times as often.

In assessing the method by which the new unions were established in the enterprise, 20 percent said they originated with the workers and were organized by the workers themselves, and almost 30 percent said that they were organized with the participation of the management and the party organization. The remaining 50 percent of the workers expressed no opinion on this subject because, just as the unions, it did not interest them at all. In this case too the views differ according to union membership: nonunionists much more frequently criticize the way in which the new unions were formed and more frequently deny their workers' origin. A total of 20 percent of the workers, of whom 60 percent were unionists and 8 percent were nonunionists, took part in the meetings during which the union leadership was elected.

The degree of self-government and independence in the new unions was also subjected to the opinions of the workers. According to 23 percent of the workers, it is limited. Unionists had a favorable opinion on this self-government and independence three times more often than nonunionists. However, in both groups the view prevailed that it is limited primarily by the enterprise management, and unionists pointed to the limitations by the authorities only half as often as nonunionists. Interestingly enough, 47 percent of those surveyed refrained from expressing any opinion at all on this question. An analysis of replies to a question on the degree of confidence of the workers in the new union leadership brought very similar results. In this case too approximately 60 percent withheld their opinion, 25 percent expressed the belief that they will take good care of the interests of the working people, and 20 percent definitely refused to support them. Of the last group, nonunionists declared lack of support three times as often.

The charges made against the activists include: They are interested only in advancing their own careers (approximately 35 percent of the replies), lack of support on the part of the majority of the workforce, they were forced upon the workers and not elected by them (approximately 20 percent), too submissive, not influential enough and consequently will be ignored (16 percent).

Opinion on Activities of Unions in Enterprise Thus Far

Most of the workers who replied to the questionnaire feel that the unions' activities are not satisfactory. Every third person says that the trade unions in his workplace have not done anything thus far although it was possible for them to concern themselves with workers' matters. Every fifth worker withheld opinion, pointing out that he does not know whether they did anything because he is not interested in their activities. The nonunionists typically charge that even if the new unions are doing something it is only for their own members and they are not interested in the other workers. On the other hand, 20 percent of the nonunion workers have observed that the unions are concerned about the workforce's social-welfare matters, working conditions, vacations and leisure time, Christmas parties, and fair distribution of scarce goods.

As may be expected, the opinions of the unionists on this subject are very favorable although they too are not satisfied. Every fifth unionist said that the unions have done nothing or almost nothing and have not concerned themselves sufficiently with the consultation on price increases and the wage system.

Prediction on the Growth of Unionization and the Degree of Acceptance of the New Union Movement

Every second worker questioned (50 percent) says that by the end of 1984 the union movement will have more members, and 8 percent were very optimistic, saying that the number of new union members will increase very greatly. Moderate optimism--the belief that the growth will not be large--was expressed by 42 percent of those surveyed. Approximately 20 percent said that the situation will become stagnant and not change. A decline in the number of union members was predicted by 3 percent of the workers, and the remaining 27 percent had no opinion.

The results show that on the question of union growth optimism prevails over pessimism. Does the same apply to opinions on a growth of acceptance and confidence? Tabulation of the questionnaire replies shows that here too there is considerable optimism, except that it is conditioned on expectations that the trade unions will work effectively and successfully. To the question: "Will the working people find support in the new unions? Can they count on them to be the defenders of their rights?" 57 percent of the workers replied that this depended above all on what they do in the future. This majority somewhat tilts toward a vote of confidence despite the unfavorable opinion of their activities thus far, saying that it is still too early to make an overall assessment. However, 18 percent of the workers definitely do not believe that the new unions will effectively defend their interests and have no hope that this will happen in the future.

Workers' Sociopolitical Affiliations

We said that the factor which most strongly differentiates the views of the workers is membership in sociopolitical organizations, and especially in the PZPR.

The workers who are party members reveal attitudes which are decidedly "pro-union" and "pro-government," and also much more often express opinions accepting the present sociopolitical reality. The workers who do not belong to the party, on the other hand, have a greater tendency to express opinions which are anti-union and anti-party.

In constructing a scale of radicalism of these opinions, it may be said that at its two opposite extremes, from the "pro" attitude to the "anti" attitude, are two groups of workers who see the social reality differently: the party members were members of the subsector and autonomous unions and the nonmembers were members of "Solidarity." This contrast is enhanced even more by present membership in the new trade unions (particularly the interconnection between membership in the party and in the new unions is real and significant).

This statistically valid fact is observable in most answers to questions on unions and allows us to set forth the thesis, noted earlier, that a polarization occurs in perceiving sociopolitical reality. This polarization is based on the divisions which stem from membership in the PZPR, the new trade unions, and the former unions prior to December 1981. These three variables determine the opinions and views of the workers on the new trade unions as well as their sociopolitical attitudes.

Differences in Opinions on Trade Unions Due to Sex, Age, Education and Income

In the preceding parts of the report we have tried to present and delineate the differences in the views and opinions of the workers on the subject of unions from the standpoint of two basic characteristics: present and former (prior to 13 December 1981) membership in a union. An analysis of these differences showed that the opinions are, to a considerable degree, preconditioned and predetermined, especially opinions on the degree of acceptance and confidence in the new unions depending on the workers' present and past activeness in unions. However, we have not made a closer analysis of the differences in opinions based on other sociodemographic characteristics, such as sex, age, education and income.

A detailed analysis has shown that these characteristics make only a slight difference in the workers' views on unions. It is therefore hard to talk about important statistical dependencies and close interrelationships. However, in a few cases we can point to a certain tendency towards certain attitudes and views by groups of workers who differ from each other by these characteristics. That is why we shall discuss only the general trends of interconnections.

The general sociological rule that women are more liberal in their opinions and views was confirmed in the studies that were made. On the other hand, the degree of acceptance of the decision to create entirely new trade unions grows together with the age of the workers. This same conformity appears in the case of workers' participation in elections meetings and in perceiving the errors which accompanied the formation of new unions in the enterprises and the restriction of self-government and independence in these unions. However, there is no such overall relationship between age and membership in the new trade unions. Nor does age make a difference in the perception of a model trade union. It is also well to point out that the young workers more often than the older ones have a tendency toward more definite opinions, both favorable and unfavorable. They less frequently give a qualified yes or no and more frequently give a definite yes or no.

The amount of education makes a difference in the views of the workers when they express opinions on sociopolitical institutions and organizations, either national or in the enterprise. The higher the education, the lower the opinion on trade unions and the higher the opinion on self-government and the Sejm. Education also makes a difference in the workers' views on strikes as a form of trade-union pressure. The lower the education the more often errors made in the formation of new unions were stressed.

Workers who have a relatively higher education more frequently express opinions as a whole and rarely seek refuge in such replies as: It is hard for me to say, I have no opinion, or I do not know.

Certain differences in opinion are connected with workers' incomes and earnings. Workers who earn more less frequently attend elections meetings in the new unions, have an unfavorable opinion on the scope of powers guaranteed the trade unions by the 8 October 1982 law, more frequently express reservations as to limitations on their self-government and independence. The criticism of the trade unions by higher-income workers is based on a greater sense of security and independence which ensues from a higher economic standard, which in turn is related to higher occupational skills.

Conclusions

Based on all of the results of the studies and the thoughts contained in the preceding parts of this report, several very general conclusions can be presented.

The workers see trade unions very intuitively and lack broad knowledge on the essential tasks of the union movement. No large-scale planned model or organizational structure of the union movement in Poland can be constructed from such catchword phrases as "trade unions are the spokesmen for the rights and interests of the working people." The workers have considerably difficulty in verbalizing their catchword statements.

According to the workers, trade unions should primarily perform a claims-defense function in relation to the authorities and the plant management and have a decisive voice in almost all matters in the enterprise. Their most important characteristic should be a not-too-well-defined phenomenon which is concealed behind the catchwords "self-government and independence." The statements on this subject typically were very emotional and conditioned by post-Solidarity sentiments implanted in the consciousness of some of the workers. There were no clear differences between unionists and nonunionists in the perceived model of trade unions. Union membership prior to 13 December 1981 did not make any differences in opinions.

The study shows that the workers expect that the political subjectivity of the working class will be realized through the trade unions: 45 percent of those surveyed assign this function to the unions.

Generally, 80 percent of the workers are against pluralism in the union movement and are in favor of one union in the enterprise, but on condition that it is self-governing and independent.

A definite majority of the workers is against strikes: 70 percent believe that the only permissible form of pressure are talks and negotiation. A strike is the extreme measure, when all else has failed.

Approximately 50 percent of those surveyed believe that the decision to establish a new union movement after 13 December 1981 was correct. But also about 50 percent of the workers are not familiar with the new law and are not interested in it; 54 percent of those who now do not belong to unions do not intend to join them, but 36 percent say there is such a possibility depending on the results of their activities in the future.

Most workers (about 70 percent) have an unfavorable opinion of the activities of unions in their enterprises thus far, but 57 percent of those surveyed hope that time will show whether they can be counted on as spokesmen in behalf of workers' rights and interests. They reserved the right to wait until the end of 1984 while they carefully observe their activities. Thus they received something like a credit of confidence.

In conclusion, it is worth asking whether the new unions are now fulfilling the expectations of the workers. A comparison of both parts of the report--that pertaining to the set of expectations as well as that pertaining to the present degree of acceptance and confidence--leads us to say that there are large divergences here. The new unions are not universally perceived as an organization for the fulfillment of these expectations, but their negation as means for the fulfillment of these expectations is not total either, as western propaganda would indicate.

On the other hand, an analysis of the differences in the workers opinions and views shows their polarization in view of past and present membership in unions, and primarily in view of divisions from the standpoint of membership in sociopolitical organizations, especially in the PZPR. Traditional social differences attributed to sociodemographic characteristics, such as sex, age, education and income, are not statistically significant. The degree of polarization of opinions and views of social reality is not conditioned by these characteristics.

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ROMANIA

CURRENT ROLE OF WORKERS DEMOCRATIC, REVOLUTIONARY STATE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 2, 25 Jan 85, No 3, 10 Feb 85

[Debate on "The Role and Functions of the State of Workers Revolutionary Democracy at the Current Stage," with the participation of C. Vlad, N.N. Constantinescu, N. Dobrota, V. Duculescu, I. Gorganeanu, L. Lorincz, C. Nica, V. Nichita, D. Popescu, D.M. Popescu, I. Muraru, N. Popa, and M. Traistaru]

[25 Jan 85, pp 26-33]

[Text] The great revolutionary changes that have occurred in all the areas of socioeconomic life and the historic achievements attained by our people, led by the RCP, particularly since the ninth congress, are indissolubly linked to the refreshing theoretical thinking and the untiring, prodigious activities of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. During this period, under the direct guidance of the party secretary general, the activities of our socialist state have been continuously improved, and an original body, unique of its kind, of workers revolutionary democracy was established, a body that ensures the direct and organized participation of the broad masses in the leadership of the socioeconomic life and of the entire society.

On the basis of the experience gathered along this line, and proceeding from the requirements of the current stage of development of the Romanian socialist society, the 13th party congress stressed the need for resolute efforts to raise the level of the planning and management of socioeconomic life. Thus, it pointed out that the fulfillment of the coming 5-year plan and Romania's development up to the year 2000 objectively require a more marked accentuation of the role of the state in planning, organizing, and uniformly leading socioeconomic activities on the basis of the single national plan.

Indeed, life and actual social development highlight the lack of scientific foundation and the profoundly erroneous character of the theses according to which the leadership role and functions of the state should be limited or eliminated. On the contrary, the intensive development of the production forces, the complexity of social leadership, and the conscious implementation of the objective laws of social development require improvements in and an enhanced role for the state, with a view to ensuring the uniform and harmonious development of the society.

In the light of these considerations, ERA SOCIALISTA, in cooperation with the Institute of Political Sciences of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy organized a debate on the role and functions of the state of workers revolutionary democracy at the current stage. This issue features the first part of the abridged recording of this debate, which was attended by: university professors Dr. Constantin Vlad, Dr. N.N. Constantinescu, Dr. Nita Dobrota, and lecturer Dr. Victor Duculescu; Dr. Ion Gorganeanu, university professor Dr. Ladislau

Lorincz, Dr. Constantin Nica, university professor Dr. Vasile Nichita; scientific researchers Dana Popescu and Dan-Mircea Popescu; and university professors Dr. Ioan Muraru, Dr. Nicolae Popa, and Dr. Marin Traistaru.

Constantin Vlad: The concept of our party and of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on the role and place of the state within the unitary system of leadership of the society and on the dynamics of the state's functions is based on the truth that, like any social body, the state is continually subject to social changes and acquires new functions and tasks with each new stage of development of the society. Such a creative approach to the process of organization and leadership of the socialist society and to the evolution of the nature of the state is part and parcel of our party's revolutionary strategy of building socialism by applying general and objective laws to the specific historical conditions and realities prevailing in Romania. The decisive role for the establishment of this strategy and of the fundamental, long-term guidelines of social leadership is played by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, whose theses on the essence of the state of workers revolutionary democracy at the current stage and its relationship to the other components of the political system, and on the greater role of state power within the unitary leadership of all socioeconomic activities stem from the practice of building socialism in our country and from the current realities of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. The documents of our party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical work, once again brilliantly presented at the 13th congress, provide a clear perspective of the increasingly important role of the state of workers revolutionary democracy at the current stage for improving the planning and leadership of all socioeconomic sectors, for fulfilling the objectives of the coming 5-year plan, and for Romania's development goals up to the year 2000.

In his report to the congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu comprehensively presented the growing role of the state in the successful building of the new system. "One of the objective requirements for achieving the objectives of the coming 5-year plan and of Romania's further development up to the year 2000," the party secretary general stressed, "is to more markedly increase the role of the state in the planning, organization, and uniform leadership of all socioeconomic activities, on the basis of the single national plan. We could not possibly be wrong in asserting that there can be no question of diminishing the role of the state in the unitary leadership of the society. On the contrary, the intensive development of the production forces and the unprecedented upsurge of socioeconomic activities objectively impose improvements in and increasing the role of the state for the unitary and harmonious development of the society."

This profound theoretical thesis, which embodies the historical experience of building a socialist society, is fully in accordance with the entire development of contemporary practice and knowledge. It enriches the heritage of theoretical thinking of our party and raises to a modern level the Marxist theory on power and state and on the relationship between the state and society and between the state and social development, because the problem of state power is at the very core of the materialist understanding of history and of the determinist understanding of social and historical processes.

The problem of power is the fundamental issue of any revolution and of any social system, and power is expressed in a concentrated form at a political and state level. The fact that the workers class, in alliance with the other working people, are in possession of the power is the fundamental and distinctive mark of a socialist revolution, which means, above all, building a state belonging to the working people. Such a state is the tool through which the revolution, led by a communist party, effects economic and social changes and alters the entire political suprastructure and social and cultural life in keeping with the laws of socialism.

As proven by historical experience, the socialist revolution does not end, but begins with the taking of power. It continues, and it rises to new and higher levels in the course of the process of building the new system, while the socialist state--the embodiment of the power of the masses and of the people--necessarily expands its vital functions for the unitary and harmonious development of the entire society and for its continuous progress. Weakening these functions and diminishing the important role of the state in the socialist society would deprive the workers class and all the people of an indispensable tool for successfully implementing the objectives of building a comprehensively developed socialist society and of progress toward the superior stage of this society: communism.

Vasile Nichita: The fundamental conclusions and ideas of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, concerning the essence, functions, and role of the state at the current stage of development of socialist Romania, the increasingly close and harmonious cooperation between the state bodies and bodies of workers self-management, the continuous consolidation of revolutionary democracy, and improvements in the organized participation of the workers class, peasantry, intellectuals, and all working people, regardless of nationality, in the leadership of the society constitute not just the answer to the requirements and problems raised by building socialism in Romania, but also an invaluable contribution to the common heritage of revolutionary practice and theory and a specific expression of the vitality and the creative and rejuvenating resources of socialism in general. Consistently concerned with verifying and refreshing social and political theses, views, and concepts in relation to the objective requirements of economic, political, and social realities in their continuous movements, our party acts fully in keeping with the methodological requirements of the revolutionary theory, according to which theoretical ideas, concepts, and conclusions are the product of given historical conditions and are valid only for and within those conditions.

The great diversity of historical, economic, social, and national conditions, of political and cultural traditions, and of psychological particularities amid which nations act to build a new, socialist and communist life, utterly excludes ready-made patterns or the standardized formulas of a "model"; in exchange, they considerably expand the responsibilities of their own revolutionary forces for carefully and knowledgeably studying specific realities and for resolving, on the basis of those realities and in the spirit of the general truths and principles of the revolutionary theory, the problems raised by building the new system, including those concerning the state, democracy, and self-management. The theoretical positions and practical solutions adopted by our party acquire a special significance in the context of mankind's modern searches and confrontations of ideas on the problems of social-political

organization and leadership, on the increasingly forceful assertion of the masses and peoples in the political and social arena, and on the considerably larger responsibilities of political factors for the great problems currently posed by social dynamics.

Naturally, as was stressed in our discussion, the basic problem of any social revolution and of any social and state system is the problem of power, of political power. This essential truth of the revolutionary theory has been given a novel expression in the process of profound political, social, and economic changes opened up by the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation of August 1944, which began a new era in the ancient history of our people. Throughout the ensuing period, revolutionary changes were carried out at the initiative and under the leadership of the RCP, changes that gradually gave the political and economic power to the people.

With the proclamation of the Republic on 30 December 1947, the Romanian people took the entire political power, which they wielded to wrest the means of production from the bourgeoisie and to build and develop the new, socialist system. Life and historical experience have clearly demonstrated the creative force of the workers class, the peasantry, the intellectuals, and all the working people, regardless of nationality, of all the people for solving the complex problems of building up and utilizing the new power in the socialist construction.

Disclaiming the unscientific views that forecast the "elimination" of the state immediately after the victory of the revolution, even before the elimination of all the conditions that led to its formation, as well as the views that describe the socialist state as an eternal and immovable entity, divorced from the dynamics of socioeconomic changes and from the evolution of the society, our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have paid and continue to pay great attention to the essence, role, and functions of the socialist state in close relationship to the economic, social, and political conditions surrounding it, the various stages of development of the society, and its international role and functions. The new spirit imparted by the ninth congress to the strategy of building socialism and to the organization of social life upon profoundly democratic principles, the fundamental guidelines issued by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, concerning the role of the state in society and the exercise of power by all the people through the supreme and local bodies of that power--the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils--and the continuous development of socialist democracy have decisively contributed to raising the process of revolutionary change of all economic and social-political activities to a higher level. Generally applying the experience amassed in this process with a great revolutionary perception and acuity, our party highlighted important new phenomena and trends, on the basis of which it developed refreshing theses and scientific conclusions that provide a clear theoretical perspective of the development of the Romanian society.

Changes in the Nature and Contents of Our Socialist State

Constantin Nica: Our party's concept of the state, creatively developed after the ninth congress with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive contribution, marks, in my opinion, a new and superior moment in political thinking in our country and in the philosophy of the workers class from the viewpoint of the place and role of the political factor in building socialism. This concept, remarkable through its depth and consistently scientific nature, clearly outlines the principles of the dynamics and qualitative growth of the state in the long run. The scientific analysis of the state performed by the party secretary general in direct relationship to its various determining factors, forcefully points to the fact that where the state is concerned, changes in society are reflected in the methods and actual solutions the state employs to discharge its duties.

As a historical-social entity, the socialist state goes through a permanent process of development after its emergence, in step with the changes occurring in the society. Through an uninterrupted dialectical development, it adapts its contents, nature, and functions to the parameters and traits of social evolution of each stage. Even the essence of the state--which remains that of the major political leadership and decision factor through which the power of the workers class and of all the people is democratically discharged--undergoes significant changes. Such changes are reflected in the form of the state, the manner in which it exercises its power, and so forth.

In our socialist state, the greatest changes have affected the depth of its traits as a new and distinct type of political power in the past 20 years. During that period, following the rejuvenating impetus provided by the ninth congress, democracy has become the supreme criterion and the main value of political structures and institutions, and of state activities. We have thus eliminated the simplistic, static concept of the state based on theses that had become anachronistic in the new historical conditions. One of those theses, which had a decisive impact on the contents and nature of state power, concerned proletarian dictatorship. Proceeding from the fact that the forms of state organization and leadership must not ignore new historical and social realities, and the deep changes in all the areas of material and intellectual life in our country, the party secretary general stressed that in these conditions, state power in Romania can no longer be viewed as a proletarian dictatorship. On the one hand, in our country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "the proletariat has become a new class, owner of the means of production, a workers class with completely new characteristics, different from those of the proletariat. Thus, alone from this viewpoint, the thesis of proletarian dictatorship in Romania--like in any other country building socialism--is no longer valid." On the other hand, socialism is built in conditions in which the workers class is the leading class in society; it does not, however, act on its own, but in alliance with and in close unity with the peasantry, intelligentsia, and practically all social classes. At the same time, the new society is being built in conditions in which the democratic forms of participation of the broad masses and of all the people in the leadership of all the sectors of activity are not being limited, but on the contrary, are continuously developing.

