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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2094

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

REGENERATION PROCEDURES ADOPTED BY MILITARY REPAIR UNIT

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 50, 1982 (signed to press 6 Dec 82) p 5

[Article by Maj Gen Manfred Vogt: "A Gain of Millions Aimed at: Workshop Area I of Schinkel Maintenance Unit--Schaarschmidt Collective Paves Productive and Economic Way to Greater Combat Readiness With Repair of Structural Units"]

[Text] The objectives of the 22-man collective led by Lieut Frank Schaarschmidt are anything but average. It is aiming at a 5-percent increase in productivity, a doubling of its guarantee as a result of top quality work and this with decreasing energy and material consumption. And: the highly qualified collective, which specializes in middle-level repairs on all wheeled and tracked vehicles, plans to repair structural units in the new competitive year by, among other things, regenerating worn parts and thereby saving M 2 million and 1,500 man hours!

These objectives take on a greater significance, if one considers that middle-level repairs--in addition to running repairs to patterns and to damage, carrying out additions and conversions, the production of instructional and educational materials and/or models, special assignments and instructional courses--represent only one of their many assignments. The workshop area's possibilities are equally varied, but their full utilization requires each worker to be constantly qualified. "Demanding assignments such as structural unit repair and the working up of model technologies of the best quality are only possible in this way," Lieut Schaarschmidt stressed during our tour through his area of responsibility. It assumed even greater importance, the head of the repair installation, comrade Lieut Col Schinkel, had stressed, because fulfilling assignments to quality standards is a military-economic factor that results in high combat readiness. The constant modernization of fighting technology requires them to learn to use new special tools and techniques on a continuous basis. The workers are proving that this is not merely lip service with their initiative "My Hand for My Product." Their guarantee of quality exceeds the required one by 100 percent. In concrete terms: There has not yet been a recall for more than 200 repaired preheaters for armored vehicles, which were marked with factory numbers!

The brigade of shop steward Nikolaus Sieber, which intends to defend the title of Collective of Socialist Labor for the 11th time in succession, set the pace. After weeks of hard though and innumerable tests, colleagues Birke, Schwintek and Mirisch succeeded in repairing transmissions by regenerating brake drums that had been previously thrown on the scrap heap. Since the required quality parameters could not

be achieved by using coil stock, they turned the brake drums out on a lathe to a thickness of 2 to 4 mm and cut them into pieces about 1.2 cms wide. This gave them five or six seal rings. Bonded in with EP 11, they made it possible to repair the same number of brake drums. A guarantee card on the regenerated transmissions gives information about where and by whom they were repaired and assures a 1-year guarantee. No one has needed to use it so far.

The collective is continuing to work purposefully in this economical way. The newest "child" is the regeneration of counter gear sets for the SPW [armored personnel carrier] 60 PB. So far, 60 of them have not needed to be used from inventory, M 8,000 were saved. In the next weeks and months, the collectives of the workshop area will continue to specialize, to make structural unit repair to quality standards possible for main clutches, planetary counter gear sets, side counter gear sets and steering clutches. It goes without saying that the experiences of the seven workshop sections are a popular way of further increasing reciprocal replaceability and quality.

Twofold activist Gerhard Dynio from the Machinists Brigade Koeppen is contributing his part, so that 6 to 8 conversion sets, each containing 200 to 1,000 pieces, can be produced annually.

Colleague Volkmar Eisert from the Brigade Dembniak works on a cut away model of an APC (Armored Personnel Carrier) 60 PB.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'GLOOMY' ART WORKS SEEN REFLECTING YOUTH'S MOOD IN 1980'S

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 181, 27 Nov 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "'Message of Impending Threat'--'New Period' in GDR Art." A translation of the East Berlin SONNTAG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] In recent years a clear break has taken place in the development of the visual arts in the GDR, says the East Berlin cultural Journal SONNTAG (No 48, 1982). After the "optimism" of the paintings in the 1970's, there predominated a "common message of impending threat" in the most important works of the Ninth GDR Art Exhibition now shown in Dresden, however much they differ in content and form. The tendency became apparent even by the titles of the paintings, such as "Threat," "Cassandra," "Vision," "Temptation," "Warning," "Inferno," "Aggression" and "Guilt." These "gloomy" paintings met with widespread "irritation" from the visitors to the Dresden Exhibition, calling for "optimistic" works. Yet the new paintings, according to SONNTAG, did reflect a fundamentally changed general sense of life. Especially the distressing pictures at the Ninth Art Exhibition belonged to that new era "in which we have to comprehend that peace is not so secure, imperialism not curbed, and communism not yet tangible for our generation." The "gloomy" paintings were not dyed in black, were not disillusioned, but were, while facing tough realities, "a strenuous search for formulas in pathos valid to our times." One should not "become impatient" with the painters and their search for credible pictures in today's world.

