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EXPANDED DUTIES OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES DISCUSSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Ladislav Adamec, Deputy Premier of the CSR Government: "Serving the People Better"]

[Text] The conclusions adopted by the Sixth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee obligated party, state and economic organs to participate more effectively in improving the work of the national committees and the sectors which they administer and direct. We see a focal point of responsibility in a consistent creation of conditions conducive to all around fulfillment of the representative bodies' tasks in the economic, social and political spheres. Of special significance in this respect is activity focused on fulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, care for and realization of a complex growth in the regions, and conscientious satisfaction of legitimate citizen needs.

From this vantage point we approach the assignments contained in approved documents and make sure their implementation in individual krajs, okreses and localities reflects the new quality of responsibilities of plena, councils, commissions, aktivs, as well as individual deputies. In thoughtful management of their common endeavor lies the promise of success in the fulfillment of the objectives we have set forth for ourselves.

The foundation of our future effort must be a realistic assessment of our capabilities, backed by a thorough knowledge of the local situation, full utilization of citizens' ideas and recommendations, an initiative which goes hand in hand with the effective help of our party organs and organizations.

The political leadership and exemplary positions of communists are of fundamental importance for all around comprehension and grasp of the responsibilities in the economic, organizational, state power, management, cultural and educational spheres.

On one side, these problems are delineated by considerable authority entrusted to the organs of state administration, on the other by genuine trust the people place in the ability of this important link in our political system to

satisfy, in harmony with the interests of society as a whole, justified local demands of collectives and individuals.

Based on thorough knowledge of local conditions, we must organize an exchange of experiences, polarize gradually appearing incentives, and patiently respond to citizens suggestions. The usefulness of mutual comparison of our work becomes clear especially when we realize that in the implementation of future tasks we will not always have the benefit of precedent. Such understanding characterizes the scope of current requirements and makes future needs easier to assess.

We consider it desirable to rid our positions of generalization, trite proclamations and empty promises, instead we intend to emphasize convincingly, openly and in an informed fashion those matters which are timely for the coming weeks and months, those which are apt to change in the years to come, as well as those which even with the best of will we cannot hope to achieve.

We anticipate that these criteria will generate an appropriate response on the part of citizens, through their recommendations, views, or questions with which they will approach the deputies and other officials. Expressions of great interest have already been confirmed by many examples. What will change in the position of the towns? How close will performance of the state administration come to meeting practical needs? How to make enterprises managed by the national committees more effective? What will be the main features of the work of the citizens committees?

These questions partially demonstrate the scope of the tasks confronting the national committees.

The only acceptable answers are those which objectively mirror the well-meant recommendations, those which do not suffer from haste and simultaneously leave no doubt that the prescribed goals aim to transform the present state of affairs in the interest of a harmonious development of society and higher satisfaction of each individual. It is in this spirit that fulfillment of the approved tasks is organized and monitored.

Through the establishment of central villages--to cite certain fitting cases --we aim to achieve all around better quality of our endeavor and introduce a more flexible system in dealing with citizens' problems.

We are also mindful of the concerns of citizens in the housing developments. We cannot reconcile ourselves and remain indifferent to recommendations on and criticism of the slow application of good practical experiences in certain localities. Analyses confirm that the resolution of even seemingly insignificant problems can represent good political work.

Improvement is justifiably expected in the functioning of paid services. There is no doubt that a great portion of the shortcomings can be eliminated through better organization, application of peoples ideas, firmness and courage. The variety of needs demands more innovative content and methods of our work. We must assess with foresight which types of services in which

localities may make life easier, or where their continuation would more likely represent a burden or unneeded luxury. Constant improvement is unthinkable without concentrated assistance from the production branches and collectives, without qualified personnel, without correct procedures in producer-consumer relations, etc.

We must also devote greater attention to the problem of public food catering. Some enterprises tend to blame nonfulfillment of this year's plan exclusively on the so-called external economic factors. It is true that we are applying stricter criteria, and using old methods will no longer suffice. The growing responsibilities have not yet been sufficiently reflected in the self-evident facets of consumer relations, in pleasant service, wider selection of meals, proper hygienic environment, etc. The timeliness of these principles is especially felt at this juncture when summer vacations are beginning. The peak of the tourist season will serve as a test of our preparedness, ability to make decisions and confront changing conditions. Indeed, the general rules of the new approaches are equally applicable in local construction projects, in all types of services and in other sectors.

The increasingly exacting requirements must not lead the elected bodies to a state of neglect of their regular duties which they have been routinely performing up to now and whose urgency is rising at the present time due to the more complicated conditions of overall development.

We especially mean their more emphatic impact on the economy, the situation in education, culture, health care and social security, which all tend to relieve the citizens of their everyday concerns. The progress achieved in these areas by the elected bodies will always serve as a key indicator in assessing the political talents of our functionaries. This is indeed attested to by the fact that the bulk of citizens' complaints has to do with commerce and services.

In all fairness, we should state that the elected bodies are not responsible for all our difficulties. Much of what has been subjected to public criticism has causes so complex that they reach well beyond the capability of local organs.

On the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that a good portion of what citizens are objecting to is indeed within the province of the basic elements of our state administration. There is room to act here and prevent shortcomings before they occur, simply by applying more effective methods of work. Even though this responsibility is generally recognized, analyses show that manifestations of stereotype solutions and tendencies to find an easy way out of problems, have certainly not yet been eliminated. We find it unacceptable to succumb to alibiism and passively excuse shortcomings which could easily be avoided. Such erroneous approaches logically breed skepticism and loss of confidence with respect to even some of the good things which we have achieved in certain areas. Once our people become convinced through concrete deeds that we are proceeding in a thoughtful and purposeful manner, that we are focusing our efforts on the most important problems, that the calls for economy and effectiveness are not mere slogans but rather a blueprint for

determined action, they will become more interested in the well-being of their settlements and their motivation to contribute to social progress will grow.

In early June our government issued a document containing the most important tasks to be performed by the ministries in order to ensure the fulfillment of the goals set forth by the April plenary session of the Central Committee. This document clarifies the basic objectives, points out what needs to be emphasized in the planning and fiscal spheres and in technical development, it shows us how to improve management, what must be done to ensure better services, how to enhance relations among the various national committee echelons, how to help the central villages and towns, how to improve the work of the apparatus, etc.

These problems cannot be fully resolved in a short period of time. Nevertheless, we must strengthen the foundations of a systematic approach and sustained attention to the problems the deputies and other functionaries are dealing with.

A good example of this new direction is the contemplated simplification of the heretofore long-drawn out procedure in connection with the construction of family homes. We also look forward to socially beneficial results from the planned adjustment in the issuance of permits to citizens to perform certain services which had been approved by the national committees, and from the resolution of problems in the process of establishing and operating of small workrooms under their jurisdiction. Other ideas also merit consideration.

Experiences gained in some krajs and okreses--fully supported in regular consultation between the government and the kraj national committee chairmen, confirm the balanced and thorough nature of our efforts. The resolution of open questions is not left to chance. It is precisely targeted and linked to mutual cooperation, consultation and inclusion of a broad outlook. It is here that we find in full measure the benefits of the astuteness and organizational skills of the kraj national committees.

Every beginning is difficult. We will no doubt encounter hard times and problems for which sufficient manpower may not be unavailable at a given time. However, the determination not to retreat in the face of obstacles but rather to overcome them, must receive our full support.

In harmony with these principles, we will make sure that the ministries acquire a better grasp of the concerns of the individual krajs, an objective comprehension of the problems, and a readiness to present viable proposals of how to proceed. This method will definitely contribute to the strengthening of the national committee authority. In this respect, it will be especially desirable to constantly enhance the coordinating role of the Ministry of Interior.

One of the basic prerequisites of complex fulfillment of the conclusions of the Sixth Central Committee Planum lies in the direct personal involvement of

the deputies and other functionaries. Their ideas and views in some cases on the elimination of shortcomings unfortunately thus far do not sufficiently reflect the complexity of the conditions under which we labor. There are even those who are reluctant to admit that the road to improvement will have to be given to goals on which depends the harmonious development of society as a whole in the coming years.

Consequently, more effective educational work among officials themselves and in their relations with the broad strata of citizens, merits priority attention. We must remember that the anticipated results can be achieved only if, along with political and professional aspects, our efforts mirror broader considerations of the internal and international political situation and of overall economic development.

Full recognition can be accorded only to those deputies who are able to win people over, initiatively confront them with tasks, and ensure their involvement in the labors of the elected bodies.

It is not results of a partial character or changes in selected individual sectors which are of prime importance, but rather an overall improvement in our work which contributes to the formation of socialist thinking and acting human beings. Each of the steps leading to this goal must therefore be well thought out and assessed in both immediate and long-range terms.

The foundations on which we build are the principled policy of our party, the half-a-million strong aktiv of national committee functionaries, traditions and successes of the past, and awareness of shortcomings and weaknesses. Our tasks for the coming period have been clearly set forth. They can be fulfilled if they are accompanied by consistent, critical control conducted at the level of government, krajs, okreses and localities. Even here we will raise our criteria to prevent situations in which good resolutions are merely proclaimed, while their realization lags behind.

In summation, all the above measures provide guarantees for greater authority of the organs of state power and administration in the interest of strengthening our social system, more effective utilization of available financial and material resources, more consistent share in the development of the Czechoslovak economy, as well as the broadening of the working peoples participation in management and administration.

9496

CSO: 2400/338

COST OF INADEQUATE PHONE NETWORK HIGHLIGHTED

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 38, 8 Aug 82 p 25

[Article by Csaba Vertes: "Billions Dialed Away"]

[Text] What a vexation! The stonemason of a Borsod Megye community sat around for 2 hours in a local post office waiting for a telephone connection to Kazincbarcika. He wanted to order materials from the TUZEP [Fuel and Building Material Trade Enterprise] site, but unable to get a connection after waiting 2 hours, he finally got in his car and travelled about 160 kilometers there and back. That day he could not spend even a minute on his job of housing construction.

There are those who help themselves because they can. It costs United Incan- descent about 10 million forints annually to run its separate telephone network by which it can now reach its provincial factories relatively easily. It is said that a nationally known tsz [producer cooperative] is negotiating with the post office for a similar solution (largely at its own cost) because it has had enough of communications that never materialize due to difficult telephone connections.

Public and Private

Foreign traders complain that because of the unreliable telephone network they frequently receive or provide important business information too late, and for this reason alone they are at a disadvantage with foreign competitors. And the scientific researcher complains that the computer which helps him in his work is the member of a larger system--linked through a telephone network--but what is this valuable machine worth and the entire system if the Hungarian telephone system is what it is.

What is it like? Evaluating the official statistical data separately and as a whole, we can say it is almost the most obsolete and the least reliable in Europe. And there is a good chance that the "almost" in the above sentence may be dropped in the near future as our country drops to last place on the European list. At present, Sweden stands at the top of the list of telephones per 100 inhabitants (79.6), France is in the medium range (45.9) along with Norway (45.3) and Spain (31.5), and behind Hungary (11.8) come only Yugoslavia (9.5), and Romania (8.5). But the rate of growth in the latter two countries is much greater than in Hungary.

Countries with a similar degree of communications development have at least a 2 percent share in total investments. It has never reached this in our country, even in the "best years" it reached 1.6 percent at the most. (Sometime in the 1950's Matyas Rakosi said: "We do not have to touch the telephone network for another 50 years, it has been well done by the capitalists.")

In Budapest, 2 million people use 58 percent of all the main stations. Ten percent of the main stations remain for the 4.8 million inhabitants of the villages (on weekdays, and then too only until 1600 hours because the manually operated centers do not operate later than this).

In addition to 121,000 public telephones, 68,000 subcentral main lines and the 565,000(!) auxiliary stations linked to these conduct 70 percent of the telephone traffic; and 356,000 private telephones make up the remainder. This 70 : 30 ratio--and it is the worst in Europe--is the major cause of the fact that in Hungary the chances are all in all 40 percent that a reliable telephone connection will be made between the person calling and the person called. The world average is 70 percent. The post office calculates as follows: whoever can talk (about 8 million people) would also like to use the telephone (a half million telephones). Thus 7 and 1/2 million people use the telephones on the public network because they do not have telephones at home. But the public telephone network was not set up for this number; and for this reason the 70 : 30 ratio should be turned about.

The experts of the post office announced several years ago that "the development sums equivalent to two five-year plans are missing from the Hungarian telephone network." Recently, Illes Toth, managing director of the post office, put at 160 billion forints the sum of money without which it would be impossible to make more significant progress. And according to him, there is hope.... But let us add that if as a result of some miracle the post office should receive this sum of money from one day to the next, it could still see to carrying out a worthy development only after many years; at present it is not equipped either technically or in manpower for rapid action. Its most sanguine hope is that with 160 billion forints in its possession it could by the end of the century raise to 30 the present 12 "stations" per 100 inhabitants. With this, we would approach the current average medium range for European countries, or to put it another way, we have to run faster in order to hold on our present position.)

No Connection

Instead of further analyzing the general situation let us consider what is in fact the use of a modern telephone network. Let us count backwards. According to the National Technical Development Committee, we spend 2 billion minutes every year with receiver in hand waiting to talk. This comes to the full annual working time of 14,000 people! Counting only the postal costs, this comes to about 2 to 4 billion forints. There are quite a few institutions, bodies, firms, offices and persons who cannot permit for themselves this kind of service, at places where a reliably operating telephone network is literally a matter of life and death: MAV [Hungarian State Railways], water management, defense, interior, the petroleum and gas industry; and the operations of many "top level offices" and at least as many managers of large enterprises are tied

into special, so-called "closed link" networks (the "K" line). How do the construction, operational and maintenance costs of these places relate to the sums of money invested in the basic network? And the special users of these networks--to what extent are they aware of or know the unusable nature of the basic network?)

But back to the basic question: What is the social and economic value of the telephone?

(Gyula Horvath of the Beloiannis Communications Technology Factory stated: "No matter how we approach the question, we arrive at the conclusion that the telephone in final analysis makes it possible to save time. But how much is time worth? In 1976 we created 41 forints' worth of national income with an average of 1 hour of work. This includes the time devoted to nonproductive activity as well as the effect of the telephone in increasing efficiency. The latter unfortunately cannot be quantified, but it is certain that any kind of improvement in the telephone will lead unconditionally to an increase in efficiency. For example, the nation-wide introduction of the digital type telephone would bring an increase of at least 64 billion forints into the national income or a comparable savings in costs.")

International examples: Before the implementation of the telephone program in the kolkhozes of the Soviet Union, they estimated that the transmission of reports and instructions--at a cost of 2 billion rubles--equalled the work altogether of 250,000 foot messengers, horse riders and motor vehicles. But these 2 billion rubles provided the secure cover for building an appropriate kolkhoz network. (Hungarian industry is one of the telephone center-transmitters of this network.)