Vasile Nichita: Indeed, the legitimacy of defining our socialist state at the current stage as a state of workers revolutionary democracy stems from the nature and depth of the changes that have taken place in Romanian society in all the areas since the great national event of August 1944, from the economic, social, and political realities currently prevailing in our country, and from the basic options of socialist Romania's further development, options clearly outlined in the party program and in the decisions of the 13th congress.

When the question of proletarian dictatorship was topical in our country, what was meant was, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, the elimination by the workers class of the old social system divided into antagonistic classes, of oppression and economic inequality, and of the exploiting classes; however, it was always believed that the socialist revolution is the result of the struggle of the workers class, in alliance with the peasantry and with other social classes interested in a better and more just society, and of the active participation of the overwhelming majority of the people, whereby the political power of the workers class is expected to ensure an extensive democracy superior to bourgeois democracy.

The changes accomplished during the socialist period in Romania have imparted a qualitatively new nature to economic, political, and social relations, and to the society as a whole. Once it won the political power and eliminated capitalist exploitation, and once the country began to develop rapidly at all levels, the proletariat of the past became a new class: the leading class in society and, together with all the people, the owner, producer, and consumer of all national riches. As the leading class, the workers class exercises its power not dictatorially, but in the most democratic manner, by establishing and continuously perfecting a broad system of institutions, regulations, values, and norms aimed at ensuring the direct and active participation of the masses in the leadership of the society and in resolving the major problems concerning the country's present and future.

Thus, the major guidelines concerning the development of the nature, role, and functions of our socialist state are essentially designed to continuously enhance the leading role of the workers class in society—as the most numerous class among the active population, the most experienced in organizing and promoting production processes and in social leadership, and as the major provider of the national revenues—to consolidate its alliance with the peasantry, intelligentsia, and other categories of working people, strengthen the social-political unity of all the people, and promote the increasingly active and efficient participation of all working people, regardless of nationality, in building their own socialist and communist destiny.

Constantin Nica: It clearly emerges from the above that the state of workers revolutionary democracy is the product of the people's wishes and the expression of their sovereignty. Our workers revolutionary state exercises its functions together with and under the supervision of the masses. As is known, in Romania we have created a complex and diversified system of democratic institutions, unique of its kind, which ensures the direct participation of the working and all other people in the leadership of the socioeconomic activities, the state, and the society in general.

The development of the Romanian society in the past two decades shows that the primary objective of all the measures adopted by our party and state, under Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's direct guidance, to improve the organization and leadership of social life, was to increasingly involve the masses in decision-making. The establishment of workers self-management, the periodical organization of congresses and national conferences on sectors of activity, and the establishment of bodies belonging to the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front have crystallized a comprehensive, unitary, and harmonious system of social leadership by the people, and have created a genuine democracy, based on using the initiative, experience, and creativity of the masses for building socialism.

Constantin Vlad: Marxism interprets the state as the embodiment of certain relations among classes and social categories, and between power and society. The power itself, and the state as its political manifestation, constitute social relations that express and realize interests. Through the theoretical works of President Nicolae Ceausescu, Romanian political thinking presents an original and profound analytical image of the state as an expression of social interests; I am specifically referring to the definition of our socialist state as the representative of the owners, producers, and consumers. This definition highlights the contents of our state power at the current stage and paves the way for approaching the role of the state through the perspective of social interests.

As is known, there exists an objective dialectics of interests under socialism, of the general interests of the society, the interests of social classes and categories, the interests of the collectives of working people in socialist units, and the personal interests of the society members. Through their objective contents and on the basis of socialist ownership, all these interests are complementary, intertwined, and concerted. However, precisely as the representative of owners, producers, and consumers, the socialist state is the basic tool for achieving such an harmony. Present at all the levels of leadership and of socioeconomic activities, the workers revolutionary state promotes the general interests of the society and ensures the basic requirements of all the members of the society, whereby meeting general social needs and interests constitutes not only the safe, but also the only appropriate way to fulfill all the other interests in society. Thus, reducing the state's functions in any way would seriously harm both the general interests of all society members, and the interests of each one of them.

I believe that the particular significance of the theses outlined by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the 13th party congress concerning the growing role of the state in the unitary leadership of the socialist society becomes even more striking when we consider the characteristics of social determinism. According to a well known Marxist viewpoint, socialism is expected to accomplish mankind's leap from the dominion of necessity to that of freedom. Such a leap requires overcoming a certain type of predominantly spontaneous social development. The socialist transformation of society makes it possible to understand and to consciously meet the requirements of objective development laws. In other words, under socialism it is possible to have a development in accordance with objective socioeconomic requirements. On one basic and decisive condition, which is the fulfillment of the leading role of the communist party in society and the assignment of regulatory functions essential for the entire

social system to the socialist state. The objective requirements of development--the requirements of determinism--can only be known at the level of the entire society. From here the important necessity of a unitary leadership of the society and the particular significance of the single national plan of socioeconomic development.

At the same time, the objective requirements of development acquire specific and particular forms of manifestation in the various subsystems of the society. Understanding these requirements necessitates capabilities and initiative at all the levels of leadership. That is precisely the objective basis for blending central leadership with the extensive functions and responsibilities of the various economic units, such as working out and implementing development plans.

The dialectics of social interests and of the other requirements of determinism creates a series of objectively necessary premises for carrying out the role of the state while developing socialist democracy, asserting workers self-management, and coordinating state activities with the activities of the new democratic bodies. This is precisely the cornerstone of the entire concept of the party and of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on the role of our state in society--an increasing and particularly important role, which does not oppose the state to democracy, but turns the state into a profoundly democratic body and democracy into the means of systematic and active participation of the broad masses in both the leadership of the state and in the leadership of the entire society.

Vasile Nichita: Being the body of the power of all the working people, regardless of nationality, and of the socialist nation, the state of workers revolutionary democracy embodies the people's sovereign and inalienable right to be masters of their destiny. It is expected to ensure, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "the unitary and planned leadership of all socioeconomic activities, of the harmonious development of the society, and of the fullest concurrence between production forces and social relations."

Being the result of a complex process of continuous development and improvement of our political system and of the socialist society in general, the state of workers revolutionary democracy thus appears as an expression of objective necessity and laws and of the changes that have occurred in our system, and as an embodiment and materialization of the scientific, revolutionary, and boldly rejuvenating policy pursued by the party and its secretary general since the ninth congress. At the same time, the new characteristics of the essence of our socialist state at the current stage reflect the main attributes of changes to date, as well as necessary and desirable tendencies for the future, within the system of our socialist democracy. The profoundly democratic nature of our socialist state thus expresses continually evolving objective realities and the fact that the workers revolutionary state is based in all its structures and links on a democratic organization, and functions within the framework of an entire complex of democratic institutions and relations that it safeguards and perfects, being, at the same time, subordinated to the democratic supervision of the masses.

All the activities of state bodies are based on the broad participation of the masses in the management of public affairs. Before being approved by the Grand

National Assembly--the supreme legislative forum--major laws and decisions are extensively debated with the masses of working people. The principle of collective leadership governs the entire organization of social life in our country.

The workers character of the state power is defined by the increasingly important role of the workers class in society and by the essential role played by workers self-management and by the participation of all categories of working people in implementing the party policy of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. Workers democracy essentially expresses the power of all the people and the fact that work is and remains the only source of power and of multifaceted social progress.

The revolutionary character of our socialist state and democracy reflects the vital fact that the political organization and leadership--within which the state takes the primary place--is the factor that democratically decides the entire revolutionary development of our socialist society and implements it. Along this line, the state must actively pursue a balanced and harmonious development of all the areas of social life and must strive to identify contradictions and to deal with them in a timely manner, for the triumph of what is new and the elimination of everything that is obsolete and anachronistic. Thus, our socialist state becomes--in the view of our party and its secretary general--a body invested with a special role and responsibilities for the building of the new system. In order to fulfill this role, the state naturally needs a revolutionary organization and working style, and cadres imbued with a revolutionary spirit.

Ioan Muraru: Indeed, it is incontestable and fully proven that socialism is the society in which democracy is given a free reign, and that socialism and democracy are indissolubly linked together. The close and permanent dialectical correlation between socialism and democracy is perfectly and clearly expressed in the very concept of a state of workers revolutionary democracy. This concept--brilliantly presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--reflects the new essence of the Romanian socialist state and its socialist, democratic, and revolutionary nature, stemming from the fact that the entire power belongs to the people--free and masters of their destiny--from the even character of our national economy, and from the moral and political unity of the workers class, peasantry, intellectuals, other categories of working people, and all the people around the communist party.

As has been stated here, the measures adopted after the ninth congress on the initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have continuously improved the activities of the state and of its bodies of socioeconomic leadership, and have, at the same time, led to the establishment of an extensive system of democratic leadership of our society. This system has been brilliantly described by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausecu, as "a unitary system of national leadership by the people and a social and economic democracy of a new type, that permits us to extensively utilize the initiative, experience, and creative capabilities of the masses for implementing the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society."

Constantin Nica: The main premise for correctly solving the problems concerning the role and functions of the state and of the entire political system is, in my opinion, understanding the direct correlation between the contents, tasks, and priorities of each stage of social development on the one hand, and the dynamics of political institutions, on the other. Emphasizing this correlation, our party secretary general clarified, among other things, the major significance of the dialectical relationships between the economic and the political. The keystone of this clarification is the principle according to which the mission of the state is a function of the concerns of the society. In each case, the economic, class, and national structures constitute the primary factor, the "objective datum" in relation to which political institutions--and thus, the state--appear as secondary, derived factors, since they are historical-social elements corresponding to the level attained in the development of the production forces and of production and social relations. Thus, objective trends of social development determine the principles and functions of the state, too. In this light, strengthening and consolidating the role of our socialist state is of a particular ideological and practical value and constitutes--for now and for a long time to come--an underlining trend and the basic direction of its development. Deepening the complexity of social life in keeping with the enhancement of the revolutionary process and with the diversification of the party's program-objectives naturally and necessarily expands the functions of the state in the organization, uniform leadership, and planning of all economic, educational, and cultural activities.

Consequently, the state holds a dual role. On the one hand, it is the product of the society and the expression of its nature and interests in all its essential and defining elements, in the sphere of principles of functioning and functions, working methods, responsibilities, and relations with the other political bodies. On the other hand, the state plays an active and indispensable role in relation to the structures it generates, being the activating force of general progress through its particular capability to mobilize material and human resources for the planned and conscious development of the society. The state is expected to deal with complex problems pertaining to the level and quality of economic development, and the contribution of science, culture, and education to building a superior civilization.

In the course of a few decades only, Romania has made a socioeconomic progress comparable to that attained by developed states of the world in several centuries. Such a rate of development in all areas would not have been possible in our society without continuously strengthening the functions of the state--primarily its socioeconomic functions--and without increasing the role of planning based on the principle of democratic centralism.

As has been stated here, for a long time to come, the development prospects of our society, the guidelines of the 13th party congress, and the tasks emerging from them for the general development of the Romanian society objectively require further strengthening the role of the state of workers revolutionary democracy and more markedly increasing its role in planning, organizing, and uniformly managing all socioeconomic activities on the basis of the single national plan.

Victor Ducelescu: In connection with what has been said so far in our debate, I would like to stress the fact that the political system of Romanian democracy--a profoundly original system--reflects a continuously refreshing perspective and endeavors to identify new forms and methods of developing its structure and scope at each new historical stage. In the 20 years since Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu came to the leadership of the party, changes have taken place in our party and state and in the development of our society that have permitted the establishment of an increasingly more structured and more flexible system, better suited to the implementation of socialist democracy, varied in its contents, but also original in that it converges the interests of all the categories of working people within a single democratic framework, initiated and organized by the RCP.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated at the 13th party congress, "we have an extensive democratic system, unique of its kind. The councils of working people and general meetings--leadership bodies of the owners, producers, and consumers in enterprises and institutions--the county councils, national councils, and congresses of working people in industry, agriculture, education, science, and culture ensure the organized participation of the broad masses in the economic-financial leadership of our entire socialist society." The establishment of such a system marks a significant development in the perception of the political system, namely its perception as a dynamic system, permanently adapted to the new requirements of social development and to the vital need to increase the role of the masses and of all working people in the life and leadership of our society. The originality and flexibility of the system of workers revolutionary democracy permits an increasing assertion of the unity of action between the party and people, a permanent interaction between the party and other social bodies, and consistent reflection in the decision-making process of social developments and of the interests of all categories of working people, united under the leadership of the party in the great work devoted to building socialism in our homeland.

The Party and the State in the Political System

Dan-Mircea Popescu: Indeed, far from being a rigid complex of forms, structures, and social relations, our political system has been continually developing through the years, particularly after the ninth congress, as a natural consequence of continuous improvements in our entire social system. Thus, simultaneously with traditional institutional-organizational structures, new and original institutions and bodies were gradually established on the basis of the recommendations of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. At the same time, state bodies were assigned new functions and tasks and their activities expanded in keeping with the new socioeconomic and political realities, which are also continuously changing. The new democratic bodies have substantially changed the structure of our political system. As a specific expression of the new quality acquired by the Romanian political system, these new structures, mechanisms, and forms of participation are fully proving their efficiency, thus once again verifying the role played by our party in the democratic system of social leadership, which is to be the faithful representative of the interests of the workers class and of the basic aspirations and values of our nation.

Victor Duculescu: I, too, would like to stress the idea pointed out here that the political system of the Romanian socialist society is characterized by originality and by continuous improvements in relation to new historical developments and to the objective requirement of the working people's participation in the political and social leadership. I believe that this continuous improvement is inherently linked to the increasing assertion of the leading role of the RCP, the vital center of our entire nation, whose mission is to activate the energies of all the people for implementing the program of development of socialist Romania.

As is known, the prominent role of the RCP within the political system of our society has been extensively substantiated in the theoretical works of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who has made noteworthy contributions to understanding the current functions of the party and defining its position in the society in a new concept, suited to the modern era. Our party secretary general has forcefully stressed that, at the current stage of development of the Romanian socialist society and in view of the development of democracy and of the democratic framework of mass participation in the leadership of all the sectors, the communist party has the noble mission of being the organizing and dynamizing political force of all socioeconomic activities. The party bears increasing responsibilities for uniformly leading all social activities. Along this line, a special importance and topicality is presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's theses concerning social leadership, a leadership that implies a profound and thorough understanding of economic and social processes, a good organization and appropriate distribution of forces, an efficient allocation of cadres, systematic supervision and record-keeping, unity of thinking and action, permanent awareness of contradictions with a view to resolving them, extensive consultations with working collectives, and permanent links with the masses within an appropriate organizational and legal framework, capable of ensuring their participation in the leadership of the entire social life.

Particularly valuable for understanding the place and role of the party within the political system is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's thesis according to which party leadership must be exercised not from the outside, but from within state and economic bodies. Such a new view of the party, which leads together with the entire workers class and with all the people, naturally implies reconsideration of older views and opinions concerning the political system of the Romanian socialist society, a system that today consists of a veritable complex of structures within which the central role is played by the party and which is linked by thousands of ties to the life of all the people and to the activities of social, state, and economic bodies, in the leadership of which it is directly involved and which will continue to develop in relation with the new stages of development of our society. Along this line, the idea of a democratic political system reveals new interactions and requires permanent adjustments to practical requirements.

Ladislau Lorincz: In this context, I believe that of an inestimable theoretical and practical value are the theses formulated by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on the correlation between party and state at the current stage of development of the Romanian society. The RCP and our socialist state are the two basic institutions of workers revolutionary democracy. Since the relations between the party and state are of a dialectical nature, it is only natural that any change in the two institutions should

directly reflect in the relations between them, relations which directly influence the entire organization and work of the democratic political system.

In the past two decades, our party secretary general has rethought in a new light both the exercise of the leading role of the party and the organization and functioning of the state of workers revolutionary democracy, and the organization of a correct correlation in the relations between the party and the state. Both the party and the state have their own organizational structures and are discharging their historical obligations through specific ways and means; at the same time, however, they complement each other within the leadership of the unitary social leadership, thus activating the creative potential of the people.

In our country, the RCP, the vital force of the entire nation, expresses the basic needs and interests of all the people. Thus, it is the party's function to shape and express the general interests and wishes, which materialize in the domestic and foreign policy of the party and state. The historical mission of the party lies in the implementation of its function as the leading political force of the entire society and of the state. However, the party is not merely an ideological-political force, but also an organizational-political force. Implementing the party's policy as a government party requires the transformation of the political will into a state will, thus conferring to the party policy the force and capability to be realized. The task of making the party policy into a state policy--compulsory at the level of the entire society--belongs to the supreme body of power and the only legislative body, the Grand National Assembly.

The state thus has an essential importance in the process of implementing the party policy through its various means and possibilities; it has a special apparatus and specific working methods designed to influence, shape, and directly regulate social relations and human behavior. Naturally, the fulfillment of this role is predicated by the circumstance that the state is the only institution invested with the attributes of public power, which includes a very wide range of means--beginning with legislative authority down to means of education and persuasion and, in the last analysis, to material constraint--to attain its objectives. This role, of a direct executor of the policy established by the party, secures the state its due place in our socialist democracy system.

Particularly important in an analysis of the dialectical correlation between party and state is the thesis according to which the state cannot be replaced, at the current stage, by any other organization. As Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "The leading role of the party in our socialist society does not in any way replace the state bodies; it does not and cannot in any way reduce the responsibility of the state bodies toward the law and the people."

The party is vitally interested in the appropriate performance of the state, its bodies, and the entire system of workers democracy, because the better the performance of the state, the more complete the assertion of the leading political role of the party. On the other hand, the implementation of the leading political role of the party enhances the efficiency of state actions and the capability of the state to fulfill its functions.

Victor Duculescu: I would like to emphasize in this connection the fact that, according to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept, increasing the leading role of the party implies a process of continuous improvement of its functions and of the quality of its activities, and a process of increasingly asserting a revolutionary spirit in the work and behavior of all party members. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his brilliant report to the 13th party congress, "We must strengthen the sense of responsibility and militancy, order and discipline in the activities of each party organization and each party member. The party bodies and organizations must be consistently guided by the revolutionary concept and must always act in a revolutionary spirit to eliminate everything that is old and no longer suited to the current stage of development of our society, and to promote what is new. This is an objective condition for increasingly asserting the role of our party as the leading political force." This concept naturally requires increasingly strengthening the links of the party with the masses, improving its working style and methods, and developing internal party democracy, an unyielding position toward shortcomings, and a permanently rejuvenating spirit that can carry the process of self-improvement of the party itself to ever higher peaks and secure its prominent position within the political system of our society.

Constantin Nica: The RCP pays unflagging attention to the manner in which the state fulfills its important functions in building the comprehensively developed socialist society. The main areas of improvement of social organization and leadership in our country concern strengthening the unitary leadership of the society, enhancing the role of the single national plan and of planning, increasing the working people's participation in leading the state, and developing the system of workers democracy.

Practice shows that only centralized and uniform planning and guidance of all social areas can ensure the implementation of objective economic laws, the utilization of economic-financial levers to raise economic efficiency, and the promotion of a spirit of emulation. Democratic centralism as the basic guiding principle of state activities, and the single national plan as its tool help channel all the creative forces of the people in a single direction: developing the economy, science, culture, and education and raising the well-being of the broad masses. At the same time, life strongly requires that a better use be made of the collective experience and wisdom of the masses, and that the latter more actively exercise their right to have a direct say in decision-making. The participation of the working people in the leadership of the society through both state bodies and within the system of workers democracy is particularly important for successfully developing the socialist and communist construction.

Our state fulfills its role and obligations in conditions in which leadership is a profoundly democratic function. In the socialist society, collective work and responsibility, combined personal responsibility and collective leadership, and expanding cooperation between state bodies and bodies of workers democracy and of leadership in all areas and at all levels are basic principles that accompany and complement the uniform socioeconomic leadership. Centralism, which expresses the principle of undivided power, can of course only be conceived in close connection with a deepening process of democratization of the entire society. Proceeding from the objective reality of this dialectical correlation, our party consistently endeavors to achieve a highly

functional "conjunction" between consistently promoting centralism and strengthening workers revolutionary democracy as an essential requirement for continuously improving social leadership.