GDR Cultural Journal's Critique

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 36 No 48, 28 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Peter Pachnicke: "Notes on the Ninth Art Exhibition (in Dresden)--Beauty and Menace"]

[Text] At the first glance, regular visitors of this great art exhibition may this time be disappointed in what they see. Not a few of them, we know, expect paintings there that express problems affecting them day by day. Gille, Hachulla, Hegewald, Mattheuer, Pfeifer, Sitte, Stelzmann and others had shown paintings at

the Seventh and Eighth Art Exhibition which the public accepted as depicting its own problems. Not infrequently, the artists were annoyed by that, afraid their works would then not be appropriated as works of art but used merely as "teasers" for discussing problems. But what does it mean to be "merely" a teaser? Does not therein lie a magnificent effect art can have in generating public debate on social problems and value concepts? And does not this amount to the skill a painter, draftsman or sculptor commands in formulating his message in his work so that the viewer is sensually affected by it? After all, it was Willi Sitte's vibrant workers and nudes that kept his audience aware of its capability for pleasure, Wolfgang Mattheuer's quiet image of a distinguished, pointing to the dignity of plain folks, the cold colors in the paintings of Heidrun Hegewald forcing the public to talk about the disturbances in inter-human relations she portrayed, and the strong technique in Gille's "Brigadefeier" [Brigade Celebration] that stirred the public (even into writing critiques). Paintings of this quality inducing passionate and excited debates among visitors are largely absent from the Ninth, with the exception perhaps of Peuker's "Waende" [Walls]. Those that carry on that tradition are of maudlin sentimentality (Falkenthal's "Petra"), homely cheerfulness (Juza's "Ornithologist Dr B."), or turned into painted (if acerbic) parody (Weidenbach's "Imitation of A. Boecklin's Isle of the Dead") or even into painted caricature (Hevick's "The Red and Black Bespectacled"). The pictures which, it seems to me, a viewer will find hard to evade at this art exhibition are different in kind, cause no noisy debates, but rather impose themselves on the viewer, getting under his skin, shut him up, and affect even those who reject them more emotionally than intellectually. If as a critic one avoids talking once again about variety and range but seeks to read the fine print of the body language in the figures presented and in the language of the forms applied, then we find many paintings at the exhibition are saying something about the threat man lives under. Especially the form of these works (seemingly so hard to understand) furnish an attentive observer with a distressing message. Take Heisig's expressive painting ("Ende des Abendprogramms" [End of the Evening Program]) which emits as immediate a sensuous effect through the opposing and wedged-in spaces and figures, as an expression of a nightmarish excitement, as Volker Stelzmann's painting "Sonnenaufgang" [Sun Rise] conveys itself to the public through a cool and objective depiction of a rigid group of figures, broken by the pathos of one figure in pain. Hirsch's "Feuer" [Fire] shows a shouting figure collapsing dramatically supercharged, whereas Cremer's desperate Prometheus plunges into the deep without sound. Impending threat often also in figures reduced to warning signs: Rink's paralyzing white figure spread over his "Narrenschiff" [Ship of Fools], Grimmling's arrested cry of limbs stretched out against one another ("Schuld der Mitte" [The Guilt of In-Between]). Destructive is the figure, thickened into an aggressive sign, in Mattheuer's "Aggression," as is the phosphorescent coloring in Pfeifer's "Asphalt." Oppressive is Walter Womacka's beach picture, where the individual figures, painted almost in a culinary fashion, yet practically choking each other en masse, suggest approaching disaster. Finally, Heidrun Hegewald, who relentlessly confronts the viewer--without even permitting him any aesthetic distance from her work through any virtuosity in technique--with her sense of "impending threat, anguish, muted grief, entrapment and affliction, and desperate warning" (Hermann Raum). Even in the 1:10 version of Werner Tuebke's titanic work, each figure portrayed as preciously as a cardinal's cloak, there are masses moving, climbing and collapsing against one another, which oppresses rather than liberates. If one imagines himself a viewer, his

eyes barely coming up to the knees of the over life-size figures, enclosed by this mountain range of figures, which is going to Frankenhäusen in the end, one may get the idea that what one becomes aware of there may not be the liberating ideas of the early bourgeois revolution but rather the reality of the last generations oppressing the viewer as a nightmare (painted with virtuosity). Diverse and rich as the contents and forms of the Ninth may be, a viewer senses the message of the impending threat these paintings have in common. He need not even read their titles: "Threat," "Cassandra," "Vision," "Temptation," "Warning," "Inferno," "Aggression," "Pieta," "Guilt," "Everlasting Hope," or the "Seeker after Men." These "gloomy" pictures explain, it seems to me, that viewers who come to Dresden to discuss moral problems under the impact by paintings or find, in compensation for their strenuous work day, pictures to be entertained or relaxed by, first get irritated and start looking for paintings of the 1970's (which they, incidentally, accepted also only after initial resistance).