Other examples: In the United States they estimated that by creating the conditions for the so-called telephone conference technique, they are able to save 5 percent of the annual petroleum requirement; and in the United Kingdom they are able to save 200 million pounds annually. According to the UN Secretariat, the center of the world organization can hold a five-hour conversation with London for the price of a round-trip airplane ticket between New York and London. The latter example is only by way of illustration for diplomats and politicians, if for prestige reasons only, prefer to travel rather than to telephone. In the international business world, where time is truly and greatly expensive, it has for long been a custom for millions of items to change owners through simple and unconditionally valid agreements handled through telephone conversations.

But not in our country: in the simplest matters which have already been arranged and essentially settled on the telephone, there are memoranda, letters beginning "with reference to our telephone understanding." In fact, there are more and more memoranda beginning "in verification of our telephone conversation" because it is not only the telephone network that is what it is, but also the communications customs (and perhaps morals, too).

What is it like? Conservative, built as a matter of course on mutual lack of confidence. The kind that rejects new possibilities even before it is familiar with them.

Dreams About the Turn of the Century

The development plans of the post office that extend to the turn of century include services that still appear unusual. Automatic awakener, a fee register that can be installed with a (push-button) telephone; integration of the subcenters into the number area of the main center (render unnecessary an operator at every sub-center); linking of radio telephones to the wire network creation of the conditions for conference calls; the automatic redirection of calls, and so-called "call parking" to make it unnecessary to dial again and again, for example, if the line is busy.

It is also certain that for most of the services--for example, the possibility of direct long distance calls--there is one clear condition, an unconditionally higher degree of social morality than exists by us. (For example, consider the telephone robbers and the telephone vandals.) But by referring to these matters, we can hardly hold back the rate of development for the Hungarian telephone system. And this remark is made only because among the many certainties this is the only uncertain factor; we cannot know at what rate and in what direction the domestic telephone network may develop, or when it will reach the desired level. (If we were to ask the raven of the post office, he might answer like Poe's bird: nevermore.) But we should clarify the optimum or at least the minimum goal from which we cannot yield because otherwise the circulation of information that keeps society and the economy alive may be endangered.

6691

CSO: 2500/356

HUNGARY

FLIGHT OF STUDENT WORKERS IN AGRICULTURE STUDIED

Budapest IFJU KOMMINISTA in Hungarian No 6, 82 pp 17-21

[Interview with Istvan Gyenesei, member of the Central Committee of MSZMP of Istvan Cseri: "Students in Agricultural Employment"]

[Text] The current working hour basis for agriculture is 1.7 billion hours, of which seasonally employed student manpower makes up 1.77 percent. This is approximately 30 million hours per year. This data was selected from a study by Istvan Gyenesei entitled, "The Seasonal Employment of Manpower From Outside of the Branch in Agriculture." The secretariat of the young workers of the KISZ KB [Central Committee of the Communist Youth League] and of the Agricultural Youth Council prepared a report from this study for the Executive Committee which discussed it and partially accepted its findings.

We discussed the contents and the significance of the study with its author, who is now a colleague of the Central Committee of MSZMP.

[Question] What do you mean by manpower which is outside of the branch?

[Answer] I consider outside manpower, students, soldiers, pensioners, household members, active income earners working in other branches and family members, that is, workers seasonally transferred from other work areas of a given agricultural plant. Student manpower is the most important among these, since it comprises 27 percent of the total outside manpower.

[Question] Let us stay with the students. Perhaps it is common knowledge, but it would not hurt to summarize why there is a need for student labor.

[Answer] The employment of work age students during the school year and during vacations satisfies genuine national economy needs, while at the same time it has the concrete educational goal and result of teaching to work.

[Question] Why did you study the conditions of student manpower only in agriculture?

[Answer] Because in industry the domain which does not demand any specialty training from outside manpower or is not dangerous is rather restricted. The

proportion of outside manpower, and thus student manpower which could be included is insignificant. I did not investigate production and professional practices since useful production activity only rarely takes place there. The construction industry and transportation utilize primarily military manpower. Water management is not involved in this problem. In commerce and in the hospitality industries it is characteristic for students to find employment on an individual basis, although the idea of creating a development camp has come up. Because of rather restricted monetary conditions, there would be a need for student manpower in environmental protection, but those responsible for this area are undecided in this matter.

Thus only agriculture is left. This is natural since growing crops has the characteristic of being seasonal, and its need for manpower fluctuates. A manpower policy which adjusts the annual manpower needs to the year's highest requirements cannot be conducted since it would mean that nearly 150,000 persons would be "supported" only in order to work 40 to 50 days annually. Thus the employment of outside manpower is of vital importance for the entire national economy. Despite foreseeable improvements in mechanization and in the development of superior strains, there will be a need for student hands during peak periods for a long time.

[Question] How much profit can be attributed to these student hands?

[Answer] The value of labor can be expressed most exactly through the amount of lost profit, or in other words, the value which could not be realized without this manpower. In 1981, during the school term, in the fall, the performance of students, expressed in wages was 175 million forints. The value of the merchandise was 3.5 billion forints.

[Question] Under what forms of employment are the students utilized by agriculture?

[Answer] In the forms of employment as individuals and as group labor organized by society, by which I mean the development camps and work during the school term. Among these, the most important for agriculture is the work during the school term, since 66.5 percent of the students working in agriculture are employed in this form. Next in importance are individual employment which utilizes 14.2 percent of the students, development camps, which employ 11.6 percent and other organized summer employment which utilizes 7.7 percent.

[Question] Is individual employment characteristic rather of rural students?

[Answer] Yes, and for the most part it applies to children of parents employed in agriculture, although possibilities for such employment are opening in Budapest. The Obuda Producer Cooperative, for example, can employ 600 students each summer.

There are significant reserves latent in this form also, but right now there is no one to organize it. The career selection institutes are of some help in assisting the location of individual employment, but their activities are exhausted in the compilation of rather inadequate publications dealing with possible places of employment. It would be nice, for example, to develop a student intermediary system at least for the megye seats and for larger student towns. These would require a new organization, but could be built on the developing student centers.

[Question] It is apparent from the study that work performed during the school term mobilizes the broadest strata of students. To what extent is this form organized?

[Answer] During the school term the theoretically available student population, including the seventh and eighth form pupils of elementary schools, secondary school students, vocational students and college and university students is approximately 650,000. This source is 50 percent utilized.

[Question] It is clearly undesirable that in the fall every student go perform agricultural work, but it is also undesirable that this many should be missing.

[Answer] As a matter of course, only 75 percent of the theoretically mobilizable student population participates in the work. But let us remain with the ones who begin work. If we compare the actual days worked with the number of days possible to work--this is currently 12 days for seventh and eighth form, secondary, college and university students, 10 days for vocational secondary school students and 6 days for vocational trainees--then the theoretical 650,000 persons is reduced to 325,000 in practice. But this is not the problem, because we should be striving for increasing organization and efficiency rather than for the extensive increase of student labor. This becomes more understandable by revealing that on the average student performance is equivalent to 40 percent of adult worker performance. This is because the effective performance of students is less, and they spend less hours working per day. In practice this means that it takes more than two students to replace the work of one permanent worker.

[Question] What determines student performance?

[Answer] Many factors. Primary school students are naturally not capable of performing certain work, although they are easier to discipline than secondary school students, who under appropriate organization and direction can even perform work equivalent to that of permanent workers. The performance of college and university students, however, is variable. They are capable of outstanding performance, but they also turn in the lowest level of performance. It is generally observed that rural students do better work than urban ones. This is not only because the work is not as alien to them, but also because they are more aware of the position of agriculture and know that their work is needed. Many of the urban students do not understand why they have to perform agricultural work. They only see the central measure as the reason, and believe that they are necessary because agricultural workers are lazy. Many of them feel that the work is belittling.

Of course performance is influenced by the efforts of KISZ and school guidance organizations towards the preparation of students, teachers and parents for the performance and proper appreciation of work. The behavior of the permanent farm workers naturally has an effect, as do working conditions and monetary remunerations for the work performed.

[Question] Monetary considerations?

[Answer] Yes. The students do not go to work because of the money, but because it is mandatory. However, once they are there, the wages, in addition to work organization and teacher guidance, have an equally great positive or negative effect on their performance. Wages are generally determined on the basis of the established wage principles for the permanent manual laborers of the given farm, while also taking the amount, quality and difficulty of the work into consideration. Despite this, complaints are often heard from students and teachers alike. While a number of legal statutes regulate the relationships and duties between schools and plants, disorganization, confusion, disparagement of student activities and the slashing of the countervalue of their work are still common phenomena.

[Question] Ultimately, what do the students earn?

[Answer] Well, that varies considerably. Current wages are generally considered low by both students and teachers. The differences in wages between state farms and production cooperatives are causing problems and tensions, but there are also significant differences among wages in different megye's. In Heves Megye, for example, the average hourly wage was 7.90 forints, while in Bacs-Kiskun, it was 12.40. There are even greater differences if we consider only college students. In Borsod Megye they earn an average of 6 forints per hour, while they earn 20.00 in Hajdu-Bihar.

[Question] It is natural for earnings to be divergent. The amount the farms can pay depends on the level of their operation. The introduction of differentiated wages is the national goal.

[Answer] That is true. But the mentioned ranges in earnings were not on the basis of performance. The fact that agricultural plants are able to pay wages on the basis of the quality of their operations can and must be explained to the permanent work force (since in their case it is true that the performance capabilities of a given agricultural plant depend partly on them) but not to the outside manpower. They only see that for the same work and performance with equivalent quality other plants pay more. Thus schools compete for farms which pay better, while farms which will not or cannot pay student labor better can acquire manpower only with difficulty, or through the assignment of a school. The attitude toward the constraint situation, however, is often expressed by poor performance.

[Question] What can be done about it?

[Answer] I think that the wage minimums for identical work should be centrally established, and the possibilities for remuneration for above average performance ought to be created.

One more thing. Performance is also negatively influenced by the fact that student wages are withheld, contrary to the rules, by the school directorate, the KISZ organization or the parents' association. (I am not talking about wages being offered, but about their being withheld!) No one should be forced automatically to offer up the money which he has earned for his labors. One more comment. Regulations state that wages are to be paid directly to the student, or under unusual circumstances to the supervising teacher. In practice the latter form has become the common one, even though the former would have a more salutary effect.

[Question] What is the situation with teachers' wages?

[Answer] The teachers are the motivators of full student employment. Student performance depends to a large extent on their performance. Some of them consider this work to be an unpleasant duty and do not attempt to utilize their prestige as teachers to motivate to work. However, their influence can also be discerned behind good performances. Their wage, in addition to their base pay is 60 forints for 6 hours of labor. Even with supplements and bonuses it does not exceed 15 forints per hour, on the average. I believe that wages based on performance ought to be appropriate for them also, because their performance can easily be measured by the performance of their students. Of course, several hours of classes ought to be organized for them also to acquaint them with the work. During harvests they could work secondary jobs at the receiving farms. I could mention as an example the Zalaegerszeg state farm, which since 1969 has regularly solved its harvesting problems with students by contracting in advance with nearby schools. All the more important details such as hours of work, wage and bonus system, transportation and meal considerations are agreed upon in detail. It may seem natural but it is worth mentioning that the farm continuously provides drinking water, water for hand washing and for portable, relocatable toilets.

Students wages are made up of a base wage and a bonus. If the percentage of blemished items picked is between 7 and 10 percent, only the base wage is paid. If the blemishes are between 5 and 7 percent, the bonus is 20 percent; if the blemishes are under 5 percent, the bonus is 40 percent. If the percentage of blemished items rises above 10 percent, even the base wage is not paid, but the work is stopped. Of course, this method requires that before beginning work students be acquainted with the picking methods. This is done within the framework of an orientation and students are even provided in advance with a publication describing the correct procedures. The title is, "On the Tree Eighty Percent Are Certainly Unblemished. How Many Remain That Way Depends on the Picking." Naturally, they organize preparation for teachers and listen to their observations.

[Question] How do they remunerate teachers here?

[Answer] The hourly wage for teachers is 10 forints plus bonus. The latter is 6 percent of the group performance with a maximum of 100 forints. In addition, each may pick for himself 60 kilograms of apples and pay only the preferential price agreed upon for permanent employees. Lunch costs the same as for the employees of the farm. Even a work competition with prizes has been announced. As an illustration I will only mention that if a secondary school class works 7 days and comes in first in the competition, it receives a 3,000 forints prize, and the attending teacher receives 600 forints.

Within this wage system on the average each student earns 70 forints per day, but a 90 forint per day class average is not unusual. Active teachers can earn as much as 265 forints per day in addition to their salaries, if their classes work 7 days.

[Question] How could the Zalaegerszeg example be made the common practice?

[Answer] By doing what the interests of both the young people and the national economy require: that the directive organizations, the plants and the schools prepare and organize the employment of the students at a higher level. The regulations for employing students should be learned in detail and be followed to the letter. The better coordination of the efforts of state and social organs responsible for organizing student labor for the common good and the further strengthening of the cooperation between the employing large farms and teaching institutions--which is for their mutual benefit--can successfully promote the realization of combined training and economic goals.

[Question] The third most important form--in terms of the number of participants--of agricultural employment is the development camp. How many students are working in development camps each summer?

[Answer] In 1981, 73 of the central development camps were organized for agriculture. This indicates more than 40,000 students. In addition, 15 megye and 20 university organized development camps must be taken into account, totaling 53 to 55,000 students affected by this form.

[Question] I have noticed that development camps receive greater publicity than other forms of agricultural work. At the same time, this form is much better organized despite all the recent changes that have taken place.

[Answer] This movement is truly fulfilling its function, which of course does not mean that nothing more needs to be done to it. When we consider the prestige of social and economic requirements which has arisen around the development camp concept, it would appear to be advisable to modify the directive principles. In practice the modification and modernization must mean simplification, economy, flexibility and decentralization. The Development Camp Committee is already organizing this year's camps with these in mind.

[Question] Why is there a need for decentralization?

[Answer] Because it brings the source of manpower and the place of employment closer together. The relationship becomes more direct and the possibilities for a permanent relationship can be developed. The interest of agricultural plants and the readiness of local social organizations to accept responsibility is increased.

I think that considerably smaller proportion of development camps ought to be centrally organized, and only where unusual national economy tasks must be solved, or where the specialized and departmentalized camps include several megye's. In their place there ought to be the popular camps such as those at Boglarlelle, Siofok, Alsotekers, Sopron, etc., which far exceed the average levels. The majority of the megye's can satisfy their own requirements within their boundaries. Where they cannot, the extent of mobilization is smaller than the national average.

[Question] You mentioned the departmentalized and specialized development camps. What methods are there to develop these further?