Ioan Muraru: Indeed, more markedly increasing the role of the state must be achieved—as stressed in the documents of the 13th congress—through democratic ways and means that will facilitate an increasingly intensive participation of the citizens in the socialist governing of the country. Therefore, perfecting and developing the system of workers democracy bodies will remain a major task. The concept of our party and of its secretary general on the relations between the state and the bodies of workers revolutionary democracy is of a particular scientific value along this line.

Marin Traistaru: The decisions of the 13th congress mark a genuinely new and superior moment for the continuous perfecting of the state and its bodies, as well as the entire system of democratic socioeconomic leadership. Drawing on the experience gathered and considering the stage of development of the Romanian socialist society, the congress decided that resolute steps must be taken to raise all socioeconomic planning and leadership to a new level. In his report to the congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the objective need to more markedly increase the role of the state in leading all socioeconomic activities on the basis of the single national plan. He also called attention to the need to harmoniously combine the activities of state bodies with those of the new democratic bodies, and to resolutely implement the principle of workers self-management and self-administration. Along this line, deepening workers revolutionary democracy in keeping with the requirements of the current stage of development of our socialist society; resolutely and efficiently implementing the principles of the new economic-financial mechanism; consolidating economic-financial self-management and self-administration are the main directions of action in order to achieve the major objectives of the coming 5-year plan, raise Romania to ever higher levels of progress and civilization, further strengthen our socialist state, and consolidate our national independence and sovereignty.

Victor Ducelescu: In connection with the system through which we guarantee the right of the working people to participate in the socioeconomic leadership, one should emphasize, in my opinion, the great importance of the legal system created in relation to the management of state socialist units and their performance on the basis of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration. According to the provisions of Law No 5/1978 and to the principles of workers self-management and socialist democracy, each working person—as a contributor to the administration of the national wealth—is responsible to his collective for fulfilling his own duties and, together with the entire collective, for the general performance of the unit. Similarly, each working person has the right to voice his opinion on all matters concerning work and the activities of the unit management bodies, and to make suggestions for improving the work of the entire unit.

Note that, according to this legal system, state socialist units are managed on the basis of the principle of collective work and leadership, through the direct participation of the working people in discussing and solving the socioeconomic problems of the unit, and in working out and implementing the

measures required to fulfill the plan tasks and improve the working and living conditions of the entire collective.

Legal provisions in force envisage a system of bodies through which collective leadership is carried out in enterprises, centrals, and other socialist units. These bodies are the general meeting of working people, the council of working people, and the executive bureau of the working people's council. Noteworthy is the composition of the working people's council, whose chairman is the party secretary of the enterprise, and which includes several representatives of the working people elected every 2 years at general meetings from among workers, foremen, and technical, economic, and other personnel. According to the laws in force, at least 75 percent of the working people's representatives are workers and foremen directly employed in production. In enterprises with a large number of women, the chairman of the women's commission is also appointed deputy chairman of the working people's council. These provisions, like the extensive responsibilities conferred to the bodies of collective leadership of the enterprises, centrals, and other socialist units, constitute genuine guarantees that the working people can effectively and directly participate in discussing and solving the problems of their unit and can exercise their democratic rights.

As is known, our party documents consistently emphasize the need to strengthen the role of working people's councils and general meetings as bodies of workers revolutionary democracy. The functions and extensive prerogatives of these collective bodies must be exercised so as to ensure both the increasing assertion of workers revolutionary democracy, and the full and active participation of all the working people in fulfilling the production plan. Stressing the particularly important role of basic units for the fulfillment of economic tasks, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized at the 13th congress: "Each production unit must take into consideration the general needs and must observe the provisions of the single plan of socioeconomic development. This is in keeping with the interests of building socialism and of the entire nation. Each unit must show a spirit of initiative for optimally fulfilling the plan tasks, raising the technical level and quality of the production, and continuously improving economic activities."

Socialist revolutionary democracy is brilliantly reflected in the permanent search for forms and methods through which the working people can use their entire working capabilities and strength for fulfilling the tasks of each production unit, whereby democracy is blended with the care to fulfill plan tasks and with consistent endeavors to carry out activities that, in the last analysis, directly concern the general interests of our entire national economy. In point of fact, at the recent plenum of the National Council of Working People, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted the tasks incumbent on the new bodies of workers democracy at basic levels, for optimally implementing the decisions of the 13th party congress. Referring to the need to enhance the responsibility of these bodies and their role at the current stage, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "We will have to perfect the activities of enterprises and of working people's councils, because that is the only way to ensure the fulfillment of the tasks for the new year and for the future."

[10 Feb 85, pp 29-37]

[Text] The Dialectical Unity Between State Power and Workers Self-Management

Dan-Mircea Popescu: Speaking about improving leadership forms and methods in the Romanian society, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his report to the 13th congress that "we must resolutely implement the principle of workers self-management and self-administration. As the producer and as the owner of a part of the national wealth--which belongs to all the people--and as its consumer, each collective of working people bears full joint responsibility for managing and developing its unit. The right of the general meetings and of the working people's councils to adopt decisions on all the problems concerning socioeconomic plans and activities must be merged with the implementation of the national plans of uniform development."

In connection with the legal documents that regulate, from a legal viewpoint, the principle of self-management and self-administration and that govern the establishment of democratic bodies--the bodies of workers democracy--I would like to dwell on two other important aspects. First, the contents of the law on the participation of the working people in the funds of economic development, in the form of social shares. The implementation of this law has contributed to enhancing the responsibility of the working people, as owners, for developing and safeguarding public property, efficiently utilizing the means at their disposal, and more actively participating in the self-management and self-administration of their unit and in increasing profitability and profits, and thus the incomes of the working personnel. The amounts deposited as social shares in the economic development funds are used to carry out legal production investments as decided by the general meetings of working people, and have direct effects on production and on increasing the incomes and profits of the unit. Due to this fact, the general meetings of working people now have increased functions and prerogatives; simultaneously with discussing the economic and financial results obtained by the unit, they examine the utilization of the amounts deposited as social shares, as well as the results attained.

Secondly, I want to stress the importance of the law on contract-commitments. Article 1 of this law stipulates that the purpose of the contract-commitment is to consolidate workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration and to enhance the responsibility of the collectives of working people and the bodies of collective leadership for developing and safeguarding the property of all the people, for judiciously and efficiently managing all the assets entrusted to them, and for fulfilling the plan tasks. Through the contract-commitment between the state and the collectives of working people in enterprises and centrals, the assets of those units--which are part of the people's property--are entrusted to the working personnel with a view to exercising their prerogatives and responsibilities as owners, producers, and consumers.

All these legal measures, initiated and worked out under the direct guidance of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, reflect a profound grasp of realities and of the current and future requirements of building socialism in our country.

Ion Gorganeanu: Indeed, by legally sanctioning workers self-management and the system of levers that ensure economic-financial self-administration, the latter have also acquired a legal, aside from the economic, contents. At first sight it may seem that expanding the sphere of legality to economics is artificial, and that actual production activities, or the activities of the working people's councils or the general meeting have no legal significance. In reality, however, the law, and economic laws in particular, are extremely important for economic activities. It is not by chance that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly called attention to this problem, stressing the importance of closely observing the laws regulating production activities and of understanding and familiarizing oneself with their provisions. However, it appears from social practice that people are not always aware of or properly apply economic laws of a great importance for various sectors of the national economy, and that economic units do not always comply with their obligations. This situation has led to litigation between production units and has caused economic difficulties. Examining these problems, the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee has recently adopted a number of energetic measures designed to prevent and resolve litigation between socialist units, ensure plan, contract, and financial discipline, and promote the principles of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration.

In our debate, reference was made to various legal documents that regulate workers self-management from both an institutional and a practical viewpoint. The number of such documents is, however, much larger than was mentioned here, and they cover a very extensive range of aspects, beginning with the establishment of production plans--which, being based on the single national plan, are compulsory--through observance of working discipline, equipment maintenance, savings of raw materials and fuel, and so forth.

This extensive body of laws, adopted in the course of the past few years at the initiative of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, is an additional example of the increased role played by the state in the organization, planning, and leadership of economic activities. Without a sound legal framework reflecting economic development requirements, production activities would undoubtedly be disorganized. Specialized literature generally does not much dwell on such aspects, and sometimes even underestimates the fact that legality does not mean only observance of norms of general behavior, but also the ensuring of a strict atmosphere of order and discipline at each working place. As the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stressed in his report to the 13th congress, "Strengthening order and observing the laws are mutually conditioning factors that constitute one of the objective requirements of developing workers revolutionary democracy."

Ladislau Lorincz: Within the process of continuously improving the socialist democracy system in our country, the bodies of workers self-management contribute, through the exercise of their functions, to crystallizing and achieving the great strategic objectives of socioeconomic development, in close cooperation with the state bodies and under a uniform centralized leadership. In my opinion, the very name of these bodies points to their profoundly political and at the same time, social significance. Thus, the bodies of workers self-management combine the political with the social in an original form. The social identity of these bodies lies in the fact that the power they represent

stems directly from the triple status of the working people as owners, producers, and consumers of the national resources.

As the supreme representative of all the people and of the entire nation, the state of workers revolutionary democracy expresses, implements, and defends the fundamental interests of all the working people; it represents the power of the people. As such, the socialist state is responsible for the performance of the system of workers democracy bodies and for the efficient and full discharge of the obligations of all the components of this system.

Blending the activities of the state with those of the bodies of workers self-management is dictated by the sui generis "division" of labor between these two entities.

At the current stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in our country, there exists a complete and organic unity between the state power and workers self-management, determined by the identical workers, popular, and revolutionary essence of the two. The two basic realities of our political life are not opposed to each other, nor are they mutually exclusive; on the contrary, they are closely correlated. It would thus be completely unwarranted to assume that the self-management bodies carry out their activities "to the detriment" of state functions, or that strengthening the state bodies and increasing their role is tantamount to "reducing" the role and functions of the workers self-management bodies. These two entities of the same workers revolutionary democracy condition and support each other, and the activities of state bodies are harmoniously blended with those of the new democratic bodies with a view to facilitating the organized participation of the masses in leading the activities of the entire socialist society.

Nita Dobrota: The thesis on more markedly increasing the role of the state in the organization and leadership of economic and social activities, presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his report to the 13th congress, highlights the state-economy relationship in a profoundly scientific perspective and fully in accordance with the realities and objective requirements of the current process of building socialism. The state holds all the levers of economic planning and leadership. It regulates through laws all economic activities in the society, this being one of its most important--and inalienable--functions. It is the merit of our party and of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to have implemented such a concept, which assigns to the socialist state a central position in economic organization. The planning law is, from this viewpoint, not merely a legal tool of a basic importance for the progress of the society, but also a political tool of a particular importance.

In my opinion, the process of increasing the role of the state in contemporary economic life is a general process; it can be noted in both capitalist and socialist countries, in economically developed and in developing countries. This increase is rooted in the rapid development of the production forces and the unprecedented expansion of socioeconomic activities--processes underway in all the countries, but particularly in the developed ones. However, while those countries have sufficient financial, banking, and technological means of imposing their interests in their economic relations with the developing countries, the latter lack such economic and scientific-technical levers; their only means of defending their interests in relations with the rich countries

is the state power. It is obviously no coincidence that imperialist and neo-colonialist propaganda tries to "theorize" reducing the role of the state, thereby hoping to weaken even more the position of the developing countries toward the offensive of the big monopolies and transnational companies. Various western authors claim, for example, that in the future, the transnational companies will be the "administrators of economic rationality" in the place of the sovereign states, whatever their political orientation.

Obviously, state intervention in the economy differs from one socioeconomic system to another, from one country to another, and even from one stage of economic development to the next; however, the general trend is toward increasing the role of the state as the social division of labor deepens and as the relations among the various links of the national economy are expanded. Every contemporary socioeconomic system is made up of a myriad of interconnected elements, based on the social division of labor within the national and statal economy. The very existence of the system, its normal performance, and improvements in it according to its own laws of development presuppose coordination and harmony among its various components, and that is what makes specialization and an autonomous social leadership function necessary. A clear expression is given to this objective requirement in K. Marx' "Capital," where it is stated that "any directly social or collective activity carried out on a larger scale needs a steering hand, to a greater or lesser extent, to coordinate individual activities and fulfill the general functions generated by the movement of the entire collective as opposed to the movement of its independent components. A violonist can conduct himself, an orchestra needs a conductor."

As for further increasing the role of the state in our country, I, too, want to stress that this will not in any way impede the organized participation of the masses of working people in the leadership of economic-financial activities of the entire society. In other words, the planned leadership of an intensively developing economy presents so many and such complex problems, that it is quite possible and, at the same time, very necessary to increase the role of the state, and simultaneously that of the leadership bodies of owners, producers, and consumers in enterprises and institutions. On the other hand, increasing international economic interactions and the possibility that international factors may introduce disturbing elements in national economies make the management of any economy even more laborious and require the participation of all decision-making factors in the management process and, in the case of the socialist countries, impose strengthening the unitary state leadership. The arms race and international tension are additional factors that increase the complexity of economic leadership, and that make it necessary to increase the role of the state in socioeconomic organization and leadership.

Unitary Socioeconomic Leadership on the Basis of the Single National Plan

N.N. Constantinescu: I believe that one of the basic traits of the mechanism of our socialist economy is that it reflects the society's joint ownership of the production means and combines the principles of unitary socio-economic leadership, based on a national plan, with workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration. Hence, the basic issue is to blend and correctly implement these principles so as to maximize their effect.

Along this line, it is important to examine the issue of planning. Our laws feature several important provisions: optimal socioeconomic results as the major goal; establishment of scientific-technical development forecasts ahead of the economic plan; basing the plan on the individual economic and regional-administrative units, which should profit by the general norms and guidelines established for the entire national economy; individual unit plans based on thorough advance research and on the requirements of domestic and foreign markets; plans of economic contracts, and so forth. The purpose of these provisions is to ensure that the plan is realistic, to turn to good account the creative initiative of individual collectives of working people, and thus to ensure the efficient action of democratic centralism. Hence, the law requires competent and democratic planning, capable of ensuring the efficient development of the entire national economy in the interests of the well-being of all the members of the society. One of the cardinal issues is to ensure economic reproduction and growth in accordance with actual social needs and with the requirements of the fundamental law of socialism and of the law of time saving. The manner in which this issue is dealt with reflects the efficiency of the implementation of the basic principles of economic management.

In connection with the above, I, too, believe that the actual blending and implementation of these principles is of an historical nature, because it primarily depends on domestic conditions (the degree of development of the production forces and the maturity of production relations, the level of economic and other skills of the population, primarily of the cadres, available resources of energy, fuel, and raw materials, size of the country, etc.) as well as on international (political, economic, military, and other) conditions. That is precisely why, by virtue of its very nature, planning must be flexible, must allow for rapid adjustment of the economy to changing conditions, and must be continuously improved. Along this line, I would like to mention the fact that, while absolute centralism may paralyze the initiative and responsibility of the individual units and inhibit the economy, absolute autonomy--and thus absolute self-management and self-administration--of the units can bring about serious internal economic contradictions and economic anarchy. Precisely in view of that, our party stresses the need to judiciously, rationally, and harmoniously implement the above-mentioned principles in order to avoid excesses in either direction, a fact which requires a sense of measure and strict observance of the criteria of socioeconomic planning efficiency. Referring to current tasks in this area, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the 13th party congress: "We must resolutely implement the principle of workers self-management and self-administration. As the producer and owner of a part of the national resources--which belong to all the people--and as its consumer, each collective of working people bears full and joint responsibility for the management and development of its unit. The right of the general meetings and working people's councils to adopt decisions on all the problems concerning socioeconomic plans and activities must be combined with the implementation of the provisions of national development plans. We must always keep in mind the fact that we are not to weaken in any way the unitary leadership of socioeconomic activities based on the single plan--which must blend the interests of each unit and each collective of working people with the general interests of our socialist society and of all our people."

Evidently, efficiently blending the principles of democratic centralism, workers self-management, and economic self-administration presupposes appropriate competence for both the units and the central bodies, observance of this competence, and observance of internal and foreign realities and objective economic laws at all the levels of the economy. Disregard for these requirements can only lead to subjectivism, voluntarism, red tape, and reduced performance potential in the economy. That is precisely why the 13th congress appealed to people to struggle against voluntarism and red tape, and requested all the working people to show a greater spirit of initiative and responsibility for economic growth, in view of the fact that, in the last analysis, the supreme criterion for assessing the implementation of the above principles is economic and social efficiency.

Marin Traistaru: At the current stage, the increasing complexity of socioeconomic life, the profound implications of the scientific-technical revolution, and the action of economic and social laws impose strengthening the unitary leadership of all socioeconomic activities and increasing the role of the state on the objective basis of public social property and of the new economic infrastructure characteristic of socialism. Unitary leadership--exercised through the intensive activities of the party and state and the organic interaction of their functions--is designed to unite the efforts of all the people for ensuring the rapid progress of all areas of activity and implementing the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and on Romania's advance toward communism. Only by adopting a single, general perspective and, at the same time, encouraging initiative by the bodies of workers self-management can we harmoniously blend their activities with the demands of a unitary socioeconomic leadership.

Of course, as was pointed out here, in order to enhance the role of the state, improve the activities of its bodies, and harmoniously blend them with those of the new democratic bodies, we must eliminate red tape, expand the competences of local bodies, centrals and enterprises, ministries, and collective leadership bodies at all the levels; that, however, must be accomplished on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, which combines broad mass initiative and the initiative of working people's councils with the principle of a unitary leadership of all sectors.

Practical experience highlights the conclusion that, should we renounce the principle of leadership based on the single plan of socioeconomic development, activities would inevitably be thrown out of kilter, spontaneous and arbitrary decisions would proliferate, and contradictions would emerge. The way to preclude such dysfunctions is to organically blend unitary socioeconomic leadership with workers self-management on the basis of the new economic-financial mechanism and of economic self-administration.

Constantin Nica: The indissoluble link between centralism and autonomy, between unitary leadership and self-management lies in the fact that the democratic bodies of economic units take decisions in accordance with the single national plan; thus, unitary leadership and central planning are reinforced by the increased assertion of the working people's initiative.

Expanding the functions of the state is by no means the equivalent of expanding the "nationalization" of social relations and activities, or of developing

the administrative or coercive aspects of the state. On the contrary, it implies greater efforts to serve the interests of the people. Referring to the dialectics of the relations between the state bodies, as bodies of the working people's power, on the one hand, and self-management bodies on the other, the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, said in his 13th congress report: "Improving the activities of the state of workers revolutionary democracy and developing the system of democratic bodies of working people in various sectors will contribute to continuously increasing the active participation of the masses in leading the state and the entire socioeconomic life, and to the progressive democratization of our society. However, the active participation of the masses in state leadership and the development of workers revolutionary democracy does not in any way mean renouncing or reducing the unitary leadership of state activities."

Marin Traistaru: It is obvious that pursuing a dynamic policy of industrial development; rapidly and evenly developing all the areas of the country; introducing technological progress in all the sectors of the national economy in a planned manner; achieving an equilibrium and an optimal correlation between industry and agriculture and between production and consumption; and judiciously employing cadres with a view to promoting the manysided development of the country require a coherent perspective at macrosocial level that should govern all socioeconomic leadership. Underestimating the importance of unitary leadership can produce dysfunctions in economic and social areas and pave the way for narrow, regional, and limited interests that do not conform with the country's general policy. The primary role of the single national plan is to reflect the state's exercise of its role as general administrator of the people's property. Within the framework of the national economy and of the social division of labor, each unit fulfills a certain role, precisely outlined in the single national plan in accordance with the general development of the society, and it is self-evident that the activities of each unit must conform with the general interests of the national economy.

However, all this does not in the least detract from the functions, initiative, and responsibility of each unit for optimally fulfilling plan tasks, raising the technical level and quality of production, continuously improving economic activities, promoting technological progress and social creativity, and asserting what is new. It is in this light that people must understand the urgent need to perfect workers self-management in keeping with the intensive development of the production forces, the unprecedented growth of socioeconomic activities, and the increased role of the state in ensuring the unitary and harmonious development of the entire society.

Very important within this process are actions designed to expand the functions of centrals and enterprises and to harmoniously blend the work of state bodies with that of the new democratic bodies, so that smooth self-management should parallel the resolute implementation of the principle of unitary leadership. Along this line, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said in his report to the 13th congress: "In the future, too, the more intensive and diversified the socioeconomic development, the more important it will be to ensure a unitary leadership of all activities, based on democratic centralism." In point of fact, workers self-management and unitary socioeconomic leadership express the optimal relationship between centralism and the autonomy of action of individual units. Perfecting the work of the state of workers revolutionary democracy

and developing the system of democratic bodies of working people will continuously increase the active participation of the masses in leading the state and all socioeconomic activities, and in increasingly democratizing our society, which is the intrinsic trait of a unitary state leadership.