When one asks for the "optimistic" pictures of the 1970's, one should remember what has changed since then. It is not a matter of disillusioned pictures of the 1980's versus pseudo-optimistic pictures of the 1970's. The pathos in the formulas of the 1970's pictures was not superficially optimistic but in accord with the hopes and illusions of those years when we believed that we as a socialist world, together with the democratic forces in the world, could impose on imperialism peaceful forms of the economic, political and cultural class and liberation struggle and believed we could apply capacities released thereby to the communist society tangibly close. The pictures we saw at the Seventh and Eighth Art Exhibit, diverse as they were, reflected the pathos of that age in credible images. Especially the distressing pictures at the Ninth Art Exhibition belong to that new era in which we have to comprehend that peace is not so secure, imperialism not curbed, progress more complicated, and communism not yet tangible for our generation. What our party expressed even then in the depressing formulation of the "possibility of a sudden political change," this impending threat to peace we have been sensing since then in almost all news. It became first visual in the visual arts at the 1979 Bezirk art exhibitions on paintings of distress by Heisig, Paris, Metzkes, Kuhrt, Stelzmann, Friedel, Morgner and others (see SONNTAG, No 45, 1979). Helga Moebius has impressively described the contents and forms of some of those paintings in the catalogue for the Ninth. Heisig's overpainting his brigade chief in these years symbolizes as an iconoclastic and creative gesture the search for new pictures for a different era.

These "gloomy" pictures are not dyed in black, are not disillusioned but are, while facing tough realities, a strenuous search for formulas in pathos valid to our times. Realistic about these works is that they neither repeat old formulas nor prettify reality--closing their eyes to reality--but seek new credible images while yet sustaining reality. (This may also then explain the strong affinity many artists now feel for Max Beckmann). Hans Koch recently (SONNTAG No 43, 1982) wrote about the credibility of literary characters in the 1980's with reference to Aitmatov's book, "The Day Marks the Path of Centuries," and about the need for his manner of presentation, "rigorous, hard and unyielding in the moral sense." Only when the hero Edige articulates all the hardness of living and how he bore it all and coped with it all, the experience and strength of this character become credible to readers: "How many personal cramps and how much productivity loss in the social sector do we actually endure because all too rarely is there a public airing of the measure of value in such personal

experiences!" That for a realistic art, credible forms of pathos have to stand up to reality and can arise only through a painful confrontation with reality is something we should never forget. To find new images that will lend men strength is no less of a job for artists in our time than what the politicians, scientists or workers have to cope with in their fields where tasks often appear insurmountable. (In so threatened a time, incidentally, the pensive melancholy that has been typical of our art history for centuries naturally becomes especially pronounced).

We must not become impatient with the painters, with their search for credible images for our time. The beauty the public needs has never been easily obtained in our art history. Art, as Konrad Wolf once said with reference to Fritz Cremer's aquarelles, always arises from "joyous breath-taking and in not wanting to forget the responsibility and test of life." So there have always been then in GDR art history along with menacing paintings, paintings of beauty, there being within our development of realistic art a compelling artistic tendency concerned mainly with presenting harmony and inner balance. To this day, artists have found their subjects in their sensually perceived familiar environment: their domestic landscapes, familiar streets, and the faces they have known all along. Rosenhauer, Niemeyer-Holstein and Paetz represent the first generation of this artistic stance which, as Niemeyer-Holstein once put it, wants to represent the simplest things surrounding us in such beauty that each will sense they are worth being enjoyed and preserved. Since the 1960's, this tradition has been carried on mainly by the Berlin artists who attempted to paint works of beauty and human harmony in relation to nature and the environment by a technique confining itself to the visually apprehensible. Impressive works by Metzkes, Vent, Haendler, Boehme, Lindemann, Knebel, Goltzsche, von Uhlig and Burger represented that line at the Ninth Art Exhibition. Anyone who was not involved in the "thankless task" of selecting from the enormous supply of more than 300 works of art, cannot really criticize either the selection or the tough job of showing them in "gallery quality" within their narrow spaces. Yet one should seriously discuss the question whether the practice of hanging contrasting pictures side-by-side, paintings that differ in expression, is good. What became apparent in this exhibition was less a productive tension among diverse artistic modes of expression but rather (despite some wonderful passages) a disorienting mix which plunged the audience into emotional fluctuation (Burger next to Falkenthal, Friedel next to Effendi and Doering and so forth). But even this should only be mentioned in a critical vein here because precisely by hanging these works that express harmony and inner balance so unfortunately distributed over all the various galleries, they cannot truly register in the viewer as a real and suspenseful contrast to the threatening pictures. Would it not have been better to confront the pictures that in many forms express the impending threat en bloc with those expressing harmony and beauty? Only imagine spatially related the paintings, drawing and sculptures of Niemeyer-Holstein, Rosenhauer, Metzkes, Vent, Haendler, Quevedo, Goltzsche, Lindemann, Kettner, Mohr, Gloeckner, Burger, Gille ("Fruehstueck" [Breakfast]), Moehwald, Stoetzer, Foerster, Jastram, Ransowowa, Grzimek and others, and you get the idea that thereby an important line in our art would have become more persuasively visible, and so would have many a formula of pathos, however still and shy. Only recall the warm comfort of the mother and child in Sabine Grzimek's sculpture, the reluctant determination of the main in the rain of Nuria Quevedo, the fatigue and beauty in the female portraits of Hans Vent, the gait of the girl in Emerita