[Answer] The future indeed has a greater role for the departmentalized and specialized development camps. The first specialized development camp was organized in 1977, primarily for second year students of vocational schools. The time spent here qualifies as training time and must be considered as practice in the specialty. In 1981, there were 9 such camps with 3,400 student participants. Trade and social scholarships, for those that have them, are in effect during this period. MEM[Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry] unfortunately has not yet organized such camps.

Departmentalized program development were instituted in 1974 for secondary school students. College and university students assist in the leadership of this camp form. They supplement the leisure time programs of the camp with scientific, literary and artistic programs. Individual cycles are specialized into various subjects such as literature, history, music, etc. Last year already 5 to 6,000 individuals participated in such camps, indicating that students like them. This form can be one of the chief means of expanding development camps.

[Question] The directive principle of camp operation states that: "Young people participate in development camps voluntarily and carry on their work--which is useful to the national economy, and for which they deserve moral approval and rewards appropriate to their performance--without monetary compensation." What is your opinion of this?

[Answer] I believe that if greater recognition were given to voluntary social work performance by school training, or if the plant leaders would admit the irreplaceability of student labor, it would mean more than monetary rewards. But we cannot expect our young people to work for free. I think the exchange value of their work in proportion to the work performed must be paid to them. The organizers of megye camps have paid appropriately motivating wages for a long time because they realized that if the vacation camp is accompanied by the opportunity to earn money, it motivates students to better performance. In the Bolyi Agricultural Combine, for example, students receive amounts equivalent to 18 to 20 forints per hour. A centrally organized camp also operates in this megye. For several years now its daily performance has been only one-fourth of the megye's camp.

Reasons such as this made last year's modernization of the centralized camps' incentive systems and the development of their system of rewards necessary. But I do not think that it is enough.

Reasons such as this made last year's modernization of the centralized camps' incentive systems and the development of their system of rewards necessary. But I do not think that it is enough.

[Question] Then those in development camps ought to be paid also....

[Answer] Yes, but in such a way that the exchange value of the work performed should be separated into three parts. One part would reimburse farms for their expenses--lodging, transportation, meals, etc. Eighty percent of the amount left after the deduction of expenses should belong to the participants, and the remaining 20 percent should be paid into the central fund. This fund would contribute to youth policy investments. If we only consider the current number of development camp participants, the central contribution would amount to 7 or 8 million forints a year. With this amount something, like for example a contribution to the modernization work of the Uttoro Stadium, could really be started.

[Question] In the preparation of your study, you analyzed the data of nearly 200 agricultural plants. You studied the resolutions which have appeared, and the speeches and analyses which have been voiced. Because of space limitations, we only touched a portion of these in our discussion. What will happen to your study? What assurance is there that your determinations and conclusions will reach those concerned?

[Answer] The fact that the colleagues of the Central Committee of MSZMP involved with agriculture, and those in the Central Committee of KISZ, in AIB [State Youth Committee], in MEM and in the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, in other words those concerned, are acquainted with the study. How many of my conclusions they accept depends on how convincing those conclusions are, and how much they agree with them.

9093

CSO: 2500/330

PROMINENT WRITER DISCUSSES EFFECT OF SUBSIDIES ON LITERATURE

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 7, Jul 82 pp 20-21

[Article by Tamas Ungvari, literary historian, critic and editor of Literary Book Publishers: "Concerning Subsidies"]

[Text] Motto: "I have seen so many impoverished and subservient writers in my life that I decided long ago that for my part I would not increase their number."--Voltaire

The simplest summary of our cultural policy consists of three concepts--subsidies, toleration, prohibition. At one time rather much was said about the latter two; there is still little said about subsidies. Perhaps this is because it seems obvious that works in the socialist spirit--in theory--find suitable understanding; their publication or presentation--in theory--meet with no special obstacles, and such forms of subsidy, including a larger number of copies, the payment of literary fees and the system of scholarships which has developed, fit in appropriately with the other two principles of literary policy.

But support, like any principle, proves itself in the course of its realization. And the reality of it is not at all so free of contradiction as the principle to be followed. Just as many distorted forms of support are possible too--as is proven by the articles of as many authors in ELET ES IRODALOM. The list of authors was convincing--Andras Simonffy, Akos Kertesz and then Pongrac Galsai complained that writers today, partly because they are forced to make a living and partly because of the need to keep their names in circulation, spend more time on so-called hack work, undertake to serve the radio, television or press, while creating their main works, their real creations, in their remaining time, as if this were a secondary occupation. A writer--it appeared from the series of articles--can hardly live from his profession; only possibilities appearing on the periphery of his profession offer him a livelihood.

The social mood of writers--this appeared from the KRITIKA debate--is quite good. But the private mood of writers--as the authors of the articles in ELET ES IRODALOM attested--is not without tension; in addition, it is the task of the writer to talk about the problems of others, and more rarely about his own. Propriety forbids that the artist appear before the public with his own interests. Yet it happened, and in a curious year, just when the honoraria, even those of translators, had been adjusted.

So the complaint was voiced at the moment of relief. But perhaps it was just the relief that disclosed the contradictions in the practice of support as reflected in the honorarium system. The honorarium became higher--and, it is said, it will be too--but the principle of social distribution appearing in it remained the same. Only the so-called "from-to" ratio improved; the possible maximum of an honorarium for Gyula Illyes is just the same as that for any beginning writer; only the number of copies can raise the master to the heights of material security. And perhaps everyone knows that one counts the number of copies only after the book appears; considering the present press situation this will be 1.5 to 2 years from the completion of the manuscript. What is essential is that the principle of distribution, of payment, is unchanged. Throughout society they are working out fresh ideas and practices to separate the field, for differentiated payment, while imagining that the spirit reflected in literary payment will still be one of uniformity.

Perhaps this is why there are so many individual complaints, while the general mood is, in general, good.

Culture Costs Money

My occupation is writer, thus I am a cultural worker, while culture, we hear all over the place, cannot support itself. So I, a publisher, just like culture, must seek subsidies. The state contributes a fixed percentage to a theater ticket. Every book, at least serious literature, the writing of studies, the products of thought, is a deficit proposition. Hungarian film, in the labyrinth of production or distribution, has become a losing proposition in our homeland; journals in large numbers bring less to the kitchen the more cultured they are.

Culture seems to be a commodity which is always put into circulation at below the cost of its own production; so everyone who has an interest in this trade looks with justified suspicion on the "producers of the goods." Somewhere in this process they have lost their utility and respect.

Is culture a commodity? The editors of KRITIKA, justly, closed this debate. It is not my job to judge this or summarize its results. But I must point out certain lessons, because of the train of thought of my article.

We can reach more significant results in this debate if we strictly distinguish, within the sphere of culture, the creation of works of art from the array and fate of other cultural products, because according to the viewpoints of the Marxist theory of value these are often radically opposed. A work of art enters the production process itself as a "finished product;" making it into a commodity, trading it and spreading it do not form it or add to it.

In commodity producing societies--and we now know that even our society is such a society--the trouble starts when the work of art, the "final product", enters the production process and "suffers" transformation from an immanent social value into a commodity. Since its value is testified to by its price only indirectly it requires the decision of an entire series of people and institutions to translate this indirect evidence into the language of the market. What characterizes socialist cultural policy is just that in this translation

process an attempt is made, circumspectly and cautiously, to reflect the value of the intellectual "final product" in the price in a reversed ration. Tolstoy is published cheaply and easy reading is published expensively. So one finds in the principle of support not simply political thinking, but rather a correct, Marxist interpretation of the concept of culture.

The Origins of Support

We know the system of market oriented cultures fairly well; the achievements and failures of the practice thereof seep through to us, as Pest slang has it, from the western world, which stretches from the end of Vienna Street to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

But cultural subsidies have not only a contemporary presence, they also have an interesting past. We should not be alarmed to find that their roots go back to the soil of feudalism; there were early forms of patronage even in the most flourishing cultures, for example in the case of the troubadours. The rising bourgeoisie observed this culture of the patrons with doomed envy--desiring it but rejecting the price. Because the price of some patronage was subservience--as a drama by Bulgakov depicted with such a sharp eye in the fate of Moliere.

The cultural market was born when a great number of artists desired to free themselves from the schakles of patronage. To transform a work from an object of support into a commodity--this became one of the goals of the enlightenment. There we see Voltaire among the first writers who demanded for their work not position but money. It was the avowed goal of Voltaire not to get on through flattery but rather to win independence with a little property. His career, of course, was contradictory; a real transition appears in it. On the one hand the favorite of rulers; on the other hand an independent writer, if we peruse the lists of his honoraria. Independence and the desire for the body warmth of support--this double yearning appears in the careers and work of those of the enlightenment. Montesquieu attacked the Academy only until he was elected a member of it. But these contradictions cannot hide the fact that in the end those obsessed by reason desired literary freedom first of all. Goethe said of Voltaire: "Rarely have I seen such a man, who sold himself into slavery for the sake of independence."

The Situation Today

Achieving literary independence by means of material independence is a syndrome of yesterday., a historical tradition which should be reassessed. The reassessment might begin by asking what is the new meaning of literary "freedom" or independence in an age when the structure of cultural production is defined by "subsidies, toleration, prohibition."

One word about money. And this one word grows into many. Because money is still a condition for the independence of a writer--an income proportional to the value and social utility of the work (not proportional to its commercial profit).

A not insignificant part of literary society does not live badly. But the chief source of their income is not always that activity which is socially most useful. What they devote their life to--the independent book, the independent play, their own film--succeeds with the greatest difficulty and reaches the public only slowly, at the cost of overcoming unnecessary obstacles. The through-put time is not at all a technical obstacle, rather it is a spiritual, cultural, theoretical one. Our readers hardly enjoy the enchantment of contemporaries; what we read today was produced 2 years ago, in the best case. The through-put time for a play is alarming; planning ahead a number of years cools the enthusiasm of the authors. But all this points to a single common problem--writers have little to say about the publication, realization or propagation of their works. Not only are their incomes out of proportion, their rights are limited also. A writer cannot know in advance when or in how many copies his work will appear; at best an author can only accept a pledge that his play will be shown at a given time; the publication or propagation of every work is a function of many social factors, and the right of the artist is the factor which can be most neglected. It is enough to study a publishing or theater contract. The input of the writer or his right to redress will fit into a few sentences while the rights of the other purveyors of the cultural commodity take up dozens of paragraphs. A publisher takes all the work of a writer for a period of 4 years. But for these 4 years he is not obliged to pay even the full basic honorarium. I could continue describing the symptoms, but I will satisfy myself with the end result. Where the fixed rights of the writer are so few and he has so little to say about it, the support appears to be a "favor" and the realization of the social utility seems to be a kindness.

A person could get the impression that it is not the producers of culture who are being subsidized but rather the cultural institutions.

Those Who Are Drowning and Those Who Reach the Shore

If we can observe in the honorarium system, in propagation, a certain uniformizing tendency, at the same time there is in support, as a result of the symptoms described above, a very capricious system of promotion, payment and patronage. This is a function of how many true servants of culture there are among the practical realizers of support, where they are, and it depends on how the possibilities of this system are exploited, and where, by certain partisan patrons, patrons who have achieved positions of power, bureaucrats using their offices to distribute awards.

There have been, historically, a number of types of "backers." A famous example is the letter of Dr Johnson, sensitive to literary independence, to the powerful Lord Chesterfield.

"What sort of person is a patron?" the greatest lexicographer posed the question. And in the wake of his bad experiences he was inclined to generalize. The patron, he continued, is a man who "views with perfect indifference the life-and-death struggle of a fellow human in the water. And then, when he reaches the shore, showers him with favors."

Those who give support today are not necessarily patrons; sometimes they even help those struggling in the water. But there are still those who have remained Lord Chesterfields; not because their inclinations prepared them for

this role but rather because the cultural system, the practice of production and trade, offer certain opportunities for their appearance and success. A writer needs a partisan if he would prod his work through the system of hindrances.

When I talked about independence just now I was actually trying to define the amount of freedom necessary for social service. D'Alembert, of the enlightenment, calls the man of intellect a slave of freedom--it is perhaps understandable that this formulation pleases me better than that which calls the writer an "engineer of the soul."

Literary independence is service to the work.

And this requires a certain amount of material independence, the enjoyment of a support in which the writer receives patronage not as a favor but rather as value in accordance with the social utility of culture.

But what happens if--as Andras Simonffy, Akos Kertesz and Pongracz Galsai complained--there is greater reward not for the work but for the "other" activities:

Pseudo-works are born instead of works. What I call pseudo-works are the multiple regrafting of themes from genre to genre, the flung together collections of stories or anthologies of articles, sheer prestige publications. A person's oeuvre swells from these prestige publications, and only the leaders of book publishing could say sincerely whose works gather dust in the warehouses, unable to be sold.

This proliferation of pseudo-works creates a false system of values. Barrenness masquerades as productivity. Because the trouble is not that the book of this or that author cannot be sold, rather it is that it is superfluous even if it can be sold. The prestige which has been born requires support, and this gives birth to further prestige publications in the form of patronage or partisanship.

The system of supports was consolidated as a powerful principle in cultural policy in order to help give life to real works. But it is enough to use in the practice of this correct principle methods which are alien to the system of cultural policy, and the correct ideal becomes its opposite--subsidies become favors and the desire to qualify can become protection.

Centralism

The entire system of the cultural structure was created in a period of excessive centralization. This is why there are only two literary publishing houses and one knowledge propagation publisher, this is why we have a "cultural distribution" in which the three large Budapest theaters still have intimate theaters. When the writer becomes exhausted in the struggle with these mammoth institutions, when he gives up on the methods of centralized book publication--then he tries to get into ateliers in which there is a decentralization or polycentrism promising a certain future. A writer does not write television plays, film scripts or newspaper articles because they pay better; the film

studio, television and the newspapers pay better because they are divided into independent units, because there are many of them, and so they are forced, in a way, to compete for the creative artists.

It may be that it would help if there were more book publishers. Little ones and big ones, those with profiles and those without. If some intimate theaters had independent companies, independent dramaturgy and direction, thus if there were an increase in the number of ateliers serving to publish and show works. The competition developing among them might aid a principled realization of support, in practice. More ideas and more thoughtful partisanship might nurse works to life. And might ensure more "independence" to the writer--in the service of that to which he has given his life.

The Independence of the Writer

It is as difficult to define literary independence as to define the amount of self-esteem necessary for literature, for creation. What is certain is simply that the strengthening of just literary self-esteem is not helped by insolent treatment, by the slowness with which works reach the public.

There is one component of literary self-esteem which the ancients called "genus irritabile vatum," or the property of sensitive kinship. Sensitivity actually means that the writer must stick to his principles without regard to anything or anybody. Sometimes he must make enemies, by criticizing, by speaking out, by defending his own works. Baudelaire called it the greatest luxury of the literary life, making enemies. It is a princely luxury.