Nita Dobrota: I would like to make a few specifications in connection with the role of the state as general administrator of the public property, that was mentioned here. The means of production belong to those who produce the material assets of the society, while the state holds and wields the tools to administrate this property in the name and in the interests of the working people that it represents. But there is more. Sometimes, relevant literature reduces the thesis concerning the role of the state as general administrator to state property alone. This, however, leads, in my opinion, to certain generalizations: the social character of national economic activities is reduced to the state units and the relationships among them, while the attribute of all the people is limited to the working personnel or to the working people employed in a certain sector. I believe, however, that the social character of production and of the economy in general should not be reduced to the concentration of the production and other economic activities at unit level. Aside from the social character of production at unit level, there is also the social character of social work, based on the division of labor, of work performed for the society. The entire modern economic history verifies the thesis of expanding the social division of labor as the material foundation for the social character of production. The socialist state is the administrator of the complex relations among all state and cooperative economic units and between the units and the people, in keeping with the general interests of the nation and of all the people. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the 13th congress, the objective trend, determined by social development, is toward strengthening and perfecting the role and functions of the state as organizer and leader of all socioeconomic activities.

Here we must also consider the fact that in our country the working personnel makes up approximately 70 percent of the active population, while the latter makes up 50 percent of the entire population. Not being an owner in the legal sense of the word, the socialist state can act, as I said, for all the people and owners--the equal owners of the means of production--and for all the consumers, as well as for all the producers.

N.N. Constantinescu: Socioeconomic development has always occurred within the framework of certain historical forms of community. The most closely united and most efficient human community in history is, in the contemporary conditions, the nation freed from exploiting classes, free, independent, and sovereign, that acts on the basis of social ownership of the means of production and in which socioeconomic development is objectively subordinated to the fundamental, vital interests of all the members of the society, regardless of sex, nationality, or age. Thus, the organization of labor division and cooperation within the socialist nation belongs to the people--owners of the means of production. Like any large-scale undertaking involving the organization, coordination, and synchronization of large forces intent on attaining planned goals, here, too, one needs a social body or tool through which the working people can systematically exercise, on a daily basis, their will in both general economic matters, within the national economic complex, at macro and micro levels and at the level of internal economic and social flows, and in

the matter of relations with other economies, relations that are generated by international economic interactions. This mechanism or tool is the state of workers revolutionary democracy. Since one of its functions is the unitary leadership of the national economy, this state constitutes not merely a social-political body, but also a social-economic body of a great significance for the daily life, the perpetuation, and the development of the nation.

As a tool, the socialist state, with its bodies is, by its very nature, a product of the sovereign people; it is under the permanent and direct control of the people, and constitutes the supreme representative of united socialist owners and producers, and the organizer of the common life of the nation and of all the people. "In this light," the party secretary general stressed at the 1-2 June 1982 expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee, "we must consistently ensure the appropriate working and increase the responsibility of all state bodies and all state apparatus workers for optimally fulfilling their obligations."

The fact that the state is the supreme representative of the united socialist owners and producers affects the implementation of the general interests of the nation both domestically and in international economic relations. In close cooperation with the workers revolutionary democratic bodies, the socialist state and its bodies are dutybound to ensure the balanced, proportional, and efficient development of the national economy; increase the production forces throughout the country; ensure a judicious ratio among various branches, primarily between industry and agriculture, and among the other subbranches and sectors of activity; and raise the living standard of all the members of the society through optimal socioeconomic activities, a fact which requires correct observance of objective economic laws. At the same time, as the supreme representative of united socialist owners and producers, the state of workers revolutionary democracy is dutybound to efficiently integrate the national economic complex in the international division of labor, to fruitfully promote and effectively defend the interests of the nation within international economic exchanges, and to ensure the nation's constructive participation in resolving international problems. This is all the more important today, when the economic arena of the world is populated by huge forces (multinational concerns and companies with turnovers that equal the national income of several countries, states, coalitions, and blocks of states, etc.) Any nation that weakens the state and fails to appropriately wield it in the economy, jeopardizes its very existence.

The claims of western economists, according to which the role of the state in the economy is "undesirable" come into flagrant contradiction even with realities in the capitalist world. Even in countries such as the United States, England, the FRG, France, and Japan, whose forms, means, and aims agree with corporate profits and with the preservation of bourgeois exploitation, the state plays an enormous role in social reproduction. Things may even go so far that, as the well-known economist J.K. Galbraith pointed out, in America, in the arms industry, corporations "do business with the government and operate with capital largely furnished by the government. Only their profits belong to the capitalist sector." For obvious reasons, bourgeois economists are against the economic role of the socialist state, but for the intervention of the bourgeois state in the economy, in whatever form and to whatever extent is necessary to maximize capitalist profits.

Evidently, under socialism, and given the intensive and increasingly complex development of the production forces, the unprecedented expansion of socioeconomic activities, and the appreciable increase in international economic interactions, what the vital interests of the socialist nation objectively require is not diminishing the role of the state in the economy, but on the contrary, more markedly enhancing it, as well as its socioeconomic efficiency. Thus, as the party secretary general stated at the 13th congress, strengthening the leading role of the socialist state in the economy, coupled with improving the manner in which it exercises this role and with an unremitting struggle against red tape and its causes (voluntarism, disregard for legal competences, fear of responsibility, rigid thinking and actions, disregard for the requirements of objective economic laws and for the supreme goal of socialist production) and for raising the material and cultural level and the quality of life of all the members of the society. Our party secretary general correctly emphasized that "There must be a strong spirit of initiative, responsibility, order and discipline in the work of all state bodies and bodies of workers democracy, that being a vital condition for the good functioning of the state of workers revolutionary democracy."

Naturally, one of the primary conditions for increasing the efficiency of the economic-organizational functions of the socialist state is systematically ensuring that the economic mechanism--based on the principle of unitary leadership governed by the single national plan in combination with the principles of workers self-management and economic self-administration--is flexible and capable of prompt reaction.

Further Increasing the Role of the State as an Objective Requirement of the Current Stage

Nicolae Popa: As fundamental aspects of state activities, its functions are in a permanent relationship with economic and social-political conditions and with the major processes of societal development. Even at the ninth congress, our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, called attention to the fact that the socialist state and its functions must be studied in the light of the entire complex of internal and international relations.

The dialectics of building socialism in Romania fully confirms the thesis of dialectical and historical materialism according to which, within the implementation of this new type of social movement, a characteristic feature is the increasing assertion of the role played by subjective factors and by supra-structural institutions, and the development of the economic and organizational functions of the state. Looking back on the historical evolution of the functions of our socialist state we see that the great victories achieved by our people are closely linked to the activities of the state, which, led by the party, has successfully fulfilled its economic and cultural functions and has ensured the consolidation and development of the fundamental values of the new society. The economic and organizational role of the state has increased with each new stage traveled along the path of building socialism.

Of course, the importance, contents, and ways of implementing the functions of our socialist state have been changing from one stage to the next; however, it can be stated that from the very beginning, the Romanian socialist state has fulfilled its historic constructive and democratic calling, by continuously

expanding its competence in the organization and management of the economy and in cultural and educational areas, thus asserting itself as a decisive factor for the organization of social life on the basis of the single plan of socioeconomic development and for continuously increasing the production forces and raising the material and cultural level of all the people. At the same time, the coercive aspects of state activities gradually diminished.

Dana Popescu: According to the concept of our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the essence and functions of the state are--as was pointed out here--subjected to an ongoing process of change in keeping with the continuous development of socioeconomic life. As is known, after the ninth congress, the theory of the state was creatively developed and expanded by the addition of theses and conclusions designed to identify new ways and means of exercising the political power. Thus, very important theses were formulated and substantiated concerning the unitary system of workers revolutionary democracy, the increasing role of the state at the current stage, and the dialectical relationship between the communist party and the socialist state.

As was stated during our debate, various changes occurred during the years of building socialism in the general activities of the state and in the role and functions of the state at various stages or points of the social development. Within the framework of this complex process, simultaneously with the reduction or even disappearance of certain functions--such as the function of class repression that characterized the period of transition from capitalism to socialism--new functions emerged, while others acquired a wider range. Such was the case with the cultural-educational function, that became increasingly more extensive and that has been perfected and adapted to the requirements of the stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of advance toward communism. The specialized literature dealing with these topics uses both the term of cultural-educational function, and that of function of organization and leadership of education, science, and culture, and of developing the socialist consciousness of the working people. In our view, this state activity can be more aptly described as a cultural-educational function of developing the socialist consciousness of the working people, so as to emphasize the fact that the cultural-educational function, as it was initially called, has expanded through the addition of the aspect concerning the development of the socialist consciousness of the working people.

Specialized literature has also put forward the thesis that the contents of the cultural-educational function is predicated by the dialectical blending of three aspects: cultural, educational, and ideological. The argument brought up to support this thesis is that political-ideological and cultural-educational activities are one. In our view, describing this activity as a cultural-educational and ideological function of the state is inappropriate. Can one speak of splitting the ideological function, which is exercised by the party, whereby the state "takes over" some of its components? The answer can only be found by highlighting the leading role of the party in the entire society and by stressing the fact that the state is the major tool for implementing the party policy. The solution to this problem is finally provided by the dialectical relationship between the communist party and the socialist state. If we accept the term of cultural-educational and ideological function, I find it difficult to differentiate between the role of the party and that of the state in the socialist education of the masses. The exercise of the cultural-

educational function of the state undoubtedly involves both shaping and developing the socialist consciousness of the masses, and struggling against obsolete, idealistic, and mystical beliefs; I do not think, however, that this activity can be described as ideological. The fact that the socialist state provides an organizational and institutional framework for shaping the new man and is governed by the ideology of the communist party does not mean that it has its own ideological function.

Hence, I am in favor of adding the aspect of developing the socialist consciousness of the masses to the "classical" definition of cultural-educational function. In my opinion, such a definition provides a clearer delimitation between the activities of the party in this area, which unquestionably has an ideological function, and those of the state, which works to develop the socialist consciousness of the masses and to educate them in the spirit of socialism. Certainly, because the ideology of the workers class, scientific socialism, governs all cultural-educational activities, the thesis on the existence of a cultural-educational and ideological function of the socialist state may lead to erroneous interpretations, such as, for example, the conclusion that at the current stage the state can take over some of the ideological attributes of the party.

Victor Duculescu: In connection with the evolution of the state functions, I want to bring up a few points concerning the dynamics and nature of the foreign functions of our state at the current stage. As is known, socialist Romania, led by its president, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, is carrying out intensive and prestigious activities in the international arena, the significance of which was clearly emphasized in the documents of the 13th congress, which established the basic guidelines and objectives of our foreign policy in the coming years.

The foreign functions of the Romanian socialist state have been steadily developing in relation to new international developments and with the major requirements of building a new world of peace and cooperation, free of weapons and wars, settling interstate conflicts, and establishing a new policy of detente, understanding, and cooperation in international life. A careful examination of the 13th congress documents reveals an increasingly strong link between our country's domestic and foreign policies, an element that can influence the configuration and definition of the foreign functions of the state. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in his report to the great forum of the communists, "The successful implementation of our plans and programs of socioeconomic development is only possible in conditions of international peace and security, and cooperation with all the states in the world, regardless of social system. That is the reason for the close dialectical unity between our domestic and international policies. While focusing on socioeconomic development and on building the socialist system, our party and state also pursue an active foreign policy of expanding cooperation with other states and safeguarding peace and national independence and freedom."

The new international conditions amid which the Romanian socialist state exercises its functions primarily require resolute actions for peace and disarmament, and for averting the danger of war. On the basis of scientific arguments, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that currently, "the growing danger of a new world war and of a nuclear catastrophe make it necessary for all the

peoples to do everything possible to halt this dangerous course of events. Thus, the major problem of the contemporary era is to halt the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, to begin disarmament, and to ensure a lasting peace in the world." It is certain that in these new historical conditions, securing peace and beginning disarmament are a genuine precondition for the exercise of all the other foreign functions of the state. Carrying out Romania's relations of cooperation, its participation in the world economic exchanges, and promoting an active policy of development of the homeland are directly predicated by removing the danger of war, primarily the danger of a nuclear war. Thus, in my opinion, this foreign function of the Romanian socialist state currently presents a very special significance.

On the other hand, in view of the acuteness and seriousness of the international economic problems, I believe that a resolute struggle to overcome the current international order, and to reduce and eliminate the great gaps between rich and poor countries is extremely important and forecasts a new, independent foreign function for the Romanian socialist state. The establishment of a new world economic order requires consistent efforts from all the states and peoples, and constitutes a basic necessity for the progress and prosperity of all the countries.

The scope and complexity of the relations among the European states, and the need to forge a united Europe governed by respect for the diversity of social systems and for the right of each people to choose their path of development offers, in my opinion, sufficient elements for considering the idea of an additional foreign function for the Romanian socialist state, directly devoted to founding new relations of cooperation and trust among all the peoples on the continent.

As for the function of cooperation with the other states of the world, the 13th congress documents emphasize the intention to continuously strengthen ties of cooperation and solidarity with all the socialist countries, primarily the neighboring ones, in view of the fact that the cooperation and unity of the socialist countries constitutes a vital factor for successfully building the new system in our country and for the policy of peace and cooperation among all the nations. At the same time, the Romanian socialist state will further strengthen its relations of friendship and cooperation with the developing and nonaligned countries, and will expand its ties with the developed capitalist and all other states, regardless of social system.

It thus appears that the foreign functions of our state offer permanently new and original elements that testify, on the one hand, to a process of development and diversification of these functions, and on the other hand, to the emergence of new functions, called forth by the dynamics of international life and by our country's increasingly active participation in international material and cultural exchanges and in constructively resolving mankind's present problems.

Dan-Mircea Popescu: Building the comprehensively developed socialist society necessarily requires continuously improving the leadership forms and methods. An essential truth is thus once again verified, namely that at each stage of development of our society there must be a complete accord between structural and functional, that being one of the basic requirements for an harmonious and

balanced development of the entire social system. Along this line we can also recall the qualitative changes that have occurred in the nature and functions of the state, as has been mentioned here. From this viewpoint, the concept of the state of workers revolutionary democracy opens up new and clearer prospects for the exercise of these functions. It was thus only natural that, in his report to the 13th congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu should have put great emphasis on more markedly increasing the role of the state for the scientific, democratic, unitary, and planned organization and leadership of all socioeconomic activities, ensuring the development of and promoting the ongoing process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism.

Continuously Improving the Functions of the State

Nicolae Popa: As producers, owners, and consumers of the material and cultural assets, the working people are directly interested in supporting the socioeconomic activities of the state and in the exercise of its functions. This is, in my opinion, the essence of the democracy of our political system--the exercise of the state functions is not the exclusive prerogative of the state apparatus, but implies the conscious and responsible participation of all the working people.

Our party's consistent endeavors--forcefully proven after the ninth congress--to expand democracy and to ensure the best possible framework for the creative participation of the masses in the social-political and economic life is organically blended with consistent endeavors to perfect a climate of order and discipline. "There is," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "a close unity between workers democracy and order and discipline. There can be no democracy without order and without individual responsibility at each working place." Revolutionary democracy and a state of workers democracy presuppose firm discipline and complete order. The rights and obligations of the citizens can be implemented only if all the members of the society unwaveringly observe the laws and norms of coexistence. The need to consistently promote socialist legality stems directly from the fact that the law represents the wishes of the masses, and its provisions reflect the major requirements of our party's policy. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the 13th congress, "Enjoying the rights ensured by the socialist society and responsibly working to strengthen it are two interacting facets of socialist democracy that guarantee the progress of the fatherland and the fulfillment of the working people's aspirations for well-being and happiness."

The assertion of individual freedom implies a correct understanding of this freedom, conceived as an understood necessity. Our party believes that democracy has no more propitious framework for development and expansion than that provided by the resolute observance and implementation of the laws, by social discipline, and responsibility viewed as a way of acting in accordance with the supreme requirements of the society.

Ion Gorganeanu: Our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have the merit of having scientifically worked out and substantiated an original and profoundly revolutionary concept of strengthening socialist legality and ensuring observance of the norms of social coexistence. Proceeding from the fact that the development of our socialist society is inconceivable

without laws to give legal expression to social relations in all areas, including those between the individual and society, our party and state continuously act to effect revolutionary changes in the law in keeping with the requirements of social development. As acts of social leadership with political, socioeconomic, etc. significance, legal norms constitute one of the most important forms of expressing basic political decisions. Bearers of rights and obligations and of social responsibilities, the legal norms, once enacted, become an expression of the wishes of all the people and are compulsory for the entire society.

Social practice fully confirms the thesis of our party secretary general according to which, at the current stage of development, the role of the state is increasing, while strengthening order and discipline is the objective condition for developing and perfecting workers revolutionary democracy. As mutually conditioning factors, order, discipline, and socialist legality constitute the cornerstones of the new system. Anarchy, abuses, and law violations are incompatible with the idea of legality and democracy, and with the very essence of socialism.

Socialist legality, as the principle governing all party, state, and public activities, is permanently in action as a legality born of the objective conditions of the society we are building. Therefore, observing all the laws and legal acts constitutes a general obligation for all party and state bodies, mass and civic organizations and their activists, and for all the citizens, regardless of their work and position. Thus, in the views of our party, socialist legality has a general character. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in his report to the 13th congress that "We will ensure that the laws are respected without exception, and we will take measures against anyone who violates order, the law, and the norms of social coexistence. We will ensure that no one can escape repercussions if he harms the interests of the people and of our socialist homeland. At the same time, we will ensure respect for socialist legality and the elimination of any abuse, so that no one can be unjustly punished."

Our democratic system requires not only extensive civic rights, but also precise social responsibilities. Our party documents highlight the idea that ensuring legality is the general task of party and state bodies, bodies of workers democracy, civic organizations, and of the working people and all the citizens. Naturally, the methods and means employed to ensure legality differ, but efforts have consistently been made and are being made to improve them and to make them conform to social needs. Along this line I want to stress the fact that, according to our party, expanding the tasks of democratic bodies concerning law observance in no way detracts from the functions of the specialized state bodies in charge of implementing the law and ensuring public order. As we all know, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is permanently concerned with improving the activities of the justice apparatus and eliminating abuses, with a view to defending our revolutionary achievements and ensuring public law and order. "We will increase the role and participation of the broad masses," our party-state leader stated, "in all activities devoted to defending socialism and the country's independence and sovereignty, and we will intensify the cooperation of the state bodies--as bodies of the people with special functions within the social division of labor--with the working people, under the supervision of the people."

Dan-Mircea Popescu: I believe that the genuine democracy of our socialist society should be understood as the direct participation of the people in the decisionmaking process, and as the realization of democratic rights and freedoms. In point of fact, the two facets of this complex process of development of socialist democracy are equally necessary, because, at the current stage in socialist Romania's development, the system of participation democracy is the system that can appropriately regulate the real relationship between needs and possibilities, rights and responsibilities.

The direct participation of the working people in the leadership of all the sectors of activity, from the level of enterprises and regional-administrative units to the level of national bodies, constitutes in fact the essence of socialist democracy and of the new social system itself. Participation incorporates all the aspects of democracy and constitutes a fundamental right, or, I would say, the right that concentrates in itself all the other rights, and that permits all the working people, regardless of nationality, and all the people to indeed participate in the leadership of the society in a variety of forms, in adopting important decisions at both macro and microsocial levels, and in the organizational evaluation and supervision of such processes.

Combining participation in decisionmaking and supervision in all the areas of activity with responsible involvement in practical actions, the Romanian concept of socialist democracy reflects the triple status of the working people as owners, producers, and consumers of all the national resources. The fact that all working people in socialist Romania can directly participate in the economic, social, political, and cultural leadership of the country is undoubtedly the consequence of the great revolutionary changes achieved in our political system in the 40 years since the victory of the revolution for social and national liberation.

Building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania means forging a social framework that, for the first time in history, ensures the full assertion of man's creative potential, a new quality of life, and complete individual fulfillment. The essence of revolutionary humanism lies precisely in the fact that man is viewed as the basic asset and is consistently placed at the center of all the activities of the state and its institutions, and in the establishment of harmonious relations between the individual and society, whereby individual freedom and happiness are the necessary foundation for general freedom and happiness. As a natural consequence thereof, a real and authentic democracy has been established and perfected in Romania through the efforts of all the people, a democracy guaranteed by the Constitution and by the law, under which individual rights and freedoms harmoniously merge and interact with the interests of the entire community.