Pansowowa's sculpture, or the "Stonemason" of Harald Metzkes, who is simply doing his work. It is interesting that the few paintings of workers that impressed me to a large extent are portraits. Gehse's Coalman and Kettner's Stonecutter Lothar Querengaesser both represent persons the artists are well acquainted with. A viewer can sense this proximity and sympathy between the painters and their "models" (we also find such pictures among the photographs of Bergemann and Melis). Otherwise, such identification is found only in some of the portraits on Sitte's painting "Nach der Schicht im Salzbergwerk" [After Hours in the Salt Mine]. For the rest, the pictures about the workers class are mainly confined to observation and presentation, although in terms of numbers not a few artists have dealt with that subject. These efforts are worth a separate contribution. It is always the subject matter, after all, where new images can be discovered for man as he alters his own reality. We have no commissions for presenting the relationship between workers and artists as being interested in one another. Yet commissions alone, however generously encouraged by the cultural fund, cannot generate such works. Unless it leads to real personal relations, it is bound to remain a formal matter. If we kindle the curiosity of the working people in this Ninth Art Exhibition, so they can see art and experience it every day and sense their own demand for pictures through which they can recognize, comprehend and enjoy themselves, such straightforward people it should then also be possible to persuade to commission works themselves. Official and social consignors should perhaps simply just go and ask those people.

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ROLE OF PARTY IN ECONOMIC SECTORS EXAMINED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Nov, 1, 2 Dec 82

[Article by Jozsef Solyom: "Party Supervision Today"]

[30 Nov 82 p 6]

[Text] Despite the Ten Billion

There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that the party secretary of a large enterprise may get the worst of it in a debate at a meeting of his own executive committee--more eyes see more. But what happened recently to Istvan Kiricsi was unaccustomed; the party executive committee of Ganz-Mavag had to analyse, on the basis of a central prescription, experiences with the methods and style of party work and this led to a resolution: Those who did not perform or who did so only in part must be called to account.

The party secretary tried to defend those addressed by the decision, "Grading the directorate general is not on the agenda!" To which several replied: "We know you are asking us for time and patience. But we say that time is pressing and our patience is running out. Let us vote!"

And while they voted he murmured: "Whatever is involved, we harp on our own concerns, like Scipio in the Roman Senate, who just kept saying, 'It is still my opinion that Carthage must be destroyed.'"

"What is this about Carthage?" One sitting beside him asked in surprise. To which the party secretary said smiling: "Nothing, it is only that my mind was wandering."

The final result of the vote: He remained alone.

A Vicious Circle

Even this violent exchange of words with the director general renders the events impenetrable. They visited together a conference of the leaders of one of the factory units in the provinces at which Dr Andras Dunajszki, the director general, honestly discussed the economic and marketing problems of Ganz-Mavag and outlined his ideas on how they might overcome their problems.

Finally he announced that if his plans and actions were not crowned with success he would resign. On the way home Istvan Kiricsi gave vent to his indignation: "What good was this big dramatic scene?! Now these people will justly feel that you do not have faith in your own ideas yourself."

The party secretary calls the situation in which he now finds himself a vicious circle. To understand this we must take a look at the past. Ganz and Mavag, these two centuries old factories, were united on 1 January 1959. At that time the leaders of the country designated the path of development in the organization of large enterprises.

The logic of the decision is justified even today by the fact that for long decades the production of the two factories was built on each other, and the dividing line between them was only a narrow street. It is another question that in the beginning merely combining the economic resources proved to be too little here; even then measures should have been taken to ensure further development.