The Hungarian writer of today can hardly permit himself this princely luxury. The writer cannot have a falling out with his publisher however long his work lies unpublished, because he can choose only between two publishers. He cannot have a falling out with his distributor, because he does not know who he is. He can hardly criticize his colleagues, because they will vote in the interest representation body concerning fees and honors. So the writer can sweep before every door but his own. He has, perhaps, a single solace--if he gets out of the water and reaches the shore, as in the example of Dr Johnson, then, if he is lucky, he may get so much support that he will be his only judge. Suddenly he enters that realm of "independence" where there are no obstacles before him. While he was in the water he had only enemies; on the shore he has only friends.

Even Baudelaire did not know what true luxury was. This is it, this unblessed situation. The author is the completely subservient "screw" for cultural "commodity production." Profit does not motivate the publisher, the distributor is independent of the publisher, and the mammoth theater companies do not need authors, they need managers.

In the process of the entire area of culture enjoys subsidies, at the price of serious material sacrifice. But the considerable blessings of this support do not always reach those for whom the entire system of support was created--the creator. And those who might finally enjoy the results of this support--the public--do not always share in these blessings.

Summing Up

So we have state subsidies; in principle the system of support protects culture from the false market character thereof. But two important motifs are frequently missing in the discussion of state support. The first is that culture receives this state support in order to produce cultural goods which cannot be expressed in market value. So its utility can be measured only at a theoretical level. The other is that in the present system of state support we have not developed in a sufficiently modern way a structure in which this support can be realized perfectly, true to the spirit thereof, with the least possible distortion. The present distribution of state support, the way in which it is used, still preserves the remnants of the structure of earlier economic planning, in the first place in its excessive centralization and in the second place in its uniformizing character, thus basing qualification beyond and short of the principles. A significant proportion of state support is consumed by the cultural bureaucracy, which makes incredible efforts in every single atelier to fulfill its obligations, but in a structure in which superfluous administration has swollen to an incredible degree.

So the writers are not demanding more money, if I understand correctly the scattered articles which package common problems with private complaints, rather they are demanding more rights in following the career of their works, demanding more commitment. So they can satisfy that patron from whom they received the commission. Let us call this partisan or supporter the reader, the viewer, the consumer. His true name has rather gone out of fashion. Let us call him--the people.

8984

CSO: 2500/343

ROMANIA

DECREE SETS CONSULAR FEES FOR CITIZENS, FOREIGNERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 65, 15 Jul 82 pp 1-4

[Decree of the Council of State on Setting Consular Fees]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Article 1. The issue of passports and other documents for crossing the state border, the granting of visas and the completion of other services by the diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other organs authorized to provide such services are subject to consular fees.

The list of consular services and the level of fees that are charged for these services are given in the appendix, which is an integral part of this decree.

Article 2. The consular fees shall be collected by direct payment, cancellation of consular stamp or in another manner as set by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance.

The diplomatic missions and the consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania shall collect the consular fees in the currency of the country of residence or in another free convertible currency.

Article 3. The calculation of consular fees charged by diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and also by the checking points for crossing the state border shall be made at the official rate with premium for noncommercial operations.

Article 4. In the event that under international conventions or agreements, to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is a signatory, the parties agreed differently from what is provided for in this decree, the provisions of those conventions or agreements shall be applied.

Article 5. Under bilateral understandings, there may be agreement, on a reciprocal basis, on reductions or exemptions of fees by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the approval of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Interior.

Article 6. Exempt from fees, on a reciprocal basis, are entry-exit and transit visas for representatives of states to international organizations and agencies or for their officials, and also for the members of their families.

Article 7. In the event that the consular fees set according to the provisions of this decree are lower than those set by other states, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs may, with the approval of the Ministry of Finance, set fees that correspond to those collected by the states involved, implementing the principle of reciprocity.

Article 8. This decree takes effect 15 days after the date of its publication in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA. On the same date, repealed are Decree No 424/1964 on Setting Consular Fees, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 10 of 13 August 1964, Decree No 479/1971 on Modification of Decree No 424/1964 on Setting Consular Fees, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 168 of 31 December 1971, and Decision No 1707/1971 of the Council of Ministers on Setting Consular Fees and Fees for Issue and Visa of Passports, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 168 of 31 December 1971.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 9 July 1982.
No 259.

Appendix

List of Consular Fees and Level of Fees

Chapter	Item	Designation of consular services	Fee	
			In lei	In percentages of value
1	2	3	4	5
A. Fees for passports				
	1.	Registration of the application for preparation of a passport or another document for crossing the state border or for extending their validity:		
	a.	Individual	65	
	b.	Collective, for each person	35	
	2.	Issue of a passport or of another document for crossing the state border:		
	a.	Individual	250	
	b.	Collective, for each person	125	
	3.	For subsequent registration of each child under 14 years of age in the passport or the document for the crossing of the state border by one of the parents or attendant	40	

B Fees for visas

1. Registration of the application of passport owners for granting or extension of the validity of the visas 65
2. Exit visa 900
3. Entry visa:
 - a. For Romanian citizens or former Romanian citizens who return definitively to this country or who, during a temporary stay in this country, have received the authorization to settle in the Socialist Republic of Romania 125
 - b. For foreigners 375
4. Entry-exit visa:
 - a. For a trip 150
 - b. For several trips 500
 - c. For tourists, one trip 75
5. Exit-entry visa:
 - a. Individual 125
 - b. Individual, that entitles to several trips 250
 - c. Collective, for each person 75
6. Transit visa:
 - a. Simple 75
 - b. Double 100

Note:

For a visa to interrupt transit a fee is due which is equal to the fee for a visa for tourists.
7. Application for obtaining foreign visas, one trip 25

Common note for chapters A and B:

- a. Contestations against the decisions taken by the organs responsible for the issue of passports and granting of visas are subject to the fees relating to the services requested, reduced 50%.
- b. For extension of the duration of the stay in this country or abroad, stated by the visas granted, the extension for other countries of visas and also of a change in the border point, 50% of the fee for obtaining the initial visas shall be charged.
- c. For extension of the duration of the stay in this country of foreigners come to the Socialist Republic of Romania with an exemption as to the entry-exit visa, there shall be the charge of the fee stipulated in Chapter B item 4, for a trip, provided that conventions, agreements or understandings did not stipulate otherwise.
- d. Exempt from payment of fees are preparation and issue of documents for crossing the state border and visas for Romanian owners of diplomatic passports.
- e. The fees for passports issued and visas granted to Romanian citizens staying abroad under special circumstances may be collected in lei in this country, with the approval of the head of the diplomatic mission or of the consular office.

- f. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the heads of diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania may, exceptionally, on a case-to-case basis, grant reductions in payment of fees for passports and visas.

C. Fees for notary papers and for services performed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania

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|---|-----|-----|
| 1. Drawing and certification of powers of attorney and authorizations, for each copy: | | |
| a. For administration of assets or completion of credit transactions | 150 | |
| b. Other powers of attorney or authorizations | 75 | |
| 2. Certification of signatures, including on the calling statements, provision of the exact date, for each document | | 25 |
| 3. Certification of the signature and seal, for each document, regardless of its nature | | 125 |
| 4. Certification of facts determined personally, for each paper | | 75 |
| 5. Issue of a certified copy of documents kept in the archives of diplomatic missions or consular offices, for each page or portion of page | | 50 |
| 6. Translations made by diplomatic missions or consular offices into or from the Romanian language, including certification of conformity with the original in the language from which the translation was done, for each page or portion of page | | 75 |
| 7. Checking of the translation, including certification of conformity with, against the original in the language from which the translation was done, for each page or portion of page | | 50 |
| 8. Assistance given for liquidation of inheritances, on the basis of the right of general representation of diplomatic missions or consular offices, according to the value of the inheritance transferred to this country: | 65 | |
| a. Up to 5,000 lei | | 2% |
| b. Up to 10,000 lei | | 3% |
| c. Up to 20,000 lei | | 4% |
| d. Up to 30,000 lei | | 5% |
| e. Up to 40,000 lei | | 6% |
| f. Up to 50,000 lei | | 7% |
| g. Over 50,000 lei | | |
| 9. Liquidation of inheritances directly by diplomatic missions and consular offices according to the value of the inheritance transferable to this country | | 7% |

Note :

The fees on items 8 and 9 shall be collected in the currency of the country where the inheritance is.

10. Attestation by diplomatic missions or consular offices of certificates of origin and control of goods, invoices and bills of lading, in light of the value of goods, for each copy:
 - a. For values up to 10,000 lei 30
 - b. Up to 20,000 lei 50
 - c. Up to 50,000 lei 125
 - d. Up to 100,000 lei 300
 - e. Up to 1,000,000 lei 750
 - f. Over 1,000,000 lei 900

Note:

The value in lei shall be calculated at the rate in lei for noncommercial transactions.

11. The attestation by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the commercial papers issued by Romanian foreign trade companies, for each copy 25

D. Other consular services performed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the diplomatic missions and consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania or other organs

1. Obtaining of any documents from this country or from abroad and the issue of a certificate containing the legal provisions of the marriage or adoption 75
 2. Issue of a custom certificate 125
 3. Safekeeping of papers, items or assets for one year or portion of a year, in light of value or volume and the assessment of the body providing the services 75-600
 4. Certification of the changes that occurred in the ships' crew lists 125
 5. Certification of the logbook, engineering log, radio-telegraph log and sea protest, for each visa 75
 6. Issue of temporary navigability permit for ships acquired or for which repairs were made abroad 125
 7. Registration for the application for identification of persons 50
 8. Registration of the application for the granting of Romanian citizenship 500
 9. Consular services for formalities on renouncing Romanian citizenship 3,000
 10. Registration of the application for clarification of citizenship 75
 11. Other consular services 125
- Common note for chapters A-D:
- a. The rate level for consular services under emergency conditions shall be set by the Ministry of Foreign and the Ministry of Finance
 - b. Travel expenses, telephone, telegraph or telex communications, mail correspondence, lawyer's fees and any other expenses generated by consular services shall be recovered separately from the fee involved.

- c. The Romanian state shall be exempted from consular fees for documents or services rendered to it, according to this decree, when acting in its own name for obtaining, safekeeping, utilization or protection of patrimonial rights.

11710

CSO: 2700

SOCIAL FACTORS OF RELIGIOUS PHENOMENON

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 82 pp 8-10, 44

/Article by Prof Dr Ion Dragan, Dr Ion Mihail Popescu and Univ Assistant Ilie Badescu:* "Social Factors in Religious Belief and Demands Upon Scientific-Materialist Education"/

/Text/ In our era the mystical-religious view of the world is undergoing, like society itself, a whole series of changes made in the attempt to adjust to present world conditions. Changes have been made in the social basis of the various religions and cults, older or newer, some of the most insidious strategies have been deployed to conserve religious beliefs and restrict the historical process of secularization of the world at the expense of religion, and new techniques and formulas have been pressed into service to perpetuate and disseminate mysticism and obscurantism, not the least of which is the proliferation of sectarian obscurantism and fanaticism. Religious phenomena and trends affect all societies in some way and to some extent, especially since the religions' universalist ambitions are perpetuated even today, while the "new" creeds and sects display an even more aggressive tendency to cross national boundaries and to gain positions and adherents in any part of the world. Knowledge of these phenomena, in their particular manifestations, is of scientific as well as social and practical importance. It is well known that more effective atheist education, as part of the process of developing the masses' socialist awareness and of educating and advancing the new man, is inseparable from knowledge of religious belief in all its aspects, in its evolution and great variety, and in its developmental trends. We feel this effort cannot be based solely on general aims and principles, however correctly and clearly defined, but must be aimed at distinct groups and categories of the population and, more than that, real individuals with their distinctive social and cultural characteristics and viewed in their particular living conditions, modes of thought and social expectations, just as consideration must be given to the successes and failures of human existence and the almost kaleidoscopic diversity of human individuality. Furthermore the fact must also be considered that religious belief, like any social phenomenon, is the result of interaction among individuals, social groups and various components of society as a whole, and that it is the expression of a multiple and complex social conditioning and causation.

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Knowledge of all these interactions and changes in the world of religion is becoming indispensable to an effective and necessarily far-reaching effort to combat obscurantism, mysticism and religious fanaticism and to form atheist attitudes. Atheist education should also benefit by interpretation and knowledge of the psychosocial mechanisms of mystical-religious attitudes and behavior, of religious convictions, and of the social-psychological functions of religious belief, which are in a process of rapid change, since they all can provide an explanation of religious belief under socialism and consequently useful suggestions for the better guidance of social action and educational activities.

Scientific knowledge of the religious phenomenon in Romania from a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary standpoint has become an urgent necessity in view of the requirements formulated by the RCP leadership and Nicolae Ceausescu for the radical improvement of scientific-materialist education of the masses, and it is encouraging to note that considerable progress has been made in that direction in recent years. This includes the Bucharest Sociological Research Center's efforts and contributions to specific study of the evolution of the religious phenomenon in various counties and areas of Romania and to evaluation of the effectiveness of scientific-materialist education of the masses and especially of youth. For instance, with the aid of the Propaganda Section of the RCP Central Committee and the county party committees the Sociological Research Center has made extensive field studies of the state of religious belief and the results of atheist educational work in 15 counties of Romania and in Bucharest. To illustrate the scope of these studies it is sufficient to say that the selective surveys (based on a questionnaire) alone reached over 12,000 respondents (persons between 17 and 37 years of age) selected according to the criteria of sampling by quotas. The field studies were made by composite brigades, jointly with researchers and teachers who are participating party and state activists, specialists in production in the respective areas and students, and they are accordingly a constructive result of research combined with social-political practice.

These extensive studies permitted an insight and a quantitative evaluation of the evolution of religious belief in each investigated county, as well as identification of the main shifts and trends in the state of religious belief in various social environments and of the distinctive religious characteristics according to areas, localities, social-professional categories and age groups (Maps were compiled of the intensity and diffusion of religious beliefs according to subareas, sects and population categories), and they all provide a scientific basis for differentiating atheist propaganda and cultural-educational programs according to the particular situations in each area.

As a generally significant result these studies bear out the conclusion that religious belief has taken a special form in Romanian society, having become a transitional religious phenomenon characterized by a number of traits. Thus it was found that the profound structural changes in the national economy and in the Romanian people's social-political and cultural-educational experience have given rise to an evolutionary trend toward atheism in broad categories of the population as an extensive result of liberation of large groups in all social classes and categories from mystical-religious ideas and practices. A process is also going on of significantly increasing religious indifference, as an

intermediate stage in the population's alienation from religious thinking, attitudes and assertions (and consequently from religious ideologies and beliefs), even if some such people still observe some religious practices at times. Yet a more general trend toward abatement of the intensity of religious belief is shown particularly by observance of religious customs or rituals without any profound religious convictions. Gradual secularization of some traditions and customs has become evident, as well as a return to their secular significance after centuries wherein religions lent them mystical meanings and exploited them to perpetuate themselves. Those processes are important to Romania's general socialist development and to the results of the policy of forming and developing the people's socialist awareness and creating a new human personality.