Material and social guarantees ensure real equality among all the citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, equal jobs, remunerations based on the quantity and quality of work and on each person's social contribution, free action of the masses in all social sectors, and the governing of the country by the people themselves. Having eliminated the main inequality among people --economic inequality--our society has solved the basic issue of individual freedom by focusing precisely on those rights that the capitalist society is incapable of ensuring: the right to work and to enjoy the results of work, the right to a free life, the right to directly participate in all areas of

economic, political, and cultural leadership, and human rights under both individual aspects and under the aspect of a national community or a people, i.e. people's right to freely decide on their destiny.

Our country's continuous progress, the development and consolidation of the economic basis of the society and of science and culture, and the increase in the material and cultural living standard of all the people serve to further consolidate the rights and freedoms of the working people and ensure the development of socialist democracy. Continuously expanding civic rights and freedoms and implementing them is predicated by increased civic responsibility for the general interests of the society, and by each person's endeavors to do everything in his power to promote general well-being and happiness for all the people. Thus, at the 13th party congress Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that "Enjoying the rights ensured by the socialist system and responsibly acting to strengthen it are two facets of socialist democracy that condition each other and that secure the progress of the homeland and the fulfillment of the working people's aspirations for well-being and happiness."

Constantin Vlad: The ninth party congress, the anniversary of which will be marked this year, paved the way for deepening socialist democracy in our country, for tightening the links between the state and the masses, blending its activities with those of mass bodies, and organizing the Romanian society upon new and profoundly revolutionary bases. In the past two decades, as has been stated here, at the initiative and with the decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a complex of measures were adopted in a scientific and deeply creative perspective to improve the work of the state and develop socialist democracy; an original organizational framework, unique of its kind, was established for the direct participation of the working people and the masses in socioeconomic management and in the leadership of the entire society.

It has been emphasized here that currently, the objective requirements of building the comprehensively developed socialist society are responsible for further increasing the role of the state in the unitary planning, organization, and leadership of all socioeconomic activities, on the basis of the single national plan. As our party secretary general stressed in his report to the 13th congress, "The intensive development of the production forces and the unprecedented expansion of socioeconomic activities objectively require improving and enhancing the role of the state for ensuring the uniform and harmonious development of the society."

In the light of these basic considerations and of the congress decisions, the participants in the debate comprehensively dealt with some of the issues of the socialist state; they highlighted the constant efforts made by our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to strengthen the state of workers revolutionary democracy and further enhance its role, and to develop and perfect its functions. Our debate did not, of course, attempt to examine all the aspects of these numerous and complex issues. The role and functions of our socialist state in the implementation of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advance toward communism must naturally be further studied in close relation to the new realities, the current requirements and tasks of socioeconomic development, and the particular traits of the revolutionary process in our country.

ROMANIA

ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY STATUTE

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Dec 84 pp 2-21

[Statute of the Romanian Communist Party]

[Text] I. The Party

The Romanian Communist Party (RCP) is the vital center of our whole nation, the leading political force in Romania, the organizer and dynamic impetus for the creative energy of all workers in our country, of the entire population, in the struggle to build socialism and communism.

Among the ranks of the party are the most advanced and conscientious workers, peasants, intellectuals, officials, and other working people.

Guided by the RCP, the working class, leading class of the society, in close alliance with the peasantry and united with intellectuals and other categories of working people, independently of nationality, as well as with the entire population, struggles to fulfill the Party Program to Build a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advance Romania Toward Communism.

The RCP bases its entire activity on the universally valid objective laws of socioeconomic development, on the concept of scientific socialism, of dialectic and historical materialism, and on the creative application of these laws to the specific and particular conditions of our country; it resolutely acts to build socialism and communism, develop the revolutionary workers' democracy, raise the material and cultural well-being of the population, and strengthen the independence and sovereignty of the nation.

Starting with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, with the need to consistently strengthen international solidarity on the basis of full equality of rights, of respect for independence and non-interference in domestic affairs, and of the right for each party to independently formulate its own political line, the RCP maintains relations of brotherly collaboration with communist and workers' parties, actively contributing to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the international communist and workers' movement, so as to

achieve a new unity in the fight against imperialism and war, to protect man's fundamental right to life and peace, to protect the independence of all people, for socioeconomic progress, and for the triumph of the socialist and communist cause.

The RCP develops collaboration relations with revolutionary, socialist, worker, democratic, and progressive movements throughout the world.

The purpose of the RCP's entire activity is to build a multilaterally developed socialist society, and to move toward the construction of the classless society--the communist society--in Romania.

II. Party Members

1. A member of the RCP can be any worker, citizen of Romania--independently of nationality, who pledges to militate with all his strength for the triumph of socialism and communism, to serve under all circumstances the interests of the people and the independence and sovereignty of the nation, to acknowledge the party program and statute, to participate effectively in their implementation, belong and be active in one of the party's basic organizations, fulfill the party's decisions and pay established dues, be constantly interested in raising his political and ideologic level, and be guided by the revolutionary spirit in all his activities.

A. Obligations and Rights

2. Each party member has the obligation to:

a) Actively participate in the multilateral development of the socialist order, devotedly serve the nation--Romania, fight to fulfill the party policy and program, and the decisions of its leadership organs, for the well-being of the people, and for the nation's independence and sovereignty;

b) Firmly defend the unity and purity of the party ranks, the major foundations of its unshakable strength. The party does not admit the existence of factions within itself. Any factional activity constitutes a crime against the party, being incompatible with party member standing;

c) Strictly respect party discipline, compulsory in equal measure for all party members, the strict respect of discipline being a principal condition for party unity;

d) Constantly raise his political and ideologic level, adopt the party's ideologic concept contained in the party program, its dialectic and historical materialism, its general domestic and foreign political line, and the party's directives and decisions;

e) Be an example of correct behavior to his family and society, consistently promote the principles of socialist equality, and strictly respect the standards of communist ethics;

- f) Use and encourage criticism and self-criticism--the moving force of our society's development--in all his activities; demonstrate a revolutionary spirit; be receptive toward all that is new and advanced; adopt positions and decisively fight against shortcomings, errors, and the tendency to cover up mistakes, as well as contribute to eliminate such errors; fight against smugness, routine, and conservatism, against any manifestations of stifling of criticism;
- g) Militate for the application of and compliance with the laws of the state; by all possible means, firmly protect and strengthen public property--the economic foundation of the socialist society;
- h) Fulfill in an exemplary manner his professional and public tasks; demonstrate initiative and perseverance in his work; constantly improve his professional training and broaden his cultural horizon;
- i) Strengthen his relationship with the masses; explain party policy and decisions to workers; organize and mobilize them in order to fulfill the tasks outlined by the party; help satisfy the requests of those who work;
- j) Be sincere and honest toward the party; be intolerant of distortions of truth; point out work shortcomings without concern for the persons involved; bring to the attention of party leadership organs, including the Central Committee, any problem which could help improve party, state, and economic activities;
- k) Maintain party and state confidentiality, fight to strengthen political vigilance against the enemies of socialism; defend at any cost the party's revolutionary achievements, the socialist order, and our nation, Romania;
- l) Periodically report to the party organ or organization to which he belongs, the manner in which he fulfills the tasks and functions entrusted to him.

3. Each party member has the right to:

- a) Participate in debates and freely express his opinion about all party policy problems at party meetings and in the party press; contribute to the formulation of decisions and the establishment of measures for their implementation;
- b) At party meeting, criticize on the basis of principles, any party member, independently of his functions, for the purpose of work improvement;
- c) Elect and be elected to party organs, according to the provisions of the statute;
- d) Participate in meetings of party organizations, and in party organ meetings at which decisions are to be taken about his activities or behavior;
- e) For any problems, address himself to party organs, including the Central Committee of the RCP.

B. Admission Into the Party

4. The RCP admits the most advanced and active workers whose moral-political qualities and total activity proves them to be worthy of the distinguished title of communist.

Admission into the party is granted individually by the general assembly of a basic organization. Decisions of basic organizations regarding admission into the party are confirmed by county, municipal, city, or commune committees, or by party committees of enterprises or institutions. The decision to issue party documents is taken by county, municipal, or city party committees.

5. Upon admission into the RCP, each party member will sign the following solemn pledge:

"Entering into the ranks of the Communist Party, I solemnly pledge to my fighting comrades, to the party, and to all the people, that I will faithfully serve the cause of the party, militate with all my capabilities and working strength to implement its policy for revolutionary transformation of the society, and for building socialism and communism in Romania. I undertake the obligation to fulfill without hesitation the tasks assigned by the party, and to respect under all circumstances the program and statute of the RCP and the general political line of the party. I pledge that I will do nothing to harm the party, the nation, the people, that I will do everything possible to strengthen party unity and increase its leadership role in society.

Aware of my responsibilities as member of the Communist Party, I will consecrate my entire life to devotedly serve the interests of the people, to always place above all the cause of the nation's flowering, of the well-being and happiness of our socialist nation, and of protecting Romania's independence and sovereignty; I will act tirelessly to fulfill the noble ideals of socialism, for solidarity among workers everywhere, and for friendship, collaboration, and peace among nations."

Failure to respect the obligations of the solemn pledge will entail the application of sanctions stipulated in the party statute.

After the general assembly of a basic organization decides to admit a comrade into the party, he reads this solemn pledge and then signs it in front of the assembly's participants.

6. Those who have reached the age of 18 are admitted into the party.

Young people up to and including the age of 30 are admitted into the party only if they are members of the Union of Communist Youth (UTC).

As a rule, only those who have been members of the UTC can become members of the RCP.

a) Those who request admission into the party, present recommendations from two persons who have been party members for at least three years. When UTC members are admitted into the party, one of the recommendations must be provided by the UTC organization to which the recommended person has belonged;

b) Party members who give recommendations for admission into the party must have known the recommended person as part of a joint activity of at least one year; they are responsible to the party for their recommendations;

c) Members and alternate members of the party's Central Committee will abstain from giving recommendations.

7. Persons who have belonged to communist and brotherly workers' parties, and who have become Romanian citizens, will be admitted into the party with the approval of the Central Committee of the RCP.

8. Seniority of a party member is counted from the day on which the general assembly of a basic organization has agreed to admit him into the party.

9. Transfers of party members from one party organization to another are carried out according to instructions from the Central Committee of the RCP.

Upon request and with the approval of the respective basic organizations, party members who have retired for reasons of age or health, can remain in the party organization to which they belonged at the time of retirement.

C. Disciplinary Measures

10. The purpose of party sanctions is to maintain a revolutionary spirit, and to strengthen party discipline and morale, the unity and purity of the party ranks, and responsibility in fulfilling statutory obligations; the sanctions are of an educational nature, seeking to prevent infractions and to correct the person being sanctioned.

a) The sanctions that can be taken against party members are: reprimands, vote of censure, vote of censure with warning, up to five years' suspension of the right to be elected to party leadership organs or to be nominated for state leadership functions. Basic organizations can decide to sanction party members on their records; party committees can decide to sanction their own members or party members from subordinate basic organizations;

b) After a period of at least one year from the date of sanction, party organs and organizations--on their own initiative or upon request from sanctioned members--can examine their activities and decide to lift the sanction.

11. Expulsion from the party is the strongest party sanction. It is applied only when party members seriously violate the party program, its general political lines, or the laws of the country; prejudice party unity; betray

the interests of the people; consort with enemies of the building of socialism; are insincere and cheat the party; disclose party and state secrets; when their behavior show moral decay; or when they commit other deeds which violate the provisions of the statute.

In reaching decisions to expel from the party, confirming them, and examining appeals, party organs and organizations must investigate with great attention, comradely care, objectivity, and sense of responsibility, the accuracy of the charges brought against party members.

a) Expulsions are determined by general assemblies of basic organization and are confirmed by county, municipal, or city party committees.

Until expulsion decisions are confirmed, party members retain their party identification cards and are entitled to participate in party assemblies;

b) Expulsion from the party as well as expulsion of members from county, municipal, city, or commune party committees, or from enterprises, institutions, and other party committees, are determined at plenary sessions of the respective party committees, by a two-thirds majority of the members;

c) Expulsion of a member from the Central Committee, as well as his expulsion from the party is determined at a plenary session of the party Central Committee, by a two-thirds majority of the members;

d) Party expulsion decisions reached by basic organizations must be examined by county, municipal, or city party committees within no more than one month after their adoption.

Persons expelled have the right to appeal to higher organs, including the party congress; appeals must be examined by party organs within no more than three months;

e) Readmission of expelled persons into the party can be examined--upon their request or upon initiative from basic organizations--after at least two years have elapsed since expulsion from the party.

If during this period, the expelled persons have demonstrated through their entire behavior that they sincerely regret and condemn the violations they have committed, that they have eliminated the behavior for which they were expelled, and that they are honestly working to implement party decisions, the basic organizations can decide to readmit them into the party after conducting thorough examinations.

In cases of readmission, party organs can decide to acknowledge party seniority previous to the expulsion.

12. Decisions to lift sanctions or to readmit into the party are valid if they were taken (confirmed) by a party organ of level equal to the one that determined the sanctions (expulsions), or by a higher party organ.

13. When party organizations commit serious violations against the program, the general political line, or the party statute, the Central Committee of the RCP can decide to disband the respective party organization and re-register its members.

III. Party Structure, Internal Party Democracy

14. The fundamental principle of the party's organizational structure and activity is democratic centralism.

In the Romanian communist party:

a) All leadership party organs are elected; basic organization bureaus and party committees, from the lowest to the highest, are elected by secret vote.

The election of party organs, from bureaus of basic organizations, up to and including the Central Committee, will take into consideration in accordance with the rotation principle, the replacement of at least one-third of the organ's members, and the promotion of new cadre who have distinguished themselves in the struggle to implement the general party policy line, and the program of the RCP.

Party organs will assure an appropriate age ratio among their members, acting consistently to promote--along with cadre with extensive experience--young cadre who are suitable in all respects.

Elected to party organs will be those communists with sound political and professional training, and whose health and working capabilities allow them to fulfill the responsibilities entrusted to them under the best conditions; party members who carry out their activities abroad will not be elected to party leadership organs, or will not cease belonging to them, while they fulfill their functions abroad.

Similarly, party members who are retired will not be elected to party leadership organs or will not cease belonging to them;

b) In order to assure that the best communists, with sound political-ideologic training and with prestige and authority among the masses, are elected to party leadership organs, assemblies and conferences of party organizations will discuss and propose candidacies for immediately higher party organs. As a rule, the number of proposed candidates will be larger than the number of those who will be elected. Party members proposed as candidates for election to local and central party organs will have to meet the following criteria:

Candidates proposed for local party organs must have minimum seniorities in the party and in various functions, as follows:

Secretaries of basic organizations, four years of party seniority;

Members of basic organization bureaus, three years of party seniority;

Secretaries of commune, enterprise, institution, agricultural unit, and other party committees, six years of party seniority;

Members of commune, enterprise, institution, agricultural unit, and other party committees, four years of party seniority;

Secretaries of municipal and city party committees, six years of party seniority and four years as members of enterprise or institution party committees, in the party apparatus, or in the leadership of county, municipal, city, economic, or sociocultural unit mass organizations;

Members of city and municipal party committees, five years of party seniority;

Secretaries of county party committees and of the Bucharest Municipal Committee, eight years of party seniority and five years as members of county, municipal, or city party committees, in the leadership of party organizations in large enterprises, or in the leadership of economic and sociocultural unit mass organizations;

Members of county committees and of the Bucharest Municipal Committee, six years of party seniority;

Members of county review commissions, six years of party seniority, and members of municipal and city review commissions, five years of party seniority.

Candidates proposed for election as members of the Central Committee or the the Central Review Commission, must:

Have at least 12 years of party seniority;

Have been active for at least six years in county, municipal, or city party organs, in the leadership of party or mass organizations in large enterprises, institutions, and communes, as activists in party, mass, and public organizations, or in the leadership of economic and sociocultural units.

Delegates elected to the party congress must have a of party seniority of at least six years.

For party members proposed for election to local and central party organs, and as delegates to the party congress, and who fulfill leadership functions in UTC organizations, in unions, and in associations of communist students, party seniority is reduced by one-half, if these persons have at least 12 years of seniority in the UTC and have fulfilled leadership functions in UTC or UASCR (Union of Communist Student Associations in Romania) organizations for at least four years.

Proposals for candidates presented at party conferences will be first subjected to discussion and consultation by the general assembly of the party organization in the enterprises, institutions, or agricultural units in which the respective persons are active. Other workers from the units in which the candidates are active will also be invited to these assemblies.

Conferences of party organizations analyze the individual candidacies proposed by assemblies and conferences of subordinate party organizations, as well as by conference delegates, and elect the respective party organs.

Proposals for electing candidates to central party organs are made by conferences of county party organizations. The party congress analyzes the candidacies proposed by the conferences of county party organizations, and elect the central organs of the party from among them;

c) In order to broaden internal party democracy and assure proportional representation of party organizations in party organs, members of all party committees and alternate members of these committees, including the Central Committee of the party, are elected on the basis of exact criteria as a function of the number of members in the respective party organizations. Quotas for electing members of the Central Committee of the RCP, and for local party organizations, are established by the Central Committee;

d) Party organs must periodically present reports to party organizations, and systematically inform the party membership and communists, about the party's domestic and foreign policy, and about the major decisions and measures which it adopts;

e) Party organs will first offer for extensive debate in party organizations and with workers, the major measures to be adopted regarding economic and sociocultural activities;

f) Party organs carry out their activities according to the principle of collective labor, the highest principle of party leadership; members of party organs have the unlimited right to voice their opinion, in an organized setting, about all problems subjected to discussion; the decisions and measures adopted by party organs must result from an examination of these voiced opinions and proposals, and must express the thinking of the entire collective;

g) Members of party organs are responsible both for fulfilling the work tasks entrusted to them, as well as for the decisions, activities, and fulfillment of the tasks of the organ to which they belong;

h) Party organs have the duty to assure the participation of all members of the respective party organs in the performance of all activities, in formulating decisions, and in organizing and controlling the fulfillment of these decisions; the Central Committee, county, municipal, city, and commune party committees, as well as party committees in enterprises and institutions will organize commissions for various party work areas, composed of members of the respective party organs, as well as of other communists with appropriate experience and political and professional training;

i) Decisions of party organs are valid if they are adopted by a majority vote of their members; after a decision has been adopted, the minority subjects itself unconditionally to the majority, and must implement without reservation

the adopted decisions. Members of party organs who have other opinions than those expressed in a decision adopted by the party organ to which they belong, after having expressed their viewpoint within the respective organ, can address themselves to the immediately higher party committee to state their objections to the adopted decision; the respective party committee must analyze in the shortest possible time the objections that have been expressed, and advise the first party organ of its conclusions. Taking a position against an adopted decision, outside the organized framework of the party, constitutes a serious violation of party regulations and discipline, and must entail appropriate disciplinary and statutory measures;

j) Decisions of a higher party organ are unconditionally binding on party organizations and on all party members in its sphere of activity.

15. The party is constituted on the territorial and production site principle:

The basic party organization includes all party members in an enterprise, department, institution, agricultural production cooperative, village, neighborhood, and so on;

In units that have several basic organizations, the party organization of the entire unit is superior to all the basic organizations within its sphere of activity;

A commune, city, municipal, or county organization is superior to all the party organizations in the respective commune, city, or municipality.

16. Party leadership organs are:

For basic organizations, the general assembly, which elects the bureau of the basic organization as its executive organ;

For party organizations in enterprises, institutions, agricultural production cooperatives, and so on, the general assembly or conference, which elects the committee as its executive organ;

For commune, city, municipal, or county organizations, the general assembly or conference, which elects the committee of the respective party organization as its executive organ;

For RCP, the Congress, which elects the party Central Committee.

17. Party committees are supported in their work by an extensive active party membership, composed of party members with experience, who work in various areas of activity. They must regularly call assemblies, conferences, or meetings of the active party membership, to debate the most important economic and social questions of party work, major party decisions, and laws, so as to establish measures for implementing them. The party committee mobilizes the active membership in organizing and controlling the implementation of decisions.

18. Party organs and organizations will assure the judicious distribution of cadre as a function of their capabilities and competence, closely combining party and state activities as a function of society's needs; the assignment of cadre will take into consideration the principle of cadre rotation to party and state work, so that they will obtain a multilateral experience, and understand and solve more effectively the complex problems raised by social life, by the scientific management of society. As a function of need, the cadre will be able to simultaneously fulfill management functions both within the party and in the state.

IV. Higher Party Organs

19. The highest organ of the RCP is the party Congress. An ordinary congress is convened by the Central Committee every five years. The party Congress and its agenda are announced at least two months before the date of its meeting.

The Central Committee can convene an extraordinary party congress. An extraordinary party congress can also be convened upon request from at least one-third of the total number of party members.