The new large enterprise inherited the common past of the two factories--the obsolete technology, the overcrowding, the decaying buildings, the unbearable working conditions. The innumerable changes taking place in the world economy compounded these problems. Ganz-Mavag was making hydroelectric machinery, pumps, compressors, and generators in addition to steel structures, complete railway vehicles and forged and stamped products. The increasing prominence of oil and natural gas sounded the alarm bell for their entire product structure. Every sign showed that they could hang their products in a museum. Thus the big question mark began to hang over them. Thousands left the factory and at the beginning of the 1970's Ganz-Mavag faced a fateful decision with a decimated staff. Economists, foreign trade experts, industry organization experts and financial experts said that the best solution was simply to forget about Ganz-Mavag. At that time more than 18,000 people still worked in the factory.

Another idea won out: Provide the material conditions for Ganz-Mavag to step from the past century into the present.

"We got more than 10 billion forints," said Istvan Kiricsi. "A fortune fell into our laps. Today every one of our large enterprises would free itself of its most burning problems if it had such an opportunity. But even this is not everything; circumstances favored us also. Even the crisis concerning oil proved advantageous for us. Today every country that has a water drop of one meter wants to build a hydroelectric power plant, to protect itself against the increasing burdens of oil import. Coal mining has come into the foreground again; mine pumps and mining machines will be needed again. Since highway transport has become more expensive than ever there is again need for railway vehicles. Our traditional products have become current articles. With a developmental possibility of 10 billion forints we should have been able to get out in front. Our problems derive from the fact that this did not happen."

Delays and Debts

But the facts argue against the opinion of the party secretary. With the very expensive reconstruction Ganz-Mavag went through a more successful period than ever before. It overfulfilled the Fifth 5-Year Plan by roughly 20 million dollars in non-ruble accounting export. In addition to this accomplishment it satisfied its obligations to the bank and in a series of audits the enterprise funds proved to be in order.

"Even in 1981 our party committee did not understand how, after such antecedents, new serious problems could arise for us. We knew that people were working with spirit and will, because the future seemed assured to all of us. Tangible successes fed such feelings in us; within an unparalleled brief time we were able to join in the developmental program for CEMA nuclear power plants. Even within the framework of the reconstruction we undertook, and finished well before the time limit, a hall to manufacture case reloading equipment. We prepared in time for constant manufacture of the extraordinarily complex equipment for 60 nuclear power plants. It strengthened our feeling of security that we used well more than 5 billion forints of the credits received. For example, we succeeded in eliminating the intolerable working conditions; we built new buildings to replace the manufacturing halls we inherited from the ancient days of industry."

"So what is the problem?" I asked the party secretary.

He answered: "We turned more than 2.5 billion forints to purchase of modern working machines and equipment. Some of this virtually takes the place of an entire machine tool factory, they were virtually thinking robots. And we used this new, magnificent technology largely to make the old type products."

"You were unable to renew your product structure during the reconstruction?"

"Indeed! We developed new products which would have been in the front rank of the world. I am thinking primarily of our gas compressors and gas motors. But the experiments continue, and we are late. And we are late with deliveries; even our motor trains are not finished at the time we planned. Thus it happened that in the first half of this year we lagged behind our plans by a production of more than 600 million forints, and if we don't catch up we will have to start using reserve funds on the first of January."

"Is this why the party executive committee graded the directorate general as not performing or as doing so only in part?"

"The essence of our problem is that we are convinced that a large enterprise which got a life saving transfusion of 10 billion forints should not have gotten into such a situation. It is true that we are working on the basis of many thousands of orders and that virtually none of these are due on 31 December. But the domestic accounting system is tied to the last working day of the year. It is also true that our products take a long time to make and the first half of the year is not a true measure of our performance. But we have never had such a serious indebtedness for the second half of the year. And here we have

the constantly reappearing delay that I am aiming at. So the director general and all six special directors are forced to put out the fires. Although they should have the task of working on long-range development."

To Act Quickly and Daringly

The background of the dilemma of the party secretary is this: Should he hold the economic leadership accountable for all those things which even the party executive committee did not notice in time? Because the truth is that in the past year and a half the party executive committee and the party committee discussed the tasks of reconstruction and renewal 26 times. After a long search they discovered the way out of the problems.

"We now see the essence of our problems--the directorate general wants to solve everything in its own sphere of authority. They instruct the factory units directly--what to concentrate their attention on, what they must do at the cost of their other tasks. This system of direct instruction also relieves the factory units of responsibility; they really don't bother with anything except what they have orders to do. That is why we can say that there should be a change in the entire factory organization, and this is the point where the party executive committee and the economic leadership clash. According to us a real interest system for the factory units must be created, so that distribution here should not take place out of one big hat."