The studies pursued both a general and a differentiated evaluation of these processes and trends toward general decline of religious belief and abatement of its intensity in Romanian society, bringing out the varying degrees of their development from one area to another, from one population category to another, etc. To illustrate these conclusions, I note that the studies evaluated the "state" of religious belief from three points of view, namely atheistic religious behavior and practices, thinking about religion and attitudes toward it, the data from all counties showing a significant decline in religious belief in attitudes and ideology and consequently in intensity, and a commensurate development of atheist attitudes. But there are considerable discrepancies between behavior and attitudes and religious or atheist thinking. The higher proportions of persons participating in religious rites (most of them occasionally, or 57.40 percent of the total) are explained to a great extent by the power of tradition and custom (and that too is being secularized), in addition to the need for social contact, public display and social recognition felt particularly by children and youths, especially in rural localities, and largely indicative of the "compensatory" function of religion.

In Romanian socialist society the basic socioeconomic processes (the new kind of social and production relations, rapid urbanization and intensified social mobility) that have radically changed man's place in the world and the essentials of the human condition have profound disillusioning effects and are indicative of man's growing mastery of his own social existence, in addition to his increasing power over nature. But our studies also indicate that the same socioeconomic changes are generating secondary subprocesses maintaining favorable conditions for a secondary trend that may be defined as a trend toward "neosacralization." Therefore we can say that there are still a number of objective reasons for reproduction of religious belief on a clearly decreasing scale and for infiltration of new forms of religious affiliation such as the sectarian one. Under those circumstances it would be difficult to accept the view that religious beliefs and practices are merely a "residual" phenomenon under socialism, that is a mere remnant of past attitudes, the old social consciousness, and recollections of the past in the individual consciousness, and that consequently their roots are only subjective in the new society.

The following are among the causes and reasons for the persistence of religion in the present developmental stage of Romanian socialist society: contradictions; social inequalities and differences among people whose field of expression is being gradually restricted by the policy of harmonious and balanced development of Romanian society and by the processes of social leveling; incomplete satisfaction of some material and spiritual-emotional needs in this

period; presence of categories of people less involved in socialist society's mechanisms and processes of social integration and participation and in the programs for acculturation and political education; bad influence of religious tradition, because the religious dogmas, customs and rituals and the standards connected with them have been rooted in the social consciousness for millennia and it takes a long time to eradicate them; educational deficiencies of the main institutions with such functions, especially the family and schools; the still low scientific and cultural level of some categories of the population; and insufficient effectiveness of atheist propaganda and education in certain social milieus.

Socialist socioeconomic development is necessary but not sufficient to suppress religion as a social phenomenon. The presence of religious phenomena in socialism is explained, to be sure, by some "stigmata" inherited from capitalist society and originating in the "baseness of private ownership" as Marx put it, but it is also to be explained by some economic, social, political, moral and spiritual imperfections in this period of socialist construction. All those elements, which pertain to the objective socioeconomic conditions, are only prerequisites and potential factors for religious adherence. Their role as factors for perpetuating religion is steadily declining as compared with the role of the social-psychological factors. Therefore I think reproduction of religion, especially in the case of youth, is mainly due to some social-psychological conditions rather than any socioeconomic factors. In this way the world of values and morality, of the individual's consciousness and spiritual needs, and of culture and education becomes the main battleground between religion and atheism. Hence the increasingly important part played in the strategy for combatting religious mysticism and fetishism by the requirement to improve social and moral relations and social-spiritual experience in all groups and communities, by consistent promotion of socialist coexistence along with improvement in scientific-materialist education, and by more aggressive intolerance of any manifestations of mysticism and obscurantism. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "In political-educational work we must firmly combat obscurantism, any backward manifestations, and foreign ideas coming in from outside. We must resolutely cultivate the spirit of socialist justice and equity and of collaboration and friendly mutual aid among all members of society, and we must consistently promote the standards of socialist coexistence."

The radical restructuring of social existence and relations and of social organization and management in the process of socialist revolution and construction led to the destruction of the social roots of religion but without entirely eliminating the social sources of religious belief. "The social existence characteristic of the new order... does not generate religious awareness as in the societies of the past. Yet there are some areas of experience favorable to the religious phenomenon" (1). But in its entirety religion is wholly incompatible with the nature of socialist society and with the human condition in that society.

Elimination of the social causes of religion, total secularization of the world and its emancipation from religion constitute a relatively lengthy historical process. As Marx predicted, "In general the religious view of the real world cannot disappear until the relations in practical, everyday life become clear and rational relations among men and between men and nature" (2). That calls

for integration of atheist education in the overall task of development, improvement and structural reform of society and man's position in the world until socialist humanism is fully asserted as practical, real humanism.

In combining social action with our educational work we think consideration should be given to the shifts that have taken place in the evolution of the religious phenomenon, the original elements of its evolution (some in Romania especially), the revisions made by the traditional religious sects, and particularly the subtle methods to which the sectarian organizations resort in their proselyting efforts. Those developments present new and special problems in combatting religious obscurantism and also in the guidance and differentiation of atheist education. We must consider the fact that in their activities the religious sects focus their attention in two directions, that of "social integration" of the man of modern society, who is often in difficulties with social adjustment and integration in a society undergoing extraordinarily rapid changes, and that of "illusory compensation."

But in analyzing the religious phenomenon of today more consideration should be given to its existential aspects, or the way the religion is "lived," because as one sociologist says that is not in the nature of thought and even less of philosophy but in the nature of emotions, feelings and exaltation. If it were not, the process of forming the modern man and the modern society would rather lead automatically and directly to total elimination of the old consciousness, saturated with magical-religious notions. The real world was duplicated and permeated by an entirely imaginary world because of men's inability to conceive of and live their social and personal lives rationally from the start. Religion is more and more a "way of living life," or rather an experience in living life in an illusion, and not just a way of thinking.

The shift of the center of gravity of religious belief to the areas of axiology, psychology and moral feelings of the personality is most graphically illustrated by the proliferation of new sects and of the sectarian phenomenon especially. The changed interpretations of the systems of beliefs, the subtle attempts to modernize the dogmas and simplify the rituals and ceremonies, and the clever and often clandestine means of persuasion, pressure and sometimes of repression employed by the religious organizations to adjust their organizational systems to the economic, social and spiritual structures of contemporary society are not without their effects. Failure to recognize this fact, which has become apparent in the last two decades especially, is impairing the whole atheist educational effort.

But reproduction of religion under the present circumstances is becoming more and more a phenomenon that feeds upon the deceptive substance of the actions of the sects, religious propaganda, and sectarian proselyting. The field studies made by the collective of the Sociological Research Center permitted quantitative evaluation of some trends in the evolution of the religious phenomenon, the new methods of proselyting, and some new and particularly harmful trends in the actions of some denominations and sects, making it possible to bring out the intensification of religious education by all sects, extension of the tentacles of proselyting in the ranks of youth by catechizing and other forms of persuasion, increased efforts to harvest intellectuals and to "intellectualize" the personnel and members of sects, intensified proselyting drives in services

and other fields with close and frequent social contacts, refinement and multiplication of some sects' cultural strategies, maintenance of superstitions among the less educated population, and exploitation for the benefit of religion of the "cases" and hopeless situations in which some people find themselves, or practices of aggravated and dehumanizing bigotry and fanaticism to which some sectarians resort.

Exploitation of the various social, cultural and psychological factors in social experience and difficult social and human situations to perpetuate mysticism and obscurantism takes the form of a characteristic pattern of "neosacralization" that can be called the "religious approach" and is practiced by the sectarian religions especially.

In their religious approach the sects develop their own "ideological-religious programs" involving an obviously illusory restructuring of the human condition and a new human dimension that the sect promises the adherent. Analysis of these programs reveals the compensatory nature of the religious belief and the danger that mysticism will block the search for real solutions to social dysfunctions by orienting the social groups of adherents or sympathizers toward isolation from the world (introversionist sects), or toward ecstatic experience instead of facing the contradictions of real life (conversionist sects of the Pentecostal type), or toward an aggressive-millennarian attitude like the transformational approach of other sects. In this way the sect provides a grotesque caricature of man's active condition as it appears in the rituals of some sects.

In order to attract recruits, some sects' approach also includes characteristic appeals for a "lay" social aid action. They are often presented as "associations specializing in collective efforts" for social aid: material mutual aid of their members, aid at work, or aid to newcomers to the community. They use this approach (combination of religious services with "social aid" programs) as a propaganda medium: aid to the ill, the destitute, lonely housewives etc.

We find some changes in the nature of the sects' religious approach compared with the period between the wars. The population's migratory trends have led to a new kind of sectarian evolution (The sects are starting to proliferate along the commuter routes, for example). Some denominations and sects are becoming predominantly "urban" and others rural. Some show feminizing trends (especially among housewives) and others "rejuvenating" trends. Most of them are established more intensively in commuting communities and areas. Of course knowledge of these developments and social differentiations is important to improvement of the educational effort.

In the process of attracting youth some denominations and sects use clever devices and subtle motivations or sometimes resort to inhuman and degrading practices. In the investigated counties their techniques of persuasion take the following open or concealed forms: promising to cure incurable or hardly curable diseases, collection, sometimes abusive, of "charitable contributions" and "gifts to the church," violation of the legal standards for religious education of children and youth in special programs supported both in and outside of sect institutions, organization of cultural-artistic groups, units and activities, etc.

Of course to counter these trends it is necessary to organize the effort toward general humanist-revolutionary and scientific-materialist education of youth from a new and dynamic perspective free of any routine, formal, barren and standardizing elements, to exploit the educational function of the labor groups and youth organizations, and to coordinate the educational programs with the youths' real needs and expectations.

The need of ceremony and social contacts partly explains the presence and interest of groups of youth in the religious institutions and their rituals. It is clear that these phenomena cannot be viewed lightly, treated superficially or even neglected. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly pointed out, it is a major obligation of our whole society to bring up a vigorous youth of great intellectual and moral strength, irreconcilable with the compromises and formulas of a deceptive life, free of any traces of mystical religious thought, a sincere champion of the scientific-materialist conception of the world, and inspired by the ideals of the RCP's revolutionary thinking.

Our studies emphasized the category of those with a "transitional religious belief" or one of "religious indifference." This category of the population is chiefly characterized by the break between outward show of religious belief (occasional and ostensible participation in some rituals) and inner conviction of it (religious thinking, states of mind, attitudes). These persons occasionally accept some religious standards without attaching purely religious significance to them but rather a traditional one, transforming the religious rules and standards into elements and forms of cultural tradition.

Since large categories of the population are latently oriented toward atheism, they must be given particular and constant attention in educational work and protected from the snares of religious proselyting. We feel that from the social point of view prevention of religious education of children and youth, their indoctrination in the spirit of atheism and humanism, and atheist education of those in transitional stages between religious belief and a secular conception are the points to be emphasized in scientific-materialist educational work. We regard continued desacralization and secularization of traditions as highly important in this connection. Moreover several studies indicate that the power of traditions and customs is primarily important in individual perceptions of the maintenance of religion, followed in decreasing order of importance by other factors: influence of family, relatives and friends, activity of the sects, and inadequacies in atheist educational work.

The studies also showed that most of the sects prefer to exploit the ages of childhood and early youth (periods of the most intensive religious influence in the individual's life) in their proselyting efforts. Several surveys indicated that in about 70 percent of the cases the youths came in contact with the religious beliefs in the preschool period or in the first school years, the contact having been arranged by parents and grandparents. Therefore it is logical to strengthen educational work on the level of the family, schools and childrens and youths organizations and to find forms of education suited to the young age groups that can prevent infiltration of religious indoctrination and influences.

Avoiding limitation of scientific-materialist educational work to an abstract and general "illuminist" action confined to the patterns of sterile and insipid

scholasticism, divorced from practical experience and the real needs, questions and concerns of the living individual, or even based upon the standards of dry "scientism" is a prime necessity for improving the quality, reception and effectiveness of all educational work. We think that in this field too attainment of a high educational effectiveness, prevention of the effects of "illusory compensation" that come from religious proselyting, and reinforcement of the formative power of atheist education are inseparable from observance of some essential requirements.

In the first place the work of the educator and the propagandist must be constantly reinforced by practical action, on the principles of Romanian revolutionary morality and humanism, on the part of all those with the authority and power to make decisions on all levels of social, economic and political activity, from the foreman and shop chief to the enterprise director and the responsible elements in all socioeconomic units and all institutions, and from the secretary of the youth, trade-union or party organization to the mayor of the community and the members of the local and central management organs. They are all called upon to help resolve these more complex and more difficult cases and situations in some peoples' lives. Otherwise the sects and the various denominations can infiltrate with dissimulated cleverness.

This activity, in its design, content and organization, should serve not only the needs for information and abstract thought but also some general-spiritual and emotional needs such as those for emotional communication and commitment and the noble, romantic impulses of youth, lending the richest possible content to everyone's intellectual life.

The mass educational and cultural programs must be regularly supplemented with some for smaller groups, especially those of labor and daily life, and with the methods of "individualized" and "personalized" education in order to meet the whole range of requirements, expectations, needs and aspirations of individuals in their great diversity. Some human solicitude is also needed in all the desperate cases, crucial situations, moments of hesitation, acute anxiety and distress, and unusual circumstances in which the individual temporarily finds himself in order to help him overcome them without resorting to the pseudosolutions frequently offered by religion at such times.

And finally, further emphasis must be placed on the moral aspects of practical experience and living and working relationships, in the effort to establish relations of truly friendly mutual aid in all communities and to promote the spirit of justice and equity in all areas of Romanian social experience.

Backward and mystic ideas can be effectively prevented and opposed on the permanent basis of all workers' active and creative participation in the social, political and intellectual activity of Romanian society, so that every citizen will figure as a fully knowledgeable builder of a new and truly humane society.

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SOCIETY'S EXPECTATIONS OF EDUCATION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 82 pp 11-13

[Article by Reader Dr Vasile Miftode, Iasi: "What Does Society Expect of Education?"]

[Text] Reader Dr Ioan Jinga's study entitled "What Do Schools Expect of Pedagogical Research To Improve Education of Youth," ERA SOCIALISTA No 3, 1982, has opened up more extensive discussion of the highly urgent problems treated, which cannot fail to interest the educational worker.

Examination of the educational process, evaluation and revaluation of the factors and mechanisms operative in the field of education of the new man and youth, intensified revolutionary education and improvement of socialist awareness are priorities of the present stage. Now we must emphasize the further rise of the level of knowledge and raise the level of political-ideological awareness and the cultural level of the Romanian people, as Nicolae Ceausescu said in pointing out that development of the entire people's socialist awareness is one of the vital tasks in the effort to build the fully developed socialist society.