The representation quotas and manner of election of delegates to the party congress are established by the Central Committee.

20. The Congress has the following functions:

- a) Discusses and adopts decisions about the activity reports of the party Central Committee and Central Review Commission;
- b) Adopts and modifies the party program and statute;
- c) Establishes the general party line about fundamental matters of domestic and foreign policy, and adopts directives for the country's economic and social development;
- d) Elects the party Central Committee, the Secretary General of the RCP, and the Central Review Commission.

21. During the period between congresses, when discussion of an important matter of party and state policy is considered necessary, the Central Committee can convene a national party conference. Delegates to the national conference are elected by conferences of county party organizations, according to regulations established by the party Central Committee.

22. In case the Central Committee is not complete, the vacant positions will be filled from among alternate members. These positions can be filled with party members other than alternate members of the Central Committee of the RCP, only by the national party conference, to the extent of the number of Central Committee members approved by the congress.

23. The Central Committee of the RCP manages the entire activity of the party in the time interval between congresses; it assures that the leadership role of the party is achieved in all areas of activity; it organizes the implementation of the party program, of its general political line, of the congress directives regarding the country's economic and social development; it leads activities in the economic, socioideologic, and cultural ares, as well as foreign policy; it leads and guides the activity of state organs, as well as of mass and public organizations; it leads and guides activities in national defense, public order, and state security.

The Central Committee watches over the protection of unity and purity within party ranks; manages central press organs and central party institutions; and is directly involved in cadre policy.

The Central Committee organizes the development of relations with communist and workers' parties, and represents the RCP in relations with other parties, organizations, and institutions.

The Central Committee administers the monetary funds and material goods of the party.

24. The Central Committee elects the Executive Political Committee and the Secretariat. The first secretaries of county party committees established by the the Central Committee, will be members or alternate members of the Executive Political Committee as long as they fulfill this function. The chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the UTC, and the chairwoman of the National Council of Women, are also members or alternate members of the Executive Political Committee. The Executive Political Committee assures the leadership of party activities between plenary Sessions. The secretariat of the Central Committee organizes and controls the implementation of party decisions, and assures the fulfillment of the party's cadre policy, and the selection, training, and assignment of cadre.

The Executive Political Committee and the Secretariat report to the Central Committee about their activities.

From among its members, the Executive Political Committee forms the Permanent Bureau, which is led by the Secretary General of the RCP.

The Permanent Bureau assures the effective coordination of party and state activities, and adopts decisions within the limit of the attributes established by the Executive Political Committee of the RCP.

The Permanent Bureau reports to the Executive Political Committee about its activities.

25. The Central Committee holds plenary sessions at least once every four months. Alternate members of the Central Committee participate with consultative voting rights in the plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

26. The Central Committee systematically informs party organizations about its activity, and subjects the major matters of party and state policy to consultation and discussion by these organizations.

27. The Central Committee organizes the Central Party College, which has the following functions:

- a) Controls compliance with the statute's provisions regarding party discipline and morale;
- b) By assignment from the Central Committee, investigates infractions committed by some party members;
- c) Reviews appeals against decisions of county, municipal, and city party committees, regarding expulsion from the party and the application of other party sanctions.

28. Whenever considered necessary, the Central Committee organizes party and state organs in various areas of activity.

29. The Central Review Commission verifies:

- a) Compliance with the budget and the management of the party's material goods;
- b) The manner in which central party organs examine and resolve requests, letters, and notifications from workers.

Members of the Central Review Commission cannot be concurrently elected as members of the party Central Committee. Members of the Central Review Commission attend the plenary sessions of the Central Committee of the RCP.

V. County, Municipal, City, and Commune Party Organizations

30. The highest organ of county, municipal, city, and commune party organizations is the general assembly or conference of the respective party organization.

Ordinary conferences of party organizations are convened by county party committees once every five years; general assemblies or conferences of municipal, city, and commune party organizations are convened by the respective party committees once every two and one-half years.

Extraordinary general assemblies or conferences of county, municipal, city, or commune party organizations can be convened by the respective party committees or by higher organs.

General assemblies or conferences, and their agendas, will be announced at least 20 days in advance in the case of county organizations, and at least 10 days in advance for municipal, city, or commune party organizations.

Quotas for representation at conferences of party organizations are established by the respective party committees.

31. General assemblies or respectively, party conferences, have the following functions:

- a) Discuss the activities of the respective party committees and of review commissions, and reach decisions about them;
- b) Analyze party activity, economic, and sociocultural problems, the work of peoples' councils, and of mass and public organizations, and adopt appropriate measures;
- c) Elect county, municipal, city, or commune party committees, county, municipal, city, or commune review commissions, and delegates to conferences of higher party organizations, or to the party congress; designate candidates for immediately higher party organs.

32. During the time interval between assemblies or conferences, county, municipal, city, or commune party committees control all party work within their territorial area; assure the implementation of the party's leadership role in all activities; organize the implementation of party directives and decisions; leads and guides state and economic organs in fulfilling the Unified National Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development; monitors respect for democracy and socialist law; leads political ideology activities, organizes party education, and other forms of ideologic and political training for party members, as well as the communist education of workers; leads and guides the activity of mass and public organizations; manages the local press and local party institutions; fulfills party directives regarding the selection, growth, and distribution of cadre; administers the monetary funds and material goods of the respective party organizations.

33. County, municipal, city, or commune committees elect their executive organs, the bureaus.

Bureau members are confirmed by the immediately higher party organ.

County, municipal, city, or commune committees elect a secretariat to handle current matters and to organize and control the implementation of decisions.

Bureaus and secretariats report to the respective party committees about the activities they have performed.

Party organization committees carry out all their activities according to the decisions of higher organs of the RCP and of the general assemblies or conferences of the respective party organizations.

34. Plenary sessions of county, municipal, city, or commune committees are convened at least once every three months.

35. Party organization committees systematically inform their superior party organs, and present reports about their activities.

County committees present reports to the active party membership about their activities every two and one-half years, and municipal, city, or commune committees once a year. Similarly, the latter periodically inform subordinate party organizations about their activities, and consult them about the major steps for carrying out economic and sociocultural activities that remain to be performed.

36. The Bucharest municipal party organization has similar duties and functions with respect to county party organizations.

In Bucharest, party organizations are organized by sectors, with functions similar to those of party city organizations; they are subordinate to the municipal party committee.

37. County committees, and the Bucharest Municipal Committee organize a party college which fulfills the following functions:

- a) Controls compliance with statute provisions regarding party discipline and morale;
- b) At the request of county committees, or of the Bucharest Municipal Committee, investigates violations committed by some party members;
- c) Reviews appeals against decisions of municipal, sector, and city party committees regarding expulsion from the party and the application of other party sanctions.

38. County, municipal, city, or commune review commissions fulfill the following functions:

- a) Verify compliance with the budget and the management of material goods which belong to county, municipal, city, or commune party organizations;
- b) Monitor the manner in which county, municipal, city, or commune party committees examine and dispose of requests, letters, and reports from workers.

Members of review commissions cannot be simultaneously elected as members of the respective party committees. Members of review commissions are present at plenary sessions of county, municipal, city, or commune party committees.

39. With the approval of county party committees, municipalities and cities can form party organizations which will include all the party members which carry out their activities in a certain branch or field of activity.

VI. Basic Party Organizations

40. Basic organizations are formed in enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives, institutions, schools, higher education institutions, military units, villages, neighborhoods, and any other units which have at least three party members.

Basic party organizations are formed with the approval of county, municipal, or city party committees.

Wherever there are less than three party members and less than three UTC members, a joint party and UTC group is formed, led by an organizer designated by a county, municipal, or city party committee.

41. With the approval of immediately higher party organs, party groups for shops, shifts, sections, departments, brigades, and so on, can be created within basic organizations.

42. In enterprises, institutions, agricultural production cooperatives, and other units which have a large number of party members, and in which it is necessary to form several basic organizations, party organizations led by committees can be formed with the approval of a county party committee.

43. The highest organ of basic party organizations is the general assembly, which as a rule meets once a month. Every two and one-half years, the general assemblies of basic party organizations elect bureaus as executive organs, to lead the entire current activity of the organization.

Basic organizations which have less than 10 party members elect a secretary and alternate secretary of the basic organization.

44. The highest organ of party organizations is the general assembly or the party conference.

General assemblies or reporting conferences, the election of party organs, of delegations, and the designation of candidates for immediately higher party organs, are convened by the respective party committees every two and one-half years.

The bureaus of basic organizations or party committees elect a secretary and deputy secretaries.

Bureaus of basic organizations and party committees are confirmed by the immediately higher party organs.

45. Bureaus of basic organizations and party committees present annual reports about their activities to their respective organizations.

At party general assemblies, bureaus inform the organization about the implementation of decisions taken at previous general assemblies.

46. Basic organizations assure close relations between the party and workers, peasants, and intellectuals. They have the following duties:

a) Assure an organized activity for communists, so as to fulfill the party program, the domestic and foreign policy line, party decisions and directives, and unite the efforts of the workers' masses in the struggle to multilaterally develop the socialist order in our country;

b) Are concerned with constantly strengthening the party ranks, admitting new party members, and educating them into communism; maintain records of party members;

c) Assign party members as a function of the organizations' work needs, entrust them with concrete tasks, supervise and assist them in fulfilling these tasks; provide constant guidance for mass and public workers' organizations;

d) Organize party education, focused on teaching the party's domestic and foreign policy, the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism; educate party members and all workers in the spirit of proletarian patriotism and internationalism, constantly develop their socialist awareness, shape and develop their materialist concept of the world and society; militate for broadcasting culture and science among the masses;

e) Educate party members in the spirit of intolerance toward shortcomings and infractions, of revolutionary vigilance and militancy against anti-party manifestations and bourgeois ideology; monitor that internal party problems are discussed only within the organized party framework, encourage criticism and self-criticism, and fight to continually strengthen party discipline and unity; assure the active participation of communists in formulating and implementing decisions, and in expanding their responsibility toward implementing the party policy;

f) Concern themselves with the revolutionary education of young people in the spirit of communist ideology and morality, of love of the country and its people, of attachment to the party, and in the spirit of international solidarity; concern themselves with improving the professional qualifications and cultural-scientific level of the youth;

g) Supervises the improvement of working and living conditions for workers.

47. Depending on the area in which they carry out their activities, basic organizations mobilize communists and workers to fulfill their tasks in the Unified National Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development, to increase labor productivity, improve product quality, reduce costs, achieve strict savings in raw and other materials, energy, and fuels, strengthen work discipline, and increase economic efficiency in all sectors of activity; militate to protect and develop socialist property; firmly apply the principles of workers' self-leadership and the principles of economic-financial self-management; concern themselves with raising the professional qualification of all workers, with learning and applying in production the newest advances of science and technology, with the active participation of scientists, artists, and intellectuals in solving economic and sociocultural problems, with constantly improving and modernizing the instruction-education process in schools and universities, and with raising the latter to the level of current requirements of science and culture.

Party organizations in ministries, industrial centrals, as well as central and local institutions, militate to fulfill the tasks of the Unified National Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development, to comply strictly with socialist law and constantly strengthen state discipline, and for greater efficiency in accomplishing professional tasks. They must indicate the shortcomings they observe to the Central Committee, to local party organs, and to the leadership of the respective ministry or institution, and make proposals for work improvements.

48. In order to improve the leadership role of party organizations in production and trade enterprises, stations for the mechanization of agriculture, state agricultural enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives, research and design institutes, medical and health units, schools and universities, as well as in order to increase their responsibility for the work being carried out in these units, party organizations are granted the right to control administrative management activities in implementing the party's political line and the decisions and directives of higher party and state organs.

Party organizations must assure that specific measures are taken to eliminate the observed shortcomings, and to inform party organs about the application of these measures.

When considered necessary, the Central Committee of the RCP can grant control rights to other party organizations.

VII. Party Leadership of the UTC, of the Pioneers Organization, and of the "Nation's Falcons" Organization

49. The revolutionary education of the youth, and the training of the young generation of builders of socialism and communism, is a duty of honor for the entire party.

a) The party carries out its activities among Romania's youth through the UTC, the revolutionary organization of young people in cities and villages.

b) The UTC carries out its work under the leadership of the RCP; the Central Committee of the UTC is subordinated to the Central Committee of the RCP, county committees of the UTC to party county committees, and so on;

c) Party organizations in higher education institutes directly lead the organizations of the UASCR.

d) Party organizations must assure constant leadership and guidance to UTC organizations, provide the necessary support, and systematically control their activities.

50. Members of the UTC who become party members, excepting those who receive other tasks in the party or in mass organizations, continue to also remain members of UTC organizations, considering their activities in those organizations as a party task.

51. The UTC is the major party reserve. The UTC helps the party in educating the youth into communism, training it in the spirit of dialectic materialism concepts, shaping the young generation for work and life, mobilizing it in the struggle of the entire population for the multilateral development of the socialist society. Organizations of the UTC actively militate to implement party directives in all areas of the socialist construction.

52. UTC organizations have the right and obligation to discuss and present to their respective party organizations all work site problems, in order to improve activities.

53. The RCP directly leads the Pioneers Organization and the Nation's Falcons Organization in Romania.

Party organs and organizations provide constant guidance to Pioneers organizations and Nation's Falcons organizations in order to increase their contribution to the multilateral education and training of children and students to love education and work, and to have unbounded devotion to the nation, to the party, for the cause of socialism and communism.

VIII. Party Organizations in the Romanian Army

54. Political work in the Romanian Army is led by the Central Committee of the RCP. The party educates military personnel in the spirit of love for the nation, the people and the party, and in the spirit of determination to defend revolutionary achievements, the frontiers of the country, national independence and sovereignty, and peace.

Political work in the army is carried out on the basis of the program and the statute, of party decisions, and of instructions and regulations approved by the Central Committee of the RCP.

The following units are created to organize political work in the Army and in the Ministry for Domestic Affairs: The Superior Political Council of the Army, and the Political Council of the Ministry for Domestic Affairs; political councils in armies, large units, central organs, and some units; party committees in regiments and schools; basic organizations in subunits.

Members of party committees and of basic organization bureaus in the Army are elected at conferences or at general assemblies of the party; members of political councils are nominated.

The entire activity of political councils, party committees and basic organization bureaus in the Army is carried out on the basis of collective labor.

55. County, municipal, and city party committees have the right to control the activity of political organs, party organizations, and the UTC in military units. Political councils, party committees, and basic organization bureaus must present periodic reports to county, municipal, and city party committees, regarding political work in the Army.

56. The Central Committee of the RCP and local organs of the party organize and directly lead the activity of patriotic guards, armed detachments of workers in cities and villages, which together with the armed forces, participate in protecting the revolutionary achievements of the people, and the nation's independence and sovereignty.

IX. The Party and Mass and Public Organizations

57. Mass and public organizations carry out their activities on the basis of the party's program and general political line, and assure the broad participation of the people's masses in Romania's political, economic, social, and cultural life, thus representing an expression of the democratism of our socialist order.

Party leadership and guidance of mass and public organizations is achieved through communists who carry out their activities in these organizations; communists in mass and public organizations organize and mobilize the masses to fulfill the tasks assigned to them by the party program and general political line. They have the duty of monitoring the respect for democracy within mass and public organizations.

Party members in the leadership of mass and public organizations must report to party organs about the activities they are conducting to fulfill the tasks assigned to these organizations in implementing the party's decisions and directives.

58. The entire activity of the Front for Democracy and Socialist Unity, and the Organization for Democracy and Socialist Unity is based on the RCP Program for Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism.

X. The Party and State Organs

59. The RCP--the leading political force of the entire society--guides the activity of central and local state organs in Romania.

a) The fulfillment of the party's leadership role in all areas of the socialist construction requires from all party members who work in central and local organs of state power, in ministries, and in institutions, a high responsibility in fulfilling the party's policy and decisions, in fighting against manifestations of bureaucratism and superficiality, and in strictly respecting party and state discipline as well as socialist law.

b) Communists who have leadership functions in central and local state institutions, must periodically report to the Central Committee of the RCP, or to county, municipal, city, and commune party committees, respectively, about the implementation of party decisions and the laws of the state in the field in which they work, as well as about their own work.

XI. The RCP Flag

60. The state flag of Romania is also the flag of the RCP and of mass and public organizations.

The party also has its own flag, which is displayed at all party manifestations together with Romania's state flag. Similarly, mass and public organizations which according to their own statutes have their own flags, display it together with Romania's state flag at all organized manifestations.

XII. Monetary Resources of the Party

61. The party's monetary resources are derived from party member dues and from other incomes and receipts.

62. Monthly dues for party members are established on the basis of tariff remunerations, as follows:

Those with tariff remunerations of up to 1500 lei pay 0.50 percent;
from 1501 lei to 2000 lei, 0.75 percent;
from 2001 lei to 2500 lei, 1.00 percent;
from 2501 lei to 3500 lei, 1.50 percent;
over 3500 lei, 2.00 percent.

For party members whose income is not derived from tariff remunerations--peasants, writers and artists, workers in artisan cooperative units, and others--the above rates will apply to their incomes.

XIII. Modification of the RCP Statute

63. Modification to the RCP Statute can be determined by the Congress or by the National Conference of the Party.

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ROMANIA

RCP ROLE IN 'CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY'

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22-23, 10 Dec 84 pp 9-13

[Article by Ion Mitran: "A Brilliant Contribution to Creative Development of the Revolutionary Theory"]

[Text] As it says in the Resolution of the 13th RCP Congress, "The congress resolves that Nicolae Ceausescu's report shall become the program for the work and efforts of the party and the entire people and the basis of the all party organs' and organizations' efforts to unite all workers and rally them to the task of building the fully developed socialist society, to raise Romania to new heights of progress and civilization and to advance it steadily toward communism."

As a historic event in the experience of the party and the Romanian people, the 13th Party Congress has discussed and analyzed the present stage of national socioeconomic development and approved the main objectives for the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and the long-range ones up to the year 2000. In striking unanimity, the congress reelected to the highest office of RCP secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, Romania's most beloved son, the tried leader of the party and the Romanian people, and a contemporary political figure of high prestige and recognized authority.

Nicolae Ceausescu's Report to the Central Committee, a program document of exceptional theoretical and practical value, presents a comprehensive in-depth analysis of the socioeconomic facts, the party's organizational, political and ideological work, and international affairs. In a far-sighted and scientific way, it sets the main trends and goals for building the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism.

A brilliant analysis and synthesis of the revolutionary processes Romania and the contemporary world are experiencing as well as a constructive treatment of the present and a scientific forecast of the future, the report demonstrates conclusively that the viability and permanence of the principles of scientific socialism and the Marxist theory do not lie in their abstract formulation or verbal proclamation, however repetitious, but in their consistently creative application to the requirements of each historical stage. In fact, Nicolae Ceausescu's works in their entirety represent the revolutionary theory of Marxism applied, developed and continually enriched under Romanian conditions.

Revolutionary Spirit in Strategy for Developing the Technical-Material Base

The victory of socialism, establishment of socialist ownership, generalization of the new production relations, and the progress made in improving the masses' instruction brought about radical economic changes, did away with economic and political inequality, and made it possible to effect social justice. But that did not solve all the problems of fully implementing the principles of socialism in all social sectors. Those principles are not asserted automatically but require a sustained and consistent effort to improve the new order from its technical-material base to its intellectuality.

To that end, the realistic nature of the RCP's conception of socialist construction and its awareness of the difficulties and contradictions that may arise are based upon consideration of the facts, rejection of preconceived patterns, and understanding of the need to take an always critical and analytical view of the course taken. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, the revolutionary process and the socialist revolution are continuous and must be continuously developed in keeping with each historical stage both in the case of the productive forces and in those of changes in the social structure, social and production relations, social management, and people's way of life. With this interpretation of the revolutionary struggle, the party analyzes each stage of socialist construction, determines on that basis the ways, means and methods of bringing socialist civilization up to new levels, and tries to strike a harmonious balance among all sectors and to harmonize the material and cultural aspects of society.

On the principle that in general the revolution and the process of social reform are permanent and follow a rising qualitative line, it is clearly necessary to keep enlarging our knowledge of nature and society, to take steps to know and understand more and more new secrets of nature and the universe, and to probe the general laws of social development and human progress.

On the basis of the changes in Romanian society brought about by the growth of the productive forces in the present stage, and of the revolutionary processes characteristic of the world of today, the Report to the 13th Party Congress lends a new impetus to ideological work and to analysis of the problems of further improvement of Romanian society and those of mankind's development. The central idea of this true model of theoretical and practical exploration of the social facts is that purposeful application of the general developmental laws necessarily requires understanding of the way they operate, because "The general is always manifested under specific conditions and takes particular forms that differ from one country to another, just as the sum of particular social experience is reflected in the general objective laws of human society's development."