What has happened proves that even the party committee did not possess the philosopher's stone in judging the situation and future of Ganz-Mavag. But it does appear that this body is now striving to correct itself and the reason for their increasingly stormy emotions is that they are not finding, in this aspiration, partners willing to act quickly and with daring. For example, according to the plans the factory should have had receipts this year of 50 million dollars. The forecasts show that they are not meeting this goal. The economic experts say that there is no problem, that they will meet their export plan in forints, even if with fewer dollars. This is probably true, for the dollar has gone up in value.

"We argue that we do not need more forints, we need more dollars," the party secretary said. "Our prospects for 1983 are good; our contracts in this world economic situation are virtually complete... But can we fulfill them?"

"What is your relationship with the director general?"

"We have a good relationship. I, at least, respect him, because Dunajszki knows his job and is an honorable man."

"Have you been in his home, or he in yours?"

"I have not been so far. But we have been together innumerable times at programs, and abroad."

"You are not trying to get the better of one another?"

"My God, don't you understand that what I am doing for the factory I am also doing for him?!"

[1 Dec 82 p 6]

[Text] With Miners' Integrity

"One cannot support a mine roof with ideology," thus began our conversation about current tasks of party supervision with Dr Jozsef Schwarcz, secretary of the party committee of the Mecsek Coal Mines.

"Why the passion?" I asked.

"When it turned out that the country again needed coal they were forced to renew our enterprise. The whole bunch of leading experts was replaced. Highly qualified experts came here to work; many gave up their positions in the ministry to help us get on our feet. There were among them, primarily those who found it unaccustomed for us to try to debate the solution of economic-technical problems with them. Some of them were offended--on what basis did we mess in their sphere of tasks?! It took patience to make them understand that we were not acting in the place of others but rather on behalf of others. We should not forget for a minute that we could not replace technical solutions with political measures. I say to this that we also know very well that reliable elements are needed to support a mine roof."

"First Of All, Our Own Deeds..."

At this point our conversation took a turn, because the secretary of the party committee put on his desk notebooks on party disciplinary matters. One batch of documents sealed the fate of a confirmed drunk who would not take care of his family, one who kept coming to work drunk despite the friendly, and increasingly harsh, warnings of his fellows. Another notebook documented the strict calling to account of a communist who neglected his party mission. Another showed that even the communist leader of a small mine cannot be forgiven a rude tone, if he is incapable of getting along with people.

All of them were stirring and instructive documents and there can be no doubt that as a whole they showed an almost stubbornly consistent attitude. But why were we suddenly presented with these matters in connection with party supervision? Instead of answering the party secretary pointed to a thickly filled desk calendar. With his finger running over the headings he called my attention to when and where he had to participate in various conferences and meetings. Among the notes I saw the time of the meeting of the enterprise quadrangle, when he would consult with the director general, when the leaders would be meeting at the enterprise. But he slid over these dates and called my attention to six party primary organization membership meetings.

"On these days," he explained, "we hold a mirror up before ourselves. The party organizations of the Mecsek Coal Mines are surveying the path taken since the 12th party congress. They are taking account: How have their ideas been proven in reality, and in this process our 3,000 party members will report on

their personal behavior also. Following this our party committee also will compare our aspirations with the experiences of our work, with our circumstances, situation and tasks. But first we will hold a meeting of the party executive committee, to which we will invite comrades who participated in our party conference prior to the congress, those who then submitted proposals or criticized our activity. We want to tell them what measures were born at their initiative."

Thus did the theme of our conversation broaden, but, as will be seen, not by chance.

"First of all there must be strict order in our own ranks, this is the fundamental thing in our political work," the secretary of the party committee said, and hastened to add: "Party supervision begins with supervision of ourselves. We put our own deeds on the scale before we ask anything from anybody. So it is impossible to isolate party supervision from the entire process of our political work. This activity is also intertwined with cadre work, with our enlightenment and educating tasks and even party discipline work; and, naturally, it is inseparable from the fundamental motif that our party organization is keeping a helpful hand on the economic pulse of the Mecsek Coal Mines."

Intervention?

"What you have said may give the impression that there is simply no task at this enterprise, employing 13,500 miners, which we should not call party supervision. Because the tasks merge together, and their characteristics are forced into the background."

"This is an error!" Dr Jozsef Schwarcz protested. "We have not given up party supervision, for no one has given us such an exemption. It is another question whether, amidst changes in our circumstances, we had to change the way we deal with our problems also. It is an old debate, and opinions frequently differ even today, as to where and how the party organization can intervene in matters of the economy. My answer to this is that if the enterprise needs me to run about for material or parts, use my influence and opportunities for such goals, then I certainly will do so. Fortunately we are beyond such lessons already. Today the Mecsek Coal Mines is led by well trained experts. There are enough understanding people to see that our mines get the machines, parts and materials necessary for production. Now we have time to do our own work, satisfy our obligations in regard to political guidance. But fulfilling this task does not mean just looking around, and it does not spare us from clashes of view either. Because I do not want to pretty up the situation; we prosper at the price of overcoming innumerable conflicts."