Romanian society accords the schools a major role in forming the young generation's personality and in its communist education. Education of children and all youth by work and for work is one of the main ways these important institutions accomplish their mission. To be sure noteworthy successes can be recorded in that respect, but it is equally true that much remains to be done to accomplish a task of evident social importance. Unfortunately red tape and the bureaucratic spirit have made some headway in this field. Cultivation of the economic spirit and exploitation or collection of material resources "bean by bean" are often seen as efforts in themselves to fulfill some "financial plans" "by any means" (often quite uneducational ones). Instead of organizing real programs to collect scrap iron (in industrial areas, near construction sites, etc.), paper, glass, porcelain etc. in the residential districts and in other urban or rural areas, some school administrations and some professors and teachers prefer, under the pressure of "the plan figures," to ask the children for such materials directly from the homes of their parents (who exploit them anyway via the system of specialized units) or they request money to cover the value of the plan for scrap iron, glass etc. so that those objects do not pass

through the children's hands. Of course such practices have nothing in common with education or the generally accepted pedagogic principles. Habituated in this way, the children will believe that later on, when they are grown, they will be able to employ similar procedures in reportioned and "adjusted" forms.

Similar problems are presented by the way productive experience in some schools and faculties, instructive projects in school workshops etc. are organized and conducted. Under such circumstances how could pedagogic research help political-educational activity, which can only proceed on the principle that the result of labor or the school financial plan is a means of education by work and not an end in itself? It goes without saying that pedagogic research should help to improve the school system, to enhance the educators' sense of responsibility, to exploit the Romanian schools' traditions, and to adequately perform the current educational tasks.

Social evolution, the information explosion, the scientific-technical revolution and the radical changes in the various "segments" of socioeconomic activity require corresponding changes in education and in the school system especially, but we are not making enough effort toward true renovation. We have much to say about "new forms of instruction," "new instruments of evaluation" of school work, improvement of school programs, "restructuring the education plans," "perfecting selection" of personnel, "revamping the high schools," and "intensifying practical training" of pupils and students, etc. They are good formulas, but sometimes they do not actually reflect a dynamic and objective state but a "state of inertia." The dialectics of development requires "areas of rest," of reflection and of careful analysis of the experimental data and of the consequences and phenomena that occur in school life and in educational work in general. If "the change is continuous," we cannot surface the factors and consequences involved in this field and therefore we cannot forecast the developments.

It is natural to go on militating for modernization of the school system and of education as a whole. But I do not think it is enough to change the name of a high school, to replace the term "general cultural high school" with "industrial high school" or "agroindustrial high school," or to modernize the scholastic plans and programs by introducing "the most technical" subjects and disciplines possible with the "newest possible" titles or the most ostentatiously practical ones as possible in order to achieve an effective instructive-educational modernization. First it is important to train the personnel and produce the material resources to secure such an evolution of the educational system. Experience tells us that the old often reappears in the new forms adopted by the schools (under the new names of subjects or disciplines of instruction), while the new makes its way under the traditional designations. It seems we pay too much attention to form and quantity to the detriment of the content and quality of instructive-educational work in schools and faculties. How many hours of experience specified in the plans of the specialized high schools, which take up a large quota of the budget of school time, are actually spent? How many are effective on the levels of instruction properly speaking and of mastery of the trade? How many disrupt the productive process in enterprises because of faulty organization? The various surveys made at the places of experience revealed negative, dysfunctional aspects recorded in the daily press

and technical journals. I recall the case of a professor of Romanian literature from the regions of Vaslui who was assigned to supervise the pupils' "technical training" and sometimes to "cover" the hours of "resistance of the materials" or other such hours. Upon finding such phenomena, which unfortunately still occur, we might wonder whether "An hour of Latin would not have been more effective, even practically speaking, than an hour of... badly organized experience." Actually, during the idle periods when the pupils were chattering in the yards of the enterprises waiting to leave they could have supplemented their traditional but absolutely necessary "general culture" by studying history, geography or the general-human creations, including aesthetics, philosophy and logic in addition to the fundamental of physics, chemistry, mathematics or biology.

The current practice of complete promotion of the pupils, actually regardless of the degree of understanding and assimilation of the disciplines, especially in the compulsory general school system, cannot ensure the quality of scholastic preparation, the quality of material production later on, the "educational" output required by the demands of the scientific-technical revolution, or the productive output to meet the ever growing requirements of Romanian socialist society. I. Jinga writes, "Complete promotion of pupils is sometimes viewed with suspicion and provokes many discussions among educators, parents and public opinion." I think those discussions and that suspicion have a real basis and that it is not the marks that count, which are often (unfortunately too often) given under pressure or at the behest of instructions concerning "completeness" or "100 percent promotability," but the actual volume of knowledge and especially the extent of the education and instruction acquired, and not the graduation of a given class (not even for the baccalaureate, which has been considerably devaluated lately) but success on examinations "for classification" of the values (competitive entrance examinations, competitions for positions, etc.), the evaluation of educational success or failure, and especially success in life and in productive work on the material or cultural-scientific level in confrontation with problems presented by life and experience.

Elimination of the "scholastic failure" is a major aim of Romanian society, very liberal and humane for the individual and the community to which he belongs. It is in the interest of society and of the individual to eliminate it according to the highest standards, real and not presupposed standards. How high were the standards in the schools "with 100 percent promotability" whose pupils received mostly failing or quite mediocre marks in some disciplines when they were given an objective or rather "neutral" test? How exacting can the professors be who themselves received failing marks on the degree, improvement or retraining examinations? What standard can be maintained where "The pupils are convinced that the school has to pass them from one grade to another"? Or where the failed students themselves say with the honesty and candor characteristic of their age, "If you can be promoted without learning, why learn?" Or where the exacting professors who apply the pedagogic principles tested over thousands of hours in judging and evaluating scholastic preparation are criticized and judged as incompetent and unsatisfactory?

It is not difficult to determine what the consequences of such standards are for the educated and for those in the center of educational work. The pupils used to receiving marks without learning are the most undisciplined, arrogant and difficult to integrate in a community, which manifestations will certainly

persist after graduation and will disrupt the labor collectives to which they will be assigned. This explains the mediocre and less than mediocre results on the entrance examinations for higher education, which are significant and objective enough to cause concern and sound "an alarm signal" concerning the quality of scholastic preparation. For example 864 candidates (over 80 percent of the industrial high schools) failed to occupy all 145 places at the Iasi Faculty for Constructions because only 107 candidates obtained an average of 5 (more precisely, only 12 percent of the registered candidates obtained averages of 5 or above, and the faculty had to arrange a new entrance examination in fall. About 70 percent of the candidates received marks of 1 and 2 on at least one of the tests -- mathematics and physics). Similar situations, with very low marks, also obtain at other faculties: chemistry, agriculture, law etc. If most candidates (from the specialized high schools particularly) obtain such results in the disciplines for which they were "specially" and preferentially trained in high school, we can wonder what marks they will receive in the other disciplines (the polytechnic candidates in biology, history, philosophy etc. and the candidates for the humanities faculties in mathematics, physics, chemistry etc.). Of course the phenomenon is explained by the profound, latent and "long-range" consequences of promotion at any price. A sociological survey reveals that one "problem pupil" (four failures, 70 absences and six demerits) has every confidence that he will finish high school "well." When questioned about his scholastic situation he is calm, smiling and certain that anyway "The comrade professors know what they have to do." To eliminate such situations, coaching, consultations and other actions are organized with which the statistics and activity reports are supplemented, but they are attended only by those interested, the good and active pupils. The problem of mediocrity is a basic one requiring measures that will lead to a true education and formation of the pupil's sense of responsibility for his own work, a trait that cannot be inculcated in the child without a correct, fair and differentiated evaluation of the results he achieves by his own efforts. Complete promotion, at least in the present stage, is incompatible with any such education and acquisition of those qualities. In a school with 99 percent promoted but with thousands of absences from classes and with pupils under investigation by the police organs for anti-social acts, it cannot be said that the "index of success" in terms of marks and complete promotions can be satisfactory or provide a responsible basis for evaluating the educational-instructive work.

Views "that elimination of repetition in primary education and its reduction in gymnasium and high school education are impossible without concessions in the quality of the pupils' training and without ignoring deficiencies in that training" are not only justified, as I. Jinga concludes, but are regularly confirmed, unfortunately, by the results in many educational units. Quite rightly, there is a lack of confidence in what I could call "the methodology of complete promotion" in the form in which it is practiced today, and not in the parents' legitimate wish to see their children promoted or the professors' wish to record maximum percentages of promotability.

Theoretically speaking, the new conception of the relationship of the educator to the educated and especially of the individual, differentiated "treatment" to be applied to pupils (according to psychophysical traits, level of assimilation of knowledge, "rate and capacity for learning," interest in study, and family conditions) is a modern one suited to achievement of an optimal education. But

if we consider the large number of pupils (often in the hundreds) with whom one professor in a given discipline must work, we wonder if such an idea (very liberal, humanistic and with great pedagogic potentials) can be optimally applied. The same professors must work with both the "backward" pupils and the "advanced" ones who want to understand the phenomena and problems of the world more thoroughly and rapidly. Do we have the right to sacrifice the work, talent and enthusiasm of the diligent and disciplined children deeply interested in advancing in some field of science or culture to eliminate some "scholastic failure" when we find that actually the failure is postponed at best, to recur much more painfully under other circumstances, and when very little can be done to correct it? Is it not better to accept the possibility of such mishaps, especially in the first school years, and set up special programs for immediate recovery in order to avoid prolonging the recorded failures beyond the cycle of the respective education? In that way every scholastic cycle will be able to recover the responsibility for "its own scholastic results," and the professors will no longer be able to explain poor professional results of the educated by "transfer" of pupils "in a state of scholastic failure" from the lower to the higher cycles.

We opt for maintenance of a constant level of scholastic preparation (preferably a maximum level) that will function (by means of suitable methods and mechanisms for evaluation) as a barrier between levels and cycles of education and as a form of classification and selection of the values. The baccalaureate examination used to serve that purpose. At present, according to a widespread opinion including that of some great scientific figures with a long pedagogic experience, the baccalaureate no longer performs its functions and is not of particular interest any more because it no longer arouses "any emotion" in the candidate, who is usually promoted "with little effort" and brings about his own devaluation by what I might call "the inflation of diplomas." The only examinations achieving a real selection and classification of the values and able to function as reference systems in evaluating school work are the entrance examinations and not all of those, but only the ones taken by a significant number of candidates, with extensive competition, results covering all levels of training, and applicants from various high schools.

Setting minimum compulsory standards of knowledge for cycles of education is recommended. We wonder what standards could be set to measure the capacity for independent thinking, synthesis and analysis, generalization and abstraction, and overcoming the "state of being under age" in receiving and processing information (that last standard being operative in the last grades of high school, when the youths are "approaching full age") when the pupils no longer study logic or psychology or when they no longer study grammar or mathematics in depth. It can be said that the frequent temporary scholastic failures also originate in the pupils' difficulties in learning and applying the rules of correct thinking, in structuring their own personalities, in forming and "maturing" their own working method, and in cultivating the spirit of initiative and creativeness, which are true educational dimensions that cannot be formed without the "intervention" and joint action of the traditional and modern humanistic and technical disciplines.

Experience in education brings out the importance and "power" of education through culture, without which education by work becomes ineffective and atheist education almost impossible. Some scholastic disciplines are aimed primarily

at formative objectives (They discipline behavior and the personality, regulate thoughts and mold the mind), while others are aimed particularly at informative objectives. But both ultimately achieve education through culture and by means of it they open up broad prospects for achievement of all other kinds of education. Therefore inspired measures are required for successful training of people with a high level of culture and knowledge and clear and creative thought who can perform tasks but also conduct or determine programs of action and think "with their own heads."

It is found that the graduates of industrial high schools, even in admission to the technical faculties, where they are "on their own ground," as I would say, obtain poorer results than the graduates of other schools (especially in comparison with the high schools for mathematics and physics, which offer all the faculties including the humanistic ones the candidates with the best chances of success). Those findings confirm our hypothesis about the importance of education through culture in forming the personality. A careful analysis indicates that the prestigious high schools, where all disciplines receive the same attention from professors and pupils, offer the best candidates for the various faculties (from agriculture to medicine, philosophy to electrical engineering, etc.). When the industrial high schools teach Romanian literature, history, geography or biology, not to mention mathematics and physics, and they receive the same attention as in the other high schools (especially those for mathematics and physics), their graduates will show comparable good results on the various tests and examinations.

Therefore I think that before he is adjusted to the curriculum of the specialized high school the mathematics professor at that high school should know mathematics and have the didactic resources to transmit it to the pupils, and the professor of history, geography or Romanian literature should master the subject matter and didactic procedures well enough to succeed in arousing the pupils' interest in those subjects without lowering their standing in the eyes and conception of the educated. Moreover the pupil of an industrial high school should master the fundamentals of the technological disciplines (physics, chemistry, mechanics etc.). In that way we would provide the pupils with a good preparation both for productive work and for their professional advancement.

Improvement of educational-instructive work and of the real effectiveness of Romanian education requires careful exploitation of the traditions of the Romanian schools, especially in determining the education plans and achieving education by work; review of the criteria for evaluating didactic work and especially complete promotability; determination of methods for objective and equitable evaluation reflecting the entirety of scholastic work and favoring improvement of the results of the activity in the whole educational system; opposition to the trends toward overloading the education plans and programs and toward superficial "modernization" of the productive disciplines and experience; compulsory professional pedagogic training of all those working in education (including the craftsmen, teaching engineers etc.); and reintroduction of the "traditional" baccalaureate, with tests in all the basic disciplines and "external commissions" (in other localities) in order to provide Romanian youth with a really comprehensive training and to achieve education through culture as a basis for performing all other scholastic tasks and preparing the youths for life and work according to the requirements for development of Romanian socialist society.

EXTENT, LIMITATIONS OF POLITICAL ARGUMENT DISCUSSED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1645, 11 Jul 82
pp 22-24

[Article by Professor Nenad I. Kecmanovic]

[Text] There is no doubting the fact that well-known Yugoslav politicians are beginning to air their differences in public dialogue; that phenomenon is accompanied by its essential limitations.

"The sham that even responsible people must present a uniform stand has been dropped. On the contrary, they are presenting differing opinions in public dialogue." We are not citing this declaration by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov in a discussion with foreign correspondents because it reveals something new. That our Yugoslav politicians have many disagreements on many concrete matters offers no special dilemma. The dilemma relates to evaluating this hitherto unknown phenomenon of our public life, which was unheard of a few years ago. Grlickov's obviously positive approach is interesting in the fact that it emerges from what might be called a rather widespread atmosphere of concern and displeasure.