From this theoretical standpoint, the report emphasizes explanation of the major aim and determination of the directions of Romania's socioeconomic development in the next five-year plan and up to the year 2000, as the 13th Party Congress marks the transition to the third stage of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

Accordingly the priority task of developing the productive forces is formulated, as well as that of improving social and production relations on a new basis in the process of revolutionary social reform. In the 1986-1990 period intensive

development of all industrial sectors will be emphasized, and steps will be taken to strike an optimal balance among various sectors. The keystones of this strategy are further development of the energy and raw material base, which is critical to the progress of the whole national economy, and expanded modernization of the industrial production structure through priority development of the highly technical sectors making better use of raw materials, energy resources and social labor, as well as extensive promotion of technical progress throughout the national economy.

Industry will be developed particularly by modernization of the means of labor and the production structure, improvement of their technical and qualitative standards, continued introduction and wide-scale application of advanced technologies, and expanded mechanization, automation and robotization. By 1990 the Romanian industrial output as well as the sector's qualitative and technical standards will reach a general level comparable to that in the economically developed countries. The directive that henceforth there will no longer be any question of extensive development of production capacities, since the priority will be on intensive development, modernization and technical improvement of existing capacities, is of particular theoretical and practical significance.

In agriculture, considered the second basic sector of the national economy, the main objective is the new agrarian revolution, which calls for general reform of the cooperative peasants' way of life, work and thought and agricultural outputs that will fully meet the entire public's consumer needs as well as other requirements of national economic development. Systematization and organization of land in order to make proper use of the entire agricultural area are critically important, as well as consistent implementation of the program for irrigation, land improvement and growth of the productive potential of the soil, expansion of complete chemization and mechanization of agricultural operations, and extensive application of the advances of modern agrozootechnical science.

Heavily emphasized in the report, the principle of proper distribution of the national income between the accumulation and consumption funds is in keeping with the aims and tasks of the present stage of Romanian society's development and reflects the political and social option manifested in the consistent policy of intensive development and modernization of the productive forces and the technical-material base of Romanian society, as decisive factors for growth of Romania's economic potential and national income, in order to raise the entire people's level of civilization and prosperity.

The long-range policies for the 1991-2000 period, based on Nicolae Ceausescu's scientific revolutionary conception, provide for continuation of construction of the fully developed socialist society's technical-material base, its development on new qualitative levels, and the advance toward communist society. It can be accordingly estimated that the new growth of the productive forces and the improved social and production relations will even the working conditions in different social sectors and do away with a number of differences between physical and intellectual work and among social classes and categories as the process of leveling Romanian socialist society and of forming the single working people of Romania is accentuated. At the end of this century Romania will be a fully developed socialist country both in industrial and agricultural production, education, science and culture and in the people's general standard of living and civilization.

The start of the new stage of implementation of the RCP Program brings the quality indicators or criteria to the center of attention as expressions of one of the main laws of dialectics and as results of successive accumulations leading to the qualitative leap on which progress to higher stages is based. This dialectical and dynamic process, never spontaneous and certainly not abrupt, is prepared by a series of economic, social, political, cultural and other changes. In the economic sector, for example, application has begun of a series of special programs for intensive industrial and agricultural development, consistently pursuing consolidation and modernization of the technical-material base of Romanian society, further growth of economic effectiveness, development of socialist property, a greater contribution of science to socioeconomic development as a whole, Romania's more intensive participation in the international division of labor, and a higher material and cultural living standard for the entire people.

The party has based this strategy on the fact that in the last few decades Romania has advanced in economic development on a broad front and undergone radical revolutionary changes. The present concentration of the priority effort in Romania on development of the productive forces through continuation of the industrialization policy, the shift to intensive agriculture, and improvement of the indices of quality and economic effectiveness, based on the data of the scientific-technical revolution, illustrates the idea that the volume and quality of material production are the controlling factors for historical progress.

The analysis of the present stage of socialist construction in Romania brings out the complexity of the process of harmonious development of all sectors of the national economy, the requirements for overcoming some contradictions and difficulties, and the unity of the programs for socioeconomic development and improved political management of society. Those aims reflect the dialectical conception that improvement of the economic base and improvement of the superstructure constantly interact, and their interaction actually determines the comprehensive nature of socialist construction as a revolutionary process richer in determinations than the theoretical concepts that reflect it. In emphasizing intensified ideological work accordingly, the party and its secretary general are complying with the historical requirement to enrich the revolutionary theory with receptiveness to the new realities and their evaluation in the revolutionary spirit, bearing in mind that realistic value judgments are verified in practice and in economic and social-political experience.

The RCP documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's works have kept theoretically refreshing the concept of the socialist state, which is expected to adjust its functions to the extensive process of general social democratization. The explanations in the Report to the 13th Party Congress concerning the state's role and functions in social organization and management are particularly valuable and significant. Those theoretical questions have been continuously debated recently in the foreign social-political literature, since some authors still see the state's role as minimized as to administrative functions and kept in the stage, considered almost perennial, of dictatorship of the proletariat and in the one-sided character of an "instrument without initiative" of historical development.

Socialist Democracy and Uniform Social Management

Considering that the state will continue to exist and function for a long period of time, including communist society, and will play an important part in social

organization and development, the report refers to the need of strengthening the role and functions of the socialist state, improving the performance of the entire state staff, consolidating its ties with the masses of workers, and solving the economic and social problems promptly and wisely. As we know, the RCP has made an extensive and sustained effort to further improve the performance of the state, its organs and the uniform system of workers socialist democracy. A number of steps have been taken to improve the structure and operation of the new economic mechanism as well as the application of the principles of workers' incentives to develop socialist property and of close collaboration of all forms of ownership to increase production and improve the distribution system by generalizing the overall contract system and consistently applying the socialist principles to all social activity. This series of measures has consolidated the Romanian socialist order even further, enhanced the role of the working class and its ability to carry out its mission of social leadership most efficiently in the task of socialist construction, cemented the inseparable ties of alliance and unity of the working class with the peasantry and intelligentsia, and has increased the entire nation's cohesion and the strength and effectiveness of its commitment to the task of furthering socialist construction.

The point made in the report about the objective necessity of even further developing the state's role henceforth in uniform planning, organization and management of all socioeconomic activity, on the basis of the uniform national plan for uniform and harmonious development of Romanian society, is of very fundamental importance. To further enhance the role of the state, as the supreme representative of the owners and producers and as organizer of the entire people's existence in common, in management of all socioeconomic activity is to strengthen its capacity as a workers democratic state and the supreme power in Romanian socialist society called upon to provide uniform, planned management of socioeconomic activity, to base all social activity on laws and standards to be strictly observed by all social and state bodies and all citizens, and to guarantee the defense of the nation's revolutionary gains, independence and sovereignty. Accordingly, eradication of bureaucratic tendencies and expansion of the functions of the local organs, centrals and enterprises are major requirements for improving management and planning through the intermediary of the state.

As a component of the political system, the workers revolutionary democratic states operates uniformly, giving a new meaning to the relation between its structures and its organization, as a factor for strength and the masses' creative power. The state's role, including its courses of action and functions, changes as the process of leveling socialist society goes on. This means that as we advance on the course of socialist construction and conditions are created for the transition to communism, the state's functions will change even further and its internal activity will be concentrated on organizing production and scientific and cultural activity. Thus there is a dynamic relationship between development of the social base of the state and the evolution of its constructive role and its functions. As a social-historical phenomenon, the socialist state is constantly developing and its organizational system is constantly improved under the influence of the new socioeconomic and political processes and the necessity of meeting the demands of the socialist type of socioeconomic progress. The state sees to the constant reinforcement of socialist ownership, implementation of citizens' rights and freedoms, enforcement of law and order, and the people's greater material good, and it carries out policy in education, science, art and culture as well as health protection, and it organizes international co-operation and collaboration.

The dialectics of strengthening the role of the Romanian socialist state is based on democratic improvement of society, participation of the workers, peasants and intellectuals and the entire people in the work of the social management bodies, and harmonious combination of the state organs' activity with that of the new democratic bodies on the principle of democratic centralism.

The system of socialist political, economic and social management is characterized by the entire people's cohesion in a permanent bond, lending coherence to all areas of socialist construction on the basis of the unity of purpose and action of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and the other social strata regardless of nationality. Experience shows that the advantages of socialist society's form of management and organization, advantages due to the defeat and disappearance of class antagonisms, do not come automatically. Some contradictions make their way in one form or another into the new order, and they must be thoroughly known in order to prevent or overcome them in time. Moreover the interdependence and complexity of the various socioeconomic sectors require their uniform treatment so that the whole social body will function with maximum precision and efficiency and yield a high social-human return.

All this is indicative of the role of the principle of democratic centralism in construction of the new order, a principle that intensifies the political character, nature and content of the management relationship in the new order through the unity of interests and social harmony between the decision-makers and the masses, the latter themselves being involved in preparing and adopting the major decisions. This principle determines the way management is exercised as a democratic political act, including ways and means of self-management in its structure. In this context the Romanian experiment, in full course of development and improvement, places the administrative mechanisms and instruments in the very center of preparation of the political options, while workers self-management serves as a dynamic factor of social activity and of the system of socialist democracy. The rights of the general assemblies and workers councils to make decisions on all matters concerning the socioeconomic plans and activity are combined with application of the provisions of the national plan for uniform development.

In the RCP's view the principle of democratic centralism permits combination of unity of action in management on various levels with extensive participation of the masses, so that the diversity of aspects of development will make for that systemic synthesis represented by the ideals and values of socialist society. Centralism and democracy are in a harmonious balance in this respect, and they concentrate the requirements for the progress of the various social sectors as in a focus, permitting prudent and realistic evaluation of the priorities in order to advance in all fields in a united front. Accordingly in the sense of a method of uniform social management according to a program prepared on a democratic basis, the principle of democratic centralism tests its value by constant reference to the movement of society, a movement that is the inherent way historical progress manifests itself. On the other hand it is axiomatic that any non-dialectical, static view gives rise to practices of rigid social direction in isolation from the masses. In essence, democratic centralism is a very effective way of forestalling, neutralizing and eliminating the bad effects of distortion of the uniform management-democracy relationship. The degree of close involvement of democratism in uniform management indicates the extent of mass participation in social-political affairs throughout preparation and implementation of the decisions.

The fact that constant modernization and improvement of the economy and all social sectors have been and are effected in close unity with expanded mass participation in adopting and implementing the general policy of socioeconomic development is a striking characteristic of the evolution of Romanian socialist society, so that continuing improvement of socialist democracy is the framework for the social integration and real growth of the masses' role in the historical construction characteristic of the period. It reflects the people's exercise of the right to a choice in all vital matters, as the forms of representation become increasingly involved with direct democracy. Naturally in conceiving democratic forms of organization, economic levers and legal regulations and introducing them into society, the party emphasizes the social-human functions and effectiveness of the organized democratic framework as well as strict observance of the laws. Socialist democracy, the forms of collective management and the public discussions have nothing in common with empty verbiage or discussions for the sake of discussions, since the very important and critical phase of discussing the draft decisions, laws etc. is necessarily followed by the critical process of applying and implementing them, with the exercise of social control. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "Initiative and a sense of responsibility, order and discipline must figure prominently in all activities of the state organs and workers democratic organs, as essentials to the efficient operation of the workers revolutionary democratic state."

Party Leadership and Theoretical Generalization of Social Practice

The Report to the 13th Party Congress demonstrates conclusively that the RCP is performing its role as the vital center of society and as a spur to the entire people's creative energies by creatively applying scientific socialism and the revolutionary historical and dialectical materialist conception to Romania's particular conditions and completely identifying them with the masses' vital interests. The points of outstanding theoretical and practical importance about the party's role and tasks in the new stage of national development show that the party and its organs and organizations must always be guided by the revolutionary conception and always act in the revolutionary spirit to promote the new and do away with all that is old.

The party's political leadership in Romanian socialist society has been increasingly strengthened with the development of socialist construction in breadth and in depth, as the initiator of that development. Perception of the developmental trends of socialist society in their entire complexity, determination on that basis of the aims of each stage, organization and guidance of the masses on the course of progress, and fulfillment of socialism's great potentials heavily depend upon the dynamic action of the revolutionary party of the working class.

On the basis of the principles of scientific socialism concerning the role of the party of the working class in social development and management, Nicolae Ceausescu says, "The party is the nucleus around which all society gravitates and which radiates the energy and light that activate and drive the entire mechanism of the socialist order. In its turn, the party is constantly regenerated by the powerful beams of light and energy that keep flowing toward it from the Romanian socialist nation."

In this conception the party, as a particular political subsystem within the overall social system, plays the decisive part in the purposeful coordination and

direction of the social system as a whole. In developing and examining the conception of the party, Nicolae Ceausescu points out that in the present stage of Romanian socialist society's development, when socialist democracy is being developed and the democratic structure for mass participation in the management of all sectors is being improved, it is the party's high mission to be the vital center of Romanian socialist society's functioning. Of course the party's role and the ways of exercising its political functions follow no patterns set once and for all but keep evolving in keeping with the particular conditions and tasks of each stage. In the light of this fact the party does not sit above society, issuing directives and orders to the workers. It operates from within society and the entire socialist nation, inside the economic and state bodies and the mass and public organizations, closely correlating its work with that of the masses and organizing and guiding their constructive work.

The extensive effort toward scientific preparation of the measures essential to progress and organization and mobilization of the nation's forces is the result of the party's political leadership in all social sectors, from production of material values to ideological-educational work and from improvement of social relations to scientific, artistic and cultural activity. The results of continuing enrichment indicate that the RCP's role is being implemented in all the components of that function, in the complete and inseparable unity between development of the general political policy and the political-organizational effort to apply it, in regular presence of party personnel and members in the midst of the action, and in planned deployment of a vast militant and revolutionary ideological effort.

Increasingly effective promotion of the party's political leadership of the entire nation requires improvement of ideological work to ensure intensive study and thorough mastery of the documents of the 13th Party Congress and Nicolae Ceausescu's works, to arm communists and workers with the party's fundamental principles and the aims and tasks assigned to every activity, and to bring about development of revolutionary awareness, acquisition of the moral-political traits of the new man, and the active participation of party members and workers in the implementation of the RCP Program. The report pointed out that all ideological work and party education must include further intensive study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the basic works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and contemporary theoretical works as well.

The changes taking place in Romanian society and throughout the world call for more intensive efforts to study and understand the socioeconomic facts and the action of the dialectical laws upon human social development and to give scientific answers to the problems presented by experience. Therefore it is highly important to make a thorough study of the changes made in Romanian society by the development of the productive forces and of the new social and production relations.

Since the entire development of human society demonstrates that every social system has some form of ownership of the production means, the important, essential role of consolidation and development of state and cooperative socialist property is clearly a process that amounts to "one of the basic and controlling objective laws in comparison with other objective economic laws."

On that assumption, Nicolae Ceausescu points out that the new order can be created and improved only on the basis of the workers' common social ownership of all production means, while a vital part is played by distribution of the social product and national income on socialist principles of social justice and equity according to each one's labor.

From the standpoint of this principled theoretical approach it is clearly a political necessity "to understand and apply the general economic laws for the purpose of improving the socialist production method and the social and production relations and forces," since a purposeful effort is needed to apply the economic laws and to do away with both voluntarism and reliance upon automatic, spontaneous progress. Hence the conclusion, practical for the present stage of Romanian society's development, that the economic-financial mechanism should unite socialist ownership and the socialist production method with an extensive initiative and material incentive of the masses. The Marxist theory that people's interests "do not exist solely in their imaginations as a 'generality' but exist in reality primarily as the interdependence of the individuals among whom the labor is divided" is still valid. And accordingly "The new mechanism and the general economic laws must not be applied haphazardly but in a purposeful way. Therein lies the leadership of the party and the socialist state," as Nicolae Ceausescu says.

In developing the theory of the party, the state, democracy and uniform social management, Nicolae Ceausescu urges thorough understanding of their basic roles and characteristics and of political management, as well as rejection of any ideas from other stages or situations to the effect that the party is a progressive leader only in the sense of a limited detachment of fighters. In the conception of the party as a vital center and a spur to social development, the party's role, development of that role, and intensified scientific management of society are to be understood in the sense of specific, effective action on the part of every party organization and every communist, with special emphasis upon development of their sense of responsibility and discipline in the tireless performance of their tasks and duties.

In the party's view, the communist, whatever his function, should display high principles, responsibility and high standards and take firm action to carry out the party decisions and the laws of the land. The party organizations, the communists and the managers are a strong innovative force both by their functions and responsibilities and by their ability to enlighten, convince, unite and rally the broadest categories of workers to implementation of the established political policy in practice.

In view of the objective necessities of national socioeconomic development in the present stage and beyond, the party is emphasizing improvement of social management in keeping with the constant changes going on in material and cultural activity and in the national social structure. It is trying to improve social management more and more. In performing its historical mission, the party is resolving the complex problems of building the new order by creatively applying the theory of scientific socialism and the general laws to the particular Romanian conditions.

Progress on the path of socialism and communism is a purposeful social undertaking of vast importance, secured by the party's accomplishment of its historical

mission as vital center and a factor for social initiative and action. Therefore strengthening the party and improving its forms of organization and action according to the new conditions under which it is operating are the ways to keep improving social management and the guarantees of the people's material and cultural progress, as the 13th Party Congress has pointed out.

Realizing that the functions of purposeful organization and management of activity in socialist society will never disappear, Nicolae Ceausescu points out that it will always have to have its central bodies to manage socioeconomic activity by applying the social laws, avoiding discrepancies, resolving contradictions and securing the harmonious development of all sectors and constant improvement of the people's material and cultural welfare.

The role of the subjective factor and of the party's theoretical-ideological work is also reflected in continuing analysis of the operation of the socialist production method, of the development of socialist property and production relations, and of the problems arising in the system of distribution and labor and in applying the principles of socialist ethics and justice. The prospective character of the revolutionary theory also demands attention to preparations for the gradual transition to the communist principles of work, life and distribution. On the basis of study of practice, results and experience, ideological work and research in the social sciences will light the way to Romania's advance to communism.

Through its rich content of ideas, Nicolae Ceausescu's Report to the 13th Party Congress indicates that the internal and international developments as a whole bear out the correctness of the dialectical materialist conception of the world and life and the superiority of the socialist system, which alone can abolish social injustice and inequality, exploitation and oppression of the masses, and the serious forms of alienation and decadence in capitalist society and provide everyone with equal living and working conditions while placing further development of the productive forces, science, technology and socioeconomic activity in the service of the individual and the development of his personality.

The Report to the 13th Party Congress is a document of inestimable theoretical and practical value and a brilliant contribution to the creative enrichment of the revolutionary theory. It takes up a wide range of questions about national socioeconomic development, expansion of the technical-material base of the new order, the nature and evolution of socialist ownership, the roles of the party and state, the need of uniform social management and of consistent application of the principle of democratic centralism, the dialectical relationship between domestic and foreign policy, and a number of other theoretical and practical problems flowing from analysis of the facts and prediction of the future. It is a source of lessons and a militant plea for preservation of the live, innovating and revolutionary spirit of the historical and dialectical materialist conception and of theoretical and ideological activity and for the constant effort to further improve and develop the party's leadership as the steady advance on the course of socialism and communism is assured.

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IMPORTANCE OF PARTY IDEOLOGICAL PROGRAM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22-23, 10 Dec 84 pp 14-18

[Article by Pamfil Nichitelea and Liana Ionescu: "The Ideological Program As an Integral Part of the RCP Program"]

[Text] As it says in the Resolution of the 13th RCP Congress, "The living, innovating and revolutionary spirit of the party and of theoretical and ideological activity must always be preserved, and a constant effort must be made to improve and promote the party's leadership in keeping with the new stages and the requirements of socioeconomic development, science and culture so that the RCP will always be a revolutionary party spurring all development and maintaining the Romanian people's patriotic fighting spirit."

In his masterly report to the Romanian communists' great forum, Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, in a revolutionary political conception, substantiated theories and ideas of vital importance to Romania's present and future. The party's effort to know and study the social phenomena in depth, to relate the theoretical concepts closely to practice, to base its political policy on creative application of scientific socialism, and to promote the revolutionary conception of the world and life more and more intensively plays an active and stimulating role in the task of building the new order. Setting a high value upon the guidelines of broad theoretical and practical scope of the RCP Ideological Program, which was adopted by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982 and approved by the National Party Conference, the congress resolved that this program should become an integral part of the RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism and basic to all future political-educational work.