The Mecsek Coal Mines closed the Fifth 5-Year Plan with considerable economic success; it produced 384,000 tons more coal than it was obliged to produce. With this performance it ensured continual energy supply for a number of our large industrial enterprises and freed the economy of the problems of importing a great quantity of cokable coal. Building on this achievement they reduced earlier the work time of the miners and they tried to ensure continual production with rational technical measures to take the place of the work time lost. But the calculations did not prove out and they finished the first half of 1982 with a debt of 75,000 tons of coal.

Unexpected Problems

"This situation fundamentally shook public opinion at the Mecsek Coal Mines," the party secretary explained. "It is understandable also that confusion was caused by a fact which became generally known, that in order to meet our obligations we would have to produce, month after month, 20,000 to 25,000 tons more coal than had been imagined for the second half of the year. In any case we must satisfy the needs of such consumers as, for example, the Danube Iron Works, which cannot expect high calory cokable coal from anyone else besides us. And we have a similar obligation to satisfy the needs of domestic trade. This situation gave rise to other problems also. For example, we felt it a politically intolerable harm for there to be a shortage in coal supply to the populace in the region of the Mecsek Coal Mines, an area where a large number of miners' families live. For this reason we met again and again with the party organizations of our mines to find ways to put an end to the unfortunate situation. Finally circumstances forced us to deal with the entire economic situation of the enterprise at an expanded session of the party committee. We presented our not exactly uplifting experiences to this conference without pretence. We said that it was the fault of the leadership that our enterprise coal management had lagged. This was one source of our troubles, so this state of affairs must be changed urgently, with appropriate measures. We found the utilization of the very valuable machines and equipment unsatisfactory also. And this fact pointed to faults in our plant work organization.

"In connection with these problems an idea came up in the debate at the party committee--we must finally change the idea of applying exclusively to physical workers the honoring of more and better work in wages. In the same way material responsibility could not be limited to cutters, haulers or mine metal workers working deep in the mine or on the surface; if someone works badly he should feel the consequences of his neglect in his earnings too. I need not say that our conference became suddenly stormy, although ultimately the clash of opinions yielded tangible profit. For example: the payment of leaders changed, those who do more than they are obliged to do earn a good bit more. On the other hand, if someone is responsible for solving some problem because it is his job and if the solution is delayed, he will feel it in a thinner pay envelope. I do not say that it is exclusively due to these measures--although it partly is--that now people do not have to stand in line for their winter fuel in the miners' settlements."

Not Just Standing By

The party organization proved to be a good helper in other respects also at a time of mounting problems, for example when it turned out that an expensive reconstruction, of stressed importance as a government program, was suffering delay. We are talking about the Lias program, the essence of which is that the most modern machines and mining equipment should be used to bring high calory, cokable coal from the depths of the earth throughout the Mecsek basin. The material importance of this program can be measured only in hundreds of millions of dollars. Possible technical solutions were sought by bringing in the best experts and they worked diligently on the introduction of these solutions. The leaders of the mines, together with the party secretaries, were held responsible for fulfillment of the task.

"Today the newspapers no longer write about coal battles but, as you see, there are such battles. We also struggle, like the others. In place of the promised shortened work week, the cutters go down for more coal on Sundays and holidays too. We have thus cut 30,000 tons out of the shortfall. We are working with miners' integrity."

[2 Dec 82 p 6]

[Text] At the Crossroads

Where is the Hungarian machine industry going? For example, will Diosgyor and Csepel be forced into a recession under the influence of world market conditions, or will they be able to maintain their production levels? Such burning questions of our economy concern not only the political and state or economic leaders organizing and taking care of national economic guidance but also the leaders of the Foundry Enterprise.

This large enterprise is the child of the provincial industrial development concept. It received the task of salvaging the smaller, scattered, largely obsolete, low productivity foundries and making their production approach current needs. They thus brought together, at the beginning of the 1970's, 10 factory units, from Sopron to Mohacs, into a single large enterprise with a center in Kobanya.

On The Same Wave Length

The changes of past years left their stamp on the development of the Foundry Enterprise, until finally its present sphere of tasks developed. It plays a role in background industry, of key importance to Hungarian industry. It provides more than 20 percent of the castings of our entire industry, and this ratio is a good bit higher if we compare the direct effect of its production activity to the machine industry alone.

"So from the side of finished products our role is only secondary," explained Mrs Gyula Pazmandi, secretary of the party committee of the enterprise. "This fact has a crucial influence on our developmental ideas, in this sense we cannot break with reality. We must provide products which our customers need now or will need in the future. Their performance capacity depends on us, but our dependence is no more lax."