Publicly manifested pluralism of individual viewpoints by Yugoslav political leaders, which not uncommonly culminates in direct disagreements and sharp polemical confrontations, in the opinion of many has a negative impact on the mood of the general populace as it is spread by the media. Disintegration occurs both in regard to concrete determinations and in direct actions. Doubts spread about the unity of the leadership and there is confusion about practical directives, concern about the highest authority, and disorientation about the final position on many unresolved problems. The worst, however, is that such a capriciously colored political climate, which the average working man and common citizen characterizes as "to each his own" or "like horns in a sack," coincides in time with the period right after Tito's death and with urgent, exceptionally difficult socioeconomic difficulties.

At least part of public opinion finds not only a consequence, but also the impetus for many of our Yugoslav problems in the divergent views of domestic politicians. Thus, it seems that the first and not least important link in the chain of current difficulties (could be broken?) by eliminating

energetically all those factors that are disturbing, demoralizing and immobilizing for the public, including the endless and unpromising liberalist exhibitions at political and scientific gatherings and in the press, radio and television. If in the public debates before party congresses we have always tolerated somewhat more, freer expressions, then in the period after congress we should put a stop to it.

The fact that our politicians have begun to think in different ways and to show their differences to one another and the rest of us without hesitation and aloud shows, as we note from the opening quote, in totally contradictory positive assessments. The people comment that it is very nice indeed that today a growing number of national representatives think with their own heads, and we can clearly perceive how much each has in his or her head. Finally, individuals have begun to come out to the light of the political stage from behind the sound curtain of chorus repetition of joint positions, about which we already know everything from the way they were formulated to who first advocated them. If because of many objective and subjective reasons neither the delegate or the party base can even approach completely and directly the formulation of either an overall policy or an LCY policy, then at least we know what and how our elected representatives are expressing themselves on these issues.

Some of those leaders are exceptionally convincing both in the form and the content of their loud contemplations, and so they gain authority and public support. For some, the exact opposite is true. As the data collected by the informational political weekly DANAS show, quite a few political professionals for diverse reasons sit out their entire term in office quietly meditating to themselves, bringing us (and not just "in confidence") to ask ourselves just how and why they were sent to those positions. It is also possible mutely to observe how others make agreements at the base. If these people are truly otherwise honest people who impress one by their practical behavior and who are merely quiet by nature, such as those about whom Branko Mikulic spoke at the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Congress, then it is simply a shame that we do not return them to associated labor organizations. Naturally, that in no way means that the reverse is true, and that leading bodies are the proper place for those who captivate by the resolve of their written and spoken addresses, but not by their everyday personal example and consistency.

The public confrontation of our politicians' opinions thus makes it possible for us to establish who thinks well and who poorly, and who does not think at all; this is an essential prerequisite of a democratic personnel policy.

A Positive Result

The increased political sophistication of workers' and citizens' self-management in the unconcealed struggle of opinion of government and party paid representatives finds as its democratic minimum open alternatives of individual selection and, as its democratic maximum, wide latitude for personal involvement. As Jovan Miric puts it: "A system which is assured in advance of the outcome of every political act, even the least significant one,

because "regulations" have determined its goal, course and participants, pretends to absolute control by that policy and cannot be called democratic. Where everything is certain and known in advance, indifference and apathy reign." "The removal of the veil" did not accidentally coincide with the unheard-of interest of the masses in political events, particularly if we keep in mind the expansion of the press. Despite the ever growing numbers of editions, which are increasingly expensive and, due to the paper shortage, constantly smaller in volume, total circulation continues to grow. From the podium of the LCY Central Committee, Joze Smole has asserted that our press is among the best in the world. The illustration perhaps would not be completely understandable if we did not recall that this did not happen by expanding light, entertaining features in the political information media, but on the contrary, by politicizing the review press. The justified criticism of some excessive journalistic failures seems to have missed a very significant positive result.

No small part of the space that traditionally would be reserved for stupidly arranged biographies of goal scorers, rock stars and TV sentinels, pornography, criminal stories, horoscopes and crossword puzzles, in our tabloids has been recently filled with current issues in domestic politics. We are speaking of publications that are commercially motivated to satisfy the taste of the broadest public, so that this change unambiguously indicates that the literary needs of the average man are evolving. A significant number of our citizens and workers, who used to read the so-called serious press from the back, i.e., the radio and TV programs, movie schedules, obituaries, want ads, sports and then stop, now are reading the paper beginning with the front page. The society, which for more than 30 years has dreamed of all becoming active subjects of public life, with that being not just the right and obligation but the primary internal need of every individual, has lived to see its people fill their valuable leisure time by reading political texts!

Presentations Vary

Finally, the unconcealed conflicts, and at times divergent presentations of an ever greater number of renowned officials can be placed from Grlickov's summary in the context of the period following Tito's death and the crisis of our socioeconomic stability. Recently Lazar Mojsov spoke of a certain commodity that has been present in the League of Communists for some years "which emerged from the realization that in key matters of ideological battle, the renowned historical leaders of our revolution would contemplate, suggest and find solutions, and we would then implement them. We became accustomed to the fact that Comrade Tito would say his word about everything." During the lives of Tito, then Kardelj, the highest government and party leaders could rely in the highest degree on the creative genius of the first people of the movement, from whom came all significant ideas and initiatives, before whom all internal dissent was resolved, who communicated directly with the masses and could always count in advance on the support of popular consensus. Changed circumstances, however, require that preparation, publicizing and popularizing and implementation, beginning with the highest level of the political structure, be replaced by much greater individual contributions and public testing and evaluation.

At the same time, today's critically complex conditions, which resulted from external difficulties and domestic failures, urgently demand a switch from the most convenient intellectual and opportunistic careerist repetition and monotonous variation of generally known and accepted strategic principles that have not been changed since the days of the Anti-Fascist Council for National Liberation of Yugoslavia.

Even today, no one has a serious basis for bringing those ideas into question, but we must move onto the slippery terrain of confronting new, unresolved problems. We require a great deal of individual effort, knowledge, intelligence, bravery and trust from below in order to approach effective solutions. There continuity cannot entirely replace innovation, or as it was put at the 12th Congress: "Precisely in the name of continuity, we must change the present situation fundamentally."

Territorial Limitations

Thus if earlier practices wherein politicians spoke in unison have not only disappeared, but we assess that as a positive change, does it mean that now the situation in the society, at least in that regard, is completely in order? Unfortunately, no. It is spoiled by a number of limitations and dilemmas.

Firstly, it is not hard to notice that our prominent leaders are openly demonstrating differences of opinion only regarding federal issues, but not at all, or at least almost never when they should, on matters that enter the realm of their home republic or province. Regarded from a regional political angle, our political professionals behave very homogeneously, while from an overall Yugoslav perspective they are very heterogeneous. Thus the differentiation in viewpoints is much more territorially limited than personally colored. Considering the indicated limitations it would probably be more adequate to say that the veil has been dropped from the notion that our federal units must present a unified front, but responsible people continue to retain their old masks. The veil has only fallen at the federal government level, descending to the level of republic or province governments. Instead of a single unified veil, we have gotten eight different ones, but the masquerade has continued as before in essence. We would invite anyone who does not believe that to join us in an interesting intellectual experiment!

Imagine at least one Bosnian politician who would say that, because of stabilization, they should reconsider holding the winter Olympics, or one Slovenian who would advocate reconsideration of the rationality of the existence of Slovenian language courts, or not more than one Serb who believes that he should support Kronja's candidacy for director of BORBA, or let's say at least one person from Kosovo who would be inclined toward the hypothesis that by its dramatic reporting from that province, the Belgrade press had contributed to smashing irredentism, or a Montenegrin who would openly think that the material damages from the earthquake were exaggerated. By this we certainly do not wish to say that it would be justified for politicians from the indicated locales to doubt or contemplate even one of

these matters! God protect me! Yet it is interesting that, as we know, these same things did come to the minds of their colleagues from brotherly republics and provinces.

Does that somewhat cloud the view for everyone as they look from the other side of the neighbor's fence, because they simply do not know the situation as well from there, while the vista clears completely when they look at their own locality, which of course, they know as well as the back of their hand? Or is it precisely the opposite: we can judge everyone else without burdens or risks, but about our own affairs, in no way can we judge? For one's own (republic or province) ambience is the one that appoints, elects, proposes, advances, nominates, returns to office, or delegates every politician from the opstina to the federal level. What do other parts of Yugoslavia think about him?

"The one who cuts the hair gets the salt on his tail." Even if (the other republics) criticize him for something, they are only doing him a favor because they will provoke stubbornness in his fellow contrymen, or as someone put it more scientifically, a "defense mechanism." Thus he who thinks to live by the political profession should not be headstrong, should not stick his neck out or "fly in front of the public." He dare not "fire from the hip" or by his individual viewpoints, violate sacred republic or province local patriotism. In truth, the compensation for his stealth in that regard awaits him in Belgrade, where in federal bodies of all types an open battle of opinion is under way. It is almost as if we could say that we have democracy in Yugoslavia, but centralism in the republics and provinces.

The Collective Official

How can we explain that? Are the actual interests of the republics and provinces internally non-contradictory, while at the same time, at the federal level they diverge completely, so that it is truly difficult for their elected representatives to reach a Yugoslav synthesis? On the other hand, is it more likely that by weakening central statism and parallel strengthening of republic and province government, a political climate has been created that is much more democratic at the federal level, more elastic than in any of its 6 + 2 constituent government bodies, which offer less latitude for the expression of pluralism by socialist self-management subjects? Or perhaps the essence is only in the fact that at all levels and in all sectors, we Yugoslavs lack rationally thought-out, scientifically grounded solutions that would give optimal answers to all concrete questions regardless of the degree to which they conflicted with this or that local vested interest? This "trilemma" could be formulated more simply.

Is the problem in the fact that our politicians objectively cannot, or subjectively will not, or finally, subjectively objectively are incapable of finding effective solutions to the problems that have arisen? Naturally, there is some of each in every problem, to differing degrees from case to case, but we would give some preference to the second hypothesis. All states throughout history, as well as these republics and provinces of Yugoslavia, are instruments of power which, to the degree by which they have not yet

become integrated into the self-management society and thus extinct, show a tendency toward bureaucratic alienation from the masses and absolutism on a certain territory. Here lies an obstacle to broader public dialogue between responsible people and within our federal units.

The second obstacle to a consistent removal of the veil is that while responsible people no longer need make a unified stand, "irresponsible people" are excluded from the public dialogue on political issues. Naturally, this play with words refers to all those who are not politicians by professions.

May God not give journalists, commentators, scholars, and artists the right to exhibit even a portion of the freedom of public contemplation that we have heard in the past year from well-known, prominent sociopolitical workers! Can you imagine, for example, some artist demanding that some high-placed economic or political leader be arrested because of failure in his work? No one even dared to demand that even for Bakali, but as we know, there have been examples of the opposite, and for much lesser deviations from the practiced and commonplace, public workers outside of professional politics have been branded pamphleteers, sensationalists, exhibitionists, fractionalists, political opponents and the like. Obviously, "Quod licet jovi non licet bovi." And then at forums we hear the question as to why, for example, our social theoreticians did not become more involved in scholarly critique in the pre-congress debates. After all, they too are no longer "leftist" in the sense of naive.

Here in Yugoslavia there is a constant call for open critical debate on all social and political matters, yet one instance is somehow always left out of that in principle unlimited area for the free struggle of opinion. That is the monopoly on the qualification of criticism, which continues to be strictly located in higher political forums. Within those circles, as we have already stressed, there has recently been a truly impressive unity in differences, or a mutual tolerance for advocating diverging, sometimes totally contradictory positions, so that our government and party leadership is truly functioning like a collective intellectual. Such original, personal, independent, here and there nearly implacable approaches to a whole series of vital issues in our common life, particularly if it were not so territorialized or regionalized, could only be to the credit of socialist democracy. This is the more so because, without any consequences, all retain not only their viewpoints but their official position and function, at least as far as rank is concerned.

The misfortune is that that collective leadership, which is internally democratic at times is not even nearly so tolerant toward outsiders, toward the base, which apparently some perceive as a collective implementor. Certain comrades apparently believe that a collective chief corresponds to a collective official. In other words, for themselves and their equals they keep the initiative, while they recommend discipline for the rest of us. But watch out, for discipline no longer means, as it once did, support and development of official positions, for if you publicly accept the position of one political authority, no matter how highly placed, his colleagues will use the first opportunity to express their disagreement with him over your back.

This can happen to you if you scribble something, referring to positions on the front pages of a daily paper, because on the same day, the other papers in the same place have something entirely different.

Yet we should not lest such bad examples be generalized, because then principles critics and things criticized on principle are stuck in the same sack as unprinciples critics and unprinciples criticism. It is neither true that all officials behave in this way, nor that the democratic atmosphere is equally developed in all environments. In general, if differences exist from republic to republic regarding the level of national income and the number of illiterate, it would be miraculous if it did not also exist here. I cannot fail to remind you of the bright examples of public dialogue between critic and politician that ended without negative consequences for the first time, such as Kermauner-Ribicic, Kuvacic-Dragosavac, Mandic-Dragosavac, Zvan-Dolanc, Slavoljub Djukic-Dusan Popovic, Zoran Erak-Ismail Bajra, etc. We are convinced that such practical experience is worthy of a socialist self-management democracy, and that it will receive increasing space and breadth.

In conclusion; Only when public dialogue between all interested working people and citizens penetrates the still-present horizontal (republic-province) and vertical (political status) barriers, and from the pre-congress campaign becomes a permanent component part of self-management practice, will we be able together with Grlickov to assert that the veil has been removed completely. Certainly, that will be with great satisfaction.