Bearing the stamp of Nicolae Ceausescu's fertile dialectical thought, the Ideological Program gives a new expression to the party secretary general's brilliant contribution to generalized experience in building the new order in Romania, to enrichment of contemporary revolutionary thought, and to improvement of the political-ideological effort to form the new man with an advanced socialist awareness.

Objective Necessity of Building the New Order

The Ideological Program is a veritable treasury of theory and practice of socialist construction in Romania, synthesizing Nicolae Ceausescu's exceptionally important far-seeing spirit, ideas, theories and policies, as well as his tireless effort sustained over about 20 years at the head of the RCP and the Romanian state. It lends a clear direction with a broad perspective to all ideological, political and cultural-educational work, making it possible to advance the militant revolutionary spirit more and more effectively, to promote the new consistently in all socioeconomic activities, and to apply the standards of socialist ethics and justice without fail. Its integration as a component of the RCP Program is based upon the RCP's and its secretary general's conception of the basic aim of building the fully developed socialist society and the nation's advance toward communism. Achievement of this aim calls for the close unity and dialectical interaction of the entirety of the economic, political, ideological, organizational, cultural-educational and humanistic components. Not one of those aspects can be overlooked or underrated without real damage to construction of the new order. In order to eliminate any one-sidedness or any simplistic, one-sided representation of the basic aim of Romanian society's development, Nicolae Ceausescu stipulated in his Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982 that "We applied the formulation 'fully developed' to future Romanian society so that there would be no misunderstandings, no occasion to neglect any aspect of the activity, nor any conclusion drawn that in speaking of the developed socialist society we mean solely or primarily development of the material base."

Actually, from the standpoints of both theory and political practice the main trends in building the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism are toward simultaneous and uniform achievement of the objectives of intensive growth of the productive forces, further improvement of social and production relations, revolutionary socialist democracy, and the whole Romanian political system, development of education, science and culture, and intensification of ideological and political-educational work. The RCP proceeds from the fact that socialist construction is a dialectical, multilateral and comprehensive process involving revolutionary changes both in social existence, involving the physical aspect of society, and in social awareness, involving its mental aspect. Experience in building the new order in Romania proves that the historical mission of socialism is not only to free man of any oppression or exploitation but also to build a higher intellectual civilization, which is impossible without forming a new man with a high awareness and cultural and professional education as well as an advanced, revolutionary moral-political outlook.

The idea that all-around development of Romanian society is impossible without promotion of socialist awareness and of a new and revolutionary way of thinking, working and living, or without all-around development of the personality, which can fully manifest itself as a purposeful builder of socialism and communism, is significant for the profoundly scientific character of the RCP policy. Since the new order's development is a purposeful historical process, the extent and rate of its progress heavily depends upon intensified political-ideological and socialist educational work. This helps to awaken the masses and to rally them to creation of their own communist future in full knowledge. Therefore this activity is becoming a component part of the policy for building the new

order and an essential factor for construction of the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism.

In pointing out that every production method and every social system have their modes of thought and their social awareness, the RCP secretary general said in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in 1982 that the socialist system is making it possible to form a unified theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life. But this possibility must be fulfilled both by socioeconomic development and by the revolutionary party's efforts to solve the great problems arising in society, to keep developing people's advanced scientific thought, and to make all society function harmoniously. Inasmuch as social awareness reflects the real requirements of social development, it stimulates that development and becomes a powerful force for social progress. The rise of workers' awareness to the level of the progress made in socialist construction and the conversion of revolutionary ideology and educational work to a powerful force for mobilizing and stimulating the entire people's creative energies bring out the role of ideological and political-educational work in the present stage very strikingly.

The need of understanding the Ideological Program as an integral part of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism is closely related to the RCP's and its secretary general's theory of the continuity of the revolutionary process in the present stage of Romanian society's development. Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly pointed out that the revolutionary process and the socialist revolution are still going on and must be further developed in conformity with each historical stage, both in the case of the productive forces and in that of the changes in social and production relations, in social management, and in the way of life. Thus the conclusion, of great theoretical and practical importance, is clear that the continuity of the revolutionary process concerns the entirety of Romanian society and all its activities. This necessarily requires constant maintenance of the live, innovating and militant spirit of theoretical and ideological activity and constant improvement of all socialist indoctrination of the masses and refinement of their advanced socialist awareness. It is no accident that ever since the Ninth Party Congress, along with Romania's historical advance on the path of socialist construction, all party documents have increasingly emphasized the theoretical and ideological problems and the political and educational effort to form the new man and to advance him as a fully developed personality.

In connection with these efforts and with the direct and telling contribution of Nicolae Ceausescu, the RCP drafted an ideological program with a broad perspective. The constituent elements of this program were fully formulated and substantiated in the Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982, in the Report to the National Party Conference of December 1982, in the Speech at the Mangalia Working Conference in August 1983, and in other speeches and discourses of the party secretary general's, and they are assembled and synthesized in a broad and unified conception creatively developed in the documents of the 13th Party Congress.

Dialectical Relationship of Social Existence to Social Awareness

The exceptional importance of the Ideological Program lies in the fact that it defines, in terms of the party's general strategic policy and in an all-inclusive

view, the bases of all political-ideological and educational work, its aims and trends, and its profoundly humanistic revolutionary purpose. In the address to the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982 and in the Report to the 13th Party Congress Nicolae Ceausescu very clearly formulated the idea of converting theoretical, ideological and political-educational work into an important lever to aid further development of the productive forces and improvement of the social structure and relations, and into a spur to economic development and social dynamism. The secretary general also pointed out the need of developing the active, militant character of this activity as an essential way to raise the general level of knowledge and socialist education of the masses, to base the relations in Romanian society on the principles and standards of socialist ethics and justice, and to further develop the awareness of all members of society. Thus it follows more and more clearly that the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism is not only an economic program for developing the material base of Romanian society and improving social and production relations but also a program for truly advancing human freedom and creativeness and for constructing a new human model with a new revolutionary socialist awareness.

In its approach to the problem of the role of ideological and political-educational work as an active factor for social progress, the RCP is guided by the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. In revealing the real content of the dialectical relationship between the two essential aspects of social experience, social existence and social awareness, Marxist philosophy has demonstrated that awareness does not determine existence, but social existence determines awareness. According to this conception, the ultimate controlling causes of social changes are to be sought in the changes that occur in social existence, primarily in its basic elements, namely the productive forces and the relations established among people in the production process.

Indeed, as Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th RCP Congress, the awareness of the members of Romanian socialist society has been and is critically influenced by the radical changes in development of the productive forces, in the nature of production relations, in the social structure, and in living and working conditions. But social determinism cannot be limited to a strictly economic one, and the theory of objective, material determination of social awareness is supplemented by the assertion that awareness is relatively independent of the factors that determine it.

The relative autonomy of social awareness, which Marxist philosophy expressly stresses, is reflected in the fact that its specific forms are primarily manifested as acts of true creativeness and as a mere reproduction of a specific social situation. They are the outcome of laborious efforts in the course of particular activities. Hence the active function of awareness and its ability to influence, in its turn, social development and human relations and activities. Both general historical development and especially the period of revolution and socialist and communist construction as well as the technical-scientific revolution demonstrate and confirm the truth of the theory of the active role of ideas and social awareness in galvanizing the material aspect of society.

Accordingly intellectual activity is an independent phenomenon that has developmental laws of its own and shows particular interactions among its various manifestations (political-legal, philosophical, moral, artistic, scientific and other

ideas). Because of the close relationships among the forms of social awareness, the development of some may cause changes in others and may govern their evolution. A given political ideal can considerably affect the content and meaning of the other forms of social awareness. For example, the progressive and advanced ideological phenomena have always been essential to the manifestation of social awareness as an active factor affecting the various aspects of society, especially in periods of revolutionary advance and radical social changes, when energy, initiative and creativeness are more important. Therefore, as it is pointed out in the Report to the 13th Party Congress, "We must always base all activity on the dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception and scientific socialism, the science of revolutionary reform of the world."

The radical changes in social existence made in the course of building the new order are the objective grounds for the formation of a new social awareness. But the latter tends to reflect the changes in social existence tardily and partially, permitting the occurrence of manifestations (attitudes, opinions, behavior or acts) incompatible with the facts of the new socialist existence in some people even under socialism. But it is wrong to believe the persistence of such backward manifestations is fatal or inevitable.

In their realistic, creative approach to the relationship between social existence and social awareness, the RCP and its secretary general have demonstrated that under socialism the controlling role of social existence by no means results in an inevitable lag in social awareness. Socialist society provides all the physical and mental conditions to prevent the lag in people's awareness behind their objective social existence and to make social awareness an active stimulus to Romanian society's development.

In combatting the irrational, passive attitude tolerant of backward attitudes and habits, the party took a series of measures to deploy a broad and permanent political-educational campaign to bring people's awareness up to the level of their new existence and to strengthen revolutionary opposition to backward manifestations. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the Report to the 13th RCP Congress, "We must not for a moment forget that various foreign ideas and attitudes of the old bourgeois-landowner society still persist, that not all citizens have broken permanently with the attitudes and practices of the past, and that unfortunately they are still even influencing some youths." And we must not overlook the fact that various influences foreign to the Romanian revolutionary conception are still coming in from outside, and we must conduct a constant and unremitting campaign against them.

Furthermore the revolutionary ideology of the working class has always been advanced in open conflict with the bourgeois ideas and reactionary bourgeois theories and trends. In its critical and highly militant aspect, the historical and dialectical-materialist conception of the RCP arms the workers with convincing arguments in the confrontation with the reactionary bourgeois ideology and its idealist, metaphysical, mystical, obscurantist and antihumanistic ideas and theories. In his Report to the 13th RCP Congress Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that in the entire effort to form the new man the revolutionary spirit, intolerant of the old ideas and outside influences, must be emphatically asserted. Any manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, antisemitism or other forms of humiliation foreign to the socialist revolutionary conception must be resolutely opposed.

As the party secretary general pointed out, "Those manifestations belong to the past, to the capitalist, imperialist period, and to the society divided into antagonistic classes that have always tried to divide and incite people of different nationalities. Such manifestations must disappear from Romanian society forever!"

Since the persistence of such backward ideas in people's thinking restricts their creative advancement in society, Nicolae Ceausescu also indicated the need of more intensive efforts toward socialist indoctrination of the masses and their education in the spirit of militant atheism and the scientific view of the world, life and society. As the Report to the 13th RCP Congress says, "We must take a firm stand against the various mystical and obscurantist manifestations that prevent understanding of the real relations between man and nature, the laws that govern the universe, and the objective requirements of social development. They are an obstacle to man's struggle for self-determination." This is all the more true because in these times, under the new technical-scientific revolution, man's knowledge is steadily and rapidly developing. To that end the effort toward in-depth study of the revolutionary, historical and dialectical-materialist conception and of scientific socialism is particularly important. As the Report to the 13th RCP Congress pointed out, all ideological work must provide for study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the main works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and contemporary theoretical works. This can help to arm party members and all workers with an advanced revolutionary conception of nature, society and the world and to bring them up to the level of an adequate scientific understanding of the processes and phenomena of Romanian society's development and of the international processes and trends.

Militant and Innovating Efforts to Develop Advanced Socialist Awareness

The intensified efforts to form the advanced socialist awareness and the new man, which is a complex and lengthy process, call for the joint action of all political, instructive-educational, social-public and cultural elements. The guidelines are especially important in this respect that are included in Nicolae Ceausescu's Report to the 13th RCP Congress on the place to be taken by political-ideological work in the development of socialist awareness, on the content of this activity, and on ways of further improving it. The documents of the congress heavily emphasize the need of improving this activity and strengthening its militant revolutionary spirit. In pointing out that the revolutionary process is not over in Romania but "will go on even in communist society. Actually it will never be finished," the party secretary general stressed the need of generalizing the revolutionary spirit of thought and action in order to train all workers as active fighters for Romania's further progress.

The process of developing socialist awareness takes two directions. One of them is intensive, aimed at scientific, Marxist substantiation of political convictions and ideals as well as civic and ethical ones, and a greater proportion of cultural-scientific elements in the content of social awareness. The other is extensive, in the direction of harmoniously combining in this process all the constituent aspects or features of socialist awareness. In both directions, the process is expected to increase the orientative and formative effect of social awareness upon individual awareness and thereby lead to the all-around development of the personality of the new man as a purposeful and dedicated builder of socialism and communism.

The RCP's ideology and its humanistic and militant revolutionary values are the constituent and formative nucleus and the essence of socialist awareness, and the main mission of political-ideological work in Romanian socialist society is to raise the level of the working masses' awareness to that of the party's ideology and its political conception. Its idea content and its vast capacity to influence the masses' awareness make the RCP's ideology a powerful spur to the entire people's creative energies.

Reinforcement of the militant spirit of Romanian ideology, an objective requirement of Romania's present stage of development, is out of the question without constant development of the revolutionary theory and scientific research on the subject. The critical, revolutionary spirit of the ideology loses in its power to influence and carry conviction unless it is accompanied by a constructive scientific and radically innovating procedure on the level of the new data of science and experience, by intensive study of the complex problems facing Romanian society and the whole world of today, and by creative assimilation of all that is new and useful in the field of knowledge and in the results of the peoples' revolutionary efforts.

Nicolae Ceausescu's voluminous theoretical works, treating the great developmental problems of Romania and the contemporary world in the most authentic creative spirit, are a brilliant model for all ideological work and an inexhaustible source of ideas and conclusions that can enrich its content.

Bearing the stamp of the strong personality and the scientific, profoundly dialectical thought of the RCP secretary general, the Report to the 13th Party Congress gives new expression to the RCP's creative, innovating attitude toward theoretical problems of building the new order and those of foreign affairs, and also to its active contribution to enrichment of the fund of revolutionary theory and experience and to the application of the general truths of scientific socialism to Romania's specific-historical conditions.

The requirement is particularly important in this connection that is formulated in the documents of the 13th Party Congress, that political-ideological work frankly take up the real problems presented by experience and be an effective tool for investigating a dynamic situation. Expected to provide solutions for the revolutionary effort to build the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism, ideological work cannot do so unless it is firmly anchored in social reality. Any disregard of the requirements of life limits the possibility of asserting ideology and awareness as active factors for social development. Therefore, as Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We must keep developing and improving the Romanian revolutionary conception of the world and life as well as ideological work. What we have already accomplished and what we know today are the foundations of a new knowledge and a new development of the theory and the conception of the world and life."

In this view, the documents of the 13th Party Congress set new policies and courses of action for the intensified ideological effort to investigate the changes in Romanian society, the problems of its further improvement, and the prospects of mankind's progress, in order to secure the best possible understanding of the general developmental laws for their creative application to Romania's specific conditions. The party secretary general specially emphasized the need of thorough study of the socialist production method, the interdependence of and the

prospects of developing state and cooperative socialist property, and the new problems arising in the system of distribution and labor relations and in the application of the principles of socialist ethics and justice. In the next period ideological work and research in the social sciences must concentrate on study and development of ways of gradual transition to the communist principles of work, life and distribution.

Active and responsible participation in implementing party policy, in the dedicated and selfless effort to carry out the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism, is the chief manifestation of socialist awareness. The purposeful commitment and active contribution of each to exemplary implementation of the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, the objectives of national socioeconomic development, and the plan tasks, those are the things that primarily demonstrate the effectiveness of socialist indoctrination. The high level of workers awareness and the effectiveness of political-educational work are ultimately reflected in the extent to which the new attitude toward work and the revolutionary spirit of thought and action are more and more emphatically asserted in practice. To this end, as the party secretary general pointed out, ideological and political-educational work must be more persevering in order to implant in the awareness the firm conviction that no one can receive more from society than his own actual contribution to national progress, and to introduce the principles of socialist ethics and justice in the behavior of all members of Romanian society. Generalization of those principles and the standards of socialist morality throughout society is expected to secure the development of new relations of respect and mutual aid characteristic of socialist society, unfailing observance of the laws of the land, and advancement of the spirit of justice, truth and correctness. In the present stage of Romanian socialist society's development the principles of socialist ethics and justice must be firmly rooted in the activity of every worker and every collective.

The high revolutionary socialist patriotism of socialist awareness is one of its important characteristics. Accordingly it is one of the priority aims of political-ideological work, which are indicated in the documents of the 13th Party Congress, to indoctrinate the workers in the spirit of love of country and party, responsibility and devotion to the people and their revolutionary gains, and the determination to work and struggle for socialist and communist construction, for Romania's prosperity, and for its independence and sovereignty. It is also necessary to carry on the RCP's internationalist traditions and to cultivate in the awareness the feeling of solidarity, friendship and collaboration with the progressive and advanced revolutionary forces everywhere and with the peoples who love peace, progress and collaboration. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We must always combine, in a dialectical way, education and development of socialist patriotism with the spirit of international solidarity and friendship in the struggle for socioeconomic progress and for peace and collaboration in the world."

The personality finds an essential fulfillment in culture and art, which have a formative, molding effect upon the awareness, character and aspirations, as they address themselves to thought and feeling alike. Cultural values are closely bound up with human existence and its emotional aspect, which transfigures reality while reflecting in particular ways man's attitude toward the outer and inner world. Meanwhile the work of art is a model of the relations between man and the world that is characteristic of each historical era, a fact that makes new demands upon literary-artistic creation, heightening its responsibility in reflecting

the people's lives, work and aspirations and in fostering the noble feelings that inspire the new man with a high revolutionary awareness. In stressing the requirement that literature and the arts (which have been intensively developed in the years of socialism and have produced new and very valuable works playing an important part in all cultural-educational work) reflect the heroism of the workers, peasants and intellectuals and the whole effort toward revolutionary reform of Romanian society, Nicolae Ceausescu said in his report to the 13th Party Congress that new works of all kinds must be created that will "raise Romanian culture and art to a higher developmental level, help to form the Romanian people's socialist awareness, inspire the young generation at work and in life, and present Romania's bright prospects and future."

In its effort to promote a militant, realistic and committed art, the RCP proceeds from the principle that as component parts of social awareness literature and art reflect the process of society's general development. As it says in the documents of the congress, true art must be receptive to the world and inspired by the realities of the Romanian socialist nation, "the living source of the Romanian people's work and life," and provide answers to the problems that are always confronting human existence. The works of art must have a high militant and educational content, implant the higher principles of life in people's awareness, and inspire the masses to great deeds on behalf of construction of the new society. If this art is to play its part in shaping the awareness, all society must be able to know and understand it, a fact that calls for wide dissemination of valuable works so that they will become the entire people's cultural possessions.

An important part in the political-educational effort to form the new man is played by the National Cîntarea României Festival, which will have to be improved, for which purpose the cultural-artistic units must present educational artistic programs and play a more important role in formation of the masses' awareness and in their participation in the development of national culture.

The press, radio-TV and all mass information media have increased tasks in the way of forming and developing socialist awareness. They must be of active help in promoting the RCP's ideology, and its instruments for educating and forming the new man, for disseminating science and culture based on the historical and dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception, and for promoting the new militant humanistic values of socialism, knowledge and culture.

The intensified efforts to form and develop socialist awareness are mainly leading to the creation of a new revolutionary humanism that accentuates the individual as the creator of material and cultural values, while individual interests are being harmonized with those of society as a whole. The specific program for implementing the new humanism stems from the militant and realistic qualities of the RCP policy, which uniformly combines the effort toward theoretical creation with the practical, effective work of creating the new man, the builder of socialist and communist society. Implementation of this program is guaranteed by the development of the party's leadership in all social activity and the militant revolutionary spirit that the RCP and its secretary general lend to the whole political-ideological effort toward socialist indoctrination of the masses.

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DECREE ON MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 6, 9 Feb 85 p 1

[Council of State Decree Modifying Some Provisions of Decree No 444/1972 on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of National Defense]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:
Sole article--Decree No 444/1972 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of National Defense, with subsequent amendments, is modified as follows:

1. Article 8 will read as follows:

"Art. 8--The management council of the ministry is made up of: a minister, first-deputy ministers and deputy ministers, commanders (chiefs) of the commands or the central directorates, specialists with long experience and advanced training, as well as other cadres with management functions.

The composition of the management council of the ministry is approved by the Defense Council, upon the recommendation of the minister.

The chairman of the management council of the ministry is the minister; in the absence of the minister, the functions of the chairman are carried out by one of the first-deputy ministers, designated by the minister."

2. Article 14, paragraph 1 will read as follows:

"The minister, the first-deputy ministers and the deputy ministers form the executive bureau of the council."

3. Article 17 will read as follows:

"Art. 17--The ministry is headed by a minister, two first-deputy ministers and four deputy ministers, one of whom is secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army.

The first-deputy ministers and the deputy ministers are appointed by presidential decree and their functions are determined by the management council of the ministry."

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

Chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 6 February 1985

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