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CAUSES OF OUT-MIGRATION FROM KOSOVO ARGUED

One View From Zagreb

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 82 SEDAM DANA Supplement pp 13-14

[Article by Nedira Avdic-Vllasi: "How To Stop the Exodus"]

[Text] The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is continuing. Aside from those who have moved in recent years to Belgrade, Nis, Kragujevac, Smederevo and elsewhere, there are still families preparing for departure-- buying land, building houses, exchanging apartments, seeking employment, and enrolling their children in schools outside the province. This tendency, intensified after the hostile demonstrations, is indeed a consequence of the overall political-security situation, but also of the inappropriate and inadequate efforts of the competent authorities and the subjective forces which, preoccupied for almost a year battling and exposing the enemy, have missed a chance to rapidly and effectively oppose the hostile pressure in each specific case. That would have instilled confidence and demonstrated that they are capable of guaranteeing safety of property and person of all citizens living in Kosovo. Only in that way would they take away from Albanian and Serbian nationalism the occasion to stimulate the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. However absurd it might sound, there are quite a few arguments to the effect that the Albanian and Serbian nationalists are in a way acting in concert. To be sure, their goals are utterly different. The Albanian nationalists and irredentists want an "ethnically pure Kosovo." The Serbian nationalists insist that as many people as possible file application to leave Kosovo (such applications are now being submitted to commissions by those who left 2, 5 or even 10 years ago!) so that this would serve them as an argument that all the measures of the new leadership have fallen short. They desire, and sometimes they are successful, to create hysteria through various intrigues, disinformation and indeed even newspaper articles and to spread the thesis that "all Albanians are the same and have to be treated differently." Some even make a point of saying that they are leaving now, "but will come when needed." There have even been individuals who have committed acts typical of the Albanian nationalists--they have set fires, broken roof tiles on houses in Serbian villages, and a case was even recorded where after a traffic accident in which some young girls were slightly injured, they told their parents that Albanians had tried to rape them, and so on. Some of the offenders have been discovered, and their aim was to have their misdeeds attributed to

the Albanian nationalists so that the unstable situation would persist as long as possible. These intriguers did not want the consequences of all that to be born by the nationalists, but by those Albanians who have themselves, together with the Serbs and Montenegrins, bore on the back the burden of the ineffectiveness of government authorities, the activity of bullies, the burden of injustices, cliquishness, connections and nepotism.

Various Approaches and Results

It is certain that no one can be a party member in Kosovo--a communist in the true sense of the word--except a member of the Albanian, Serbian, Montenegrin or any other ethnic group who has a very refined sense for establishing the goals and efforts of all nationalities.

Along with the political and economic stabilization, the problem of the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins is obviously a key issue in Kosovo. Beginning with basic organizations of associated labor and local communities, up through opstina assemblies and all the way to the highest sociopolitical forms of the province, this issue has been taken up, and measures have been taken to halt the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins as soon as possible. All the leaders have spoken out about this, many have written on this issue with different approaches and results (sometimes altogether opposed), and the public has received both information and disinformation.

Now they are saying in the opstinas that the law enforcement agencies and judicial authorities are much more involved undertaking vigorous and effective measures against all those responsible for cases of threats to the peace and security of individuals and their property. There are still cases in which property damage is caused--the setting of fire to hay, the felling of forests, driving livestock onto plowland, and defacing of monuments.... Two murders in villages near Vucitrn and Djakovica were particularly disruptive of activity to prevent the exodus and caused a feeling of anxiety and insecurity in members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities.

Officials Setting an Example

The fight against the exodus is compounded by the fact that some prestigious people (veterans of the war, officeholders and activists) of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities have moved out of Kosovo. Even officials elected to the present leadership bodies of the province often come back alone, leaving their families in Belgrade, which arouses in ordinary people suspicion and a lack of confidence toward the measures that have been taken and contributes to the decision to move away.

The greatest problem with the exodus is the outflow of specialists, which has put the economy and the public services in Kosovo into a still more difficult position. Their departure indirectly leads to the departure of other families as well.

Most of those who have moved came from Pristina, Titova Mitrovica, Pec and Gnjilane, which are not so much characterized by an atmosphere of insecurity

about person and property as by disturbances and a cooling of interethnic relations.

Back at the end of last year they began in Pristina work organizations and local communities to analyze every case of emigration, to ascertain the causes, and to exert pressure to change the decision to move. More and more a social climate was created which ensured complete security and future prospects for citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, mutual trust was built up, and brotherhood and unity were reinforced. Nevertheless, the commission of the Pristina Opstina Assembly received a total of 867 applications for the emigration of 1,929 persons between 1 January and 30 June 1982. Last week Sinan Hasani, chairman of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the League of Communists, and Nebi Gashi, chairman of the Pristina Opstina Committee of the League of Communists, talked with some of them in the Pristina Opstina committee headquarters of the League of Communists. Some 20 citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality sincerely and frankly laid out their reasons for moving away. They mentioned most frequently the impossibility of finding jobs or obtaining housing, as well as better opportunities for jobs outside the province, marriage, departure of the other spouse, and the like. There were also those who presented problems they had been having with neighbors of Albanian nationality: Vladimir Jojic decided to leave because of a wall that was torn down and a house that was built on the site; Vuko Vuksanovic also wishes to leave because of relations with neighbors about putting up a fence, letting out a dog and the like ("so there won't be any bloodshed"). Janko Mitrovic found his son a job in Belgrade (he knew how to go about it), since they had beaten him. Janko had worked 35 years in Obilic, but he had not obtained housing. At one time the director of his enterprise Idriz Ibrahimini told him to relinquish his credit for building a house to his brother and he would receive an apartment. He gave up the credit, but he did not obtain an apartment, since the "all powerful" director brought in his brothers, relatives and friends and gave them apartments. This case is typical of the situation in Kosovo. Individuals have seized power--not on an ethnic basis--but simply because we have that kind of behavior and such directors everywhere (over and above the organs of self-management and normative acts).

How a Soccer Player Sold His Sweat

No one concealed anything in the conversation. On the contrary, people recalled what various people had said to them, who had had a fight with whom even back some 10 years. Fistfights, quarrels and the like are not the "privilege" of any nationality, and in such cases the government authorities have to take the measures envisaged by law. However, one cannot seek an interethnic background to every conflict in human relations. There were also cases of people leaving Kosovo who did not like their job. Thus the young soccer player Dragan Bozovic, who had a job here, and his parents had a house, is not satisfied. He says that he has a job guaranteed in Obrenovac, an apartment and another 7,000 a month for conditioning. He does not want anyone to pay for his sweat as a soccer player only 4,000 a month, and that irregularly. There were also those who said that they would go anywhere, even abroad, for better conditions.

Employment was the problem mentioned most frequently in the conversation. It seems that jobs are easier to get in those places where the Serbs and Montenegrins are going from Kosovo. The question is this: Are there, for example, so few unemployed physicians in Belgrade that jobs can be offered so easily to the physicians the province is crying for, for whom it has been awaiting for years, to whom it has given apartments, whose advanced training it has paid for, who have been given high personal incomes, credit for housing and who knows what else? The case of Dr Dragan Plavsic is typical. He and his wife, who is also a physician, are moving to Kraljevo. Both of them have found work--his wife has already gone (without consent of the health center), and he is making his preparations. Why? He says that he weighed the reasons for and against, and still decided to go. He is barely 30 years old, he has just become a specialist in ophthalmology. He says himself that in Pristina the doors were open to him for rapid promotion, he is already an assistant and soon would become a docent. He finished the university some 6 years ago, and he has spent 3 of those years in specialized training. Before that he was head of the health center in Lipljan, and he is now chairman of the working people's caucus in the clinic. He has nothing to complain of, he has achieved a great deal in a short time, he has a house and there are no problems whatsoever with his job. On the other hand, there are trifles that get on his nerves. He would like to see better manners, until recently he could not watch the Second Program on television, and he is particularly bothered by the atmosphere of cooler interethnic relations, although he has not himself felt that. Here neither the League of Communists, nor the government agencies have been able to do much. It is well known what it means to Pristina to lose two physicians, one of them an eye specialist who has already completed his training. And the trifles which bother him exist everywhere; they are not a specific feature of Kosovo. Perhaps it is a specific feature of Kosovo that the conditions for physicians and other specialists are exceptionally good. And to some extent a man creates the atmosphere around him on his own.

Doctors of Science Jumping From the Horse to the Donkey

The case of Randjelo Mihajlovic, doctor of science, docent at the School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics in Kragujevac, who went there 3 years ago from the university in Pristina is different. Only now is he applying for change of residence, saying that there is no point in holding people and that he can get along where he is working even without official change of residence. He was looking to his personal interests, this is where he received his master's degree and his doctor's degree, and it is in the interest of Kragujevac to get a good doctor of science. He declared that all doctors of science of Serbian nationality will leave the Chemistry Institute in Pristina, since they have already been elected to positions in Nis, Kragujevac and Belgrade. Some of them are going to positions where the conditions are even worse, here they have an apartment, a higher personal income, but the atmosphere at the university continues to be bad. For a long time the progressive forces have not been in evidence. He feels that perhaps personnel might stay who have not yet received housing or jobs for their wives in other places, if someone talked to them, since now it is obvious that the "ice is going out even at the university."

Law enforcement agencies quickly detect those responsible for cases of threatening the peace and security of citizens and their property, which are still occurring in rural areas. Penalties are being imposed, and there are fewer and fewer such occurrences, and there will be still fewer of them. Nevertheless, the emigration is continuing. The cooling of interethnic relations is mentioned more and more often as an argument and a reason. Sometimes it is the consequence of an opportunistic line of individuals, indeed even communists of Albanian and Serbian nationality who are cutting themselves off in their own purely ethnic communities, justifying this by saying they are avoiding possible conflicts. If they do not enter into relationships, they feel, there is much less opportunity for a conflict. We cannot say that the multinational acquaintances, marriages and friendships were frequent in the past, but it is a fact that there now are even fewer of them.

As Sinan Hasani, chairman of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the League of Communists, has said in an appeal to those applying to emigrate from Kosovo, "we must not play into the enemy's hands, we must demonstrate a readiness for a concerted struggle of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and all those living in Kosovo against the enemy and psychological pressure, since leaving is not a solution."

There remains a fight not only against the enemy, but against various subjective shortcomings and deformations, connections, nepotism, cliquishness and above all the tyrannical behavior of individuals, of bureaucrats who here in Kosovo have almost paralyzed the strength of self-management.

Rejoinder From Belgrade Editorialist

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1648, 1 Aug 82
pp 6, 9

[Article: "A Strange Way of Looking at Emigration"]

[Text] Judging by the article of Nedira Avdic-Vllasi, to which our readers have called attention, the problem of emigration from Kosovo is much more painless than we thought on the basis of the facts the public has learned of and the assessments of the highest political forums in Kosovo, SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Explaining the causes of emigration, Nedira Avdic-Vllasi presents to us an aggravated individual who decided to leave Kosovo ("so that there would not be any bloodshed") because of a conflict with a neighbor "about putting up a fence and letting a dog out"; a spoiled soccer player who had an apartment and a job and is going to Obrenovac where he has been guaranteed a job, an apartment and another 7,000 a month for conditioning: "He does not want anyone to pay for his sweat as a soccer player only 4,000 a month, and that irregularly"; an ungrateful physician who had established himself professionally in Pristina: "He has nothing to complain of, he has achieved a great deal in a short time, he has a house and there are no problems whatsoever with his job. On the other hand, there are trifles that get on his nerves. He would like to see better manners, until recently he could not watch the Second Program on

television, and he is particularly bothered by the atmosphere of cooler inter-ethnic relations, although he has not himself felt that."

Everything that Nedira Avdic-Vllasi has written is probably true, but it is at the least strange that she did not find a single example that would have portrayed the "other side" of emigration. All the cases which are cited suggest that it is a matter of petty intolerance, disputes blown out of proportion, or the greater aspirations of people who are simply going where they will live better. This idea is consistently pursued throughout the entire text, cleverly spiced with generalities and statements of principle which can hardly contribute to solving the problem of emigration in the campaign which is being conducted.

When she cites the example of Janko Mitrovic, who had been tricked by his director Idriz Ibrahimini, the author of the article concludes that individuals have seized power, "not on an ethnic basis--but simply because we have that kind of behavior and such directors everywhere (over and above the organs of self-management and normative acts)." Yes, Janko Mitrovic's son was beaten, but that is a datum, we see from the article, important only in order to emphasize the way in which his father found his son a job in Belgrade: "he knew how to go about it," Nedira Avdic-Vllasi mentions ironically.

It is true that the article states that the irredentists are exerting pressure, though except for the two murders mentioned in passing, not a single impressive example is given of the means the Irredenta is using. Instead of that Nedira Avdic-Vllasi finds it necessary to describe at length all kinds of what she refers to as pestering, intrigues, and outright lies in which it turns out that the only victims are the Albanian nationalists: "There have even been individuals (she is thinking of Serbian nationalists) who have committed acts typical of the Albanian nationalists--they have set fires, broken roof tiles on houses in Serbian villages, and a case was even recorded where after a traffic accident in which some young girls were slightly injured, they told their parents that Albanians had tried to rape them, and so on. Some of the offenders have been discovered, and their aim was to have their misdeeds attributed to the Albanian nationalists so that the unstable situation would persist as long as possible."

Likewise when she speaks about emigration to find a job or a better job, which is certainly a problem for Albanians as well, and not only for the Serbs and Montenegrins, this fact will serve only as a pretext for remarking how the newcomers are welcomed with open arms in Serbia, from which one can conclude that the main trouble is that the emigration is being encouraged from outside.

That is how Nedira Avdic-Vllasi sees the problem of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins.

It took more than 10 years for the truth about the exodus to break through. It also took a year after the demonstrations for this painful problem to receive serious reflection. In her attitudes Nedira Avdic-Vllasi takes us back to the very beginning of the debate some 10 years or so ago, with the arguments that were used to quiet people who in 1972 and 1973 raised their voices against the forced emigration.

We note with surprise that this occurs at a moment when the highest political forums of Kosovo, SR Serbia and Yugoslavia, with full commitment and in a dramatic form, have taken a position concerning the problem of emigration and the measures which are to be taken to put a stop to this unfortunate phenomenon.

We don't know what to say about this strange article after the assessment of the SFRY State Presidency to the effect that this is a question of "sowing of ethnic enmity, of pressures, of violence to the Serbian and Montenegrin population," or after the decision of the SFRY Assembly to open debate of the emigration, brought about by disturbing facts.

The conclusions of the Federal Executive Council state in part that "the pressures of the Albanian nationalists and the irredentists are continuing, and certain forms of pressures are even being manifested more markedly." In that context they state: "Various cases of personal abuse, insults, fights, physical attacks, assaults and bullying behavior toward women and children, rapes, physical attacks on the clergy, pressure to sell real estate, usurpation of property and various kinds of damage to crops, the setting of fire to property, cutting off irrigation water, felling of forests, defacing of monuments, graves and gravestones, abuse of individuals in stores and in public transportation, intrigues and rumors and the like."

Was Nedira Avdic-Vllasi really unable to find even one example that would have backed up these assertions? Is really a dispute about "letting out a dog" the best illustration of current events in Kosovo?

Finally, we cannot but recall that passage in the conclusions of the Federal Executive Council which states that "the problems of emigration have not been treated uniformly in the periodicals of all the republics and autonomous provinces, which usually serves as the basis for speculations that the emigration is predominantly a problem of SR Serbia." We think that this suggestion is important for several reasons, above all because the problem of emigration from Kosovo is a problem of the entire community. Our consistency, humanism and human solidarity are demonstrated in such cases.

Unfortunately, the article of Nedira Avdic-Vllasi published in VJESNIK could lead us to the undesirable conclusion that the suggestion of SIV that the emigration be uniformly followed throughout the press will have undesirable consequences since, as we see, this problem continues to be looked at with different eyes.

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