This attitude of the enterprise leadership reflects an awareness of responsibility, political maturity. Mrs Pazmandi, who has worked at this enterprise for more than 20 years, considers it the source of every achievement that such an identity of view has formed from the work shops to the enterprise center.

"It is not easy to make those outside the enterprise understand how this view, which I hold to be an indisputable political value, appears in action and blazes a path in our everyday work. It is difficult even to make it felt because frequently we make decisions at the price of violent debates, and this is an apparent contradiction of the fact that the great majority here, leaders and subordinates, engineers and workers, think on the same wave length. Let

me give an example. At the beginning of the year the economic leadership felt that last year's profit of 440 million forints would be unattainable. The new regulators took 80 million forints from the enterprise and it could be expected that further measures would not have a more favorable effect. The facts proved this to be true. We could not think about improving our manpower situation, and this is a vital question for us. We employ more than 5,200 people, and 4,500 of them do hard physical work, harder than at most large industrial enterprises. Even today the art of foundryman and caster is not a white smock trade. Every year 3 percent of our workers give up the struggle to make a living and beginning iron casters hardly appear in the index. Thus, in recent years, we have turned a good part of our investment to improving working conditions; we have built better illuminated, healthier work halls and social facilities. We urged this development and said, Let us adjust wage development also."

It was on this point that the ideas of the economic and the political leadership of the Foundry Enterprise clashed at the beginning of 1982, or rather their judgment of the possibilities. Under these circumstances the party committee resolved that it would be the obligation of every primary organization to discover what reserves could be brought to bear, whatever at all.

What happened in regard to one of their largest reconstructions makes one appreciate the real value of this effort. They were modernizing the Kobanya steel foundry; they had to do the construction and use the new technology without decreasing their production to any great extent in the process. They also made here the new special castings for the newest products of the machine tool factories. In this period people were working under really impossible conditions and it seemed a miracle that any precise casting was finished at all.

At the scene of the remodeling, in the casting and cleaning sections, the leaders and workers alike were making signs at one another. The inflamed passions brought the party organizations of these two sections into the general mood. Both party leaderships met frequently to point out--the mistakes of the other. This practice made even more tense the already unfortunate situation. Starting from the fact that neither the foundry nor the cleaning section could produce a finished product, this being possible only by virtue of their cooperation, the party committee combined the two party organizations. Party life also must reflect the dependence of these work communities on one another.

Party Life Adjusts Also

"Party supervision is a political work process which, at a producing enterprise, usually helps to show results which can be measured in forints or tons. At least this is what daily work here has shown," said the party secretary, hastening to add: "It may be that this can be proved only indirectly, if someone wants proof at any cost. This is not the custom here. Let me again mention as an example the concern we showed for the foremen. The initiative came from our party primary organizations. They considered it intolerable that the rights and authority of the foremen had not been settled, that their earnings were far out of proportion to their performance and responsibility. We had forgotten to improve the fate of people whose situation might be compared to the air between two cymbals. They get abuse from above and below, demands are made

on them from both sides. The economic leadership demands that they, as the immediate guides of production, organize the work precisely and assign people rationally to perform the tasks; the workers reprimand them if they do not get in time the materials and tools needed to do the work in hand. If the task is urgent or if someone is missing they push carts, cast or clean. They are the maids-of-all-work at the enterprise."

When all this came up the earnings of most foremen at the enterprise did not reach the average wage of the skilled workers, although they included engineers, technicians and skilled masters with great experience capable of solving the most complex tasks.

"So we asked the enterprise trade union committee to examine the situation of the foremen and submit their findings to the council of stewards for debate," Mrs Pazmandi said. "There was no special problem in clarifying their rights and authority; it was relatively easy to determine which tasks should be entrusted to the foremen. But money was a harder matter. It was difficult, but we succeeded in getting these people considered primarily at the time of wage development. When we came to grips with the problem the average base wage for foremen at the enterprise was 4,318 forints; in the wake of the measures taken at our urging this sum increased to 4,764 forints. With the improvement in awards their total earnings increased by 200 forints more. Now not only are these people grateful but also those who work with them. It is not a matter of indifference to them how we recognize and reward those who take care of the things which guarantee their living in the shops.

"And these are the 'little' questions of our party work," Mrs Pazmandi said. "Because now, for example, our enterprise stands at the crossroads. I am talking about whether we should stop being a large enterprise and make our factory units independent or whether we should continue to work within the present frameworks. Our party organization cannot keep distant from this truly great question. The answer is not easy. We have an obligation to aid the realization of national economic interests. But what is the fundamental interest now? If our enterprise splits up then will our foundries separately be capable of supplying industry with more and better castings? Will they be able to perform more effectively as independent enterprises, their task of key importance as the industrial background for the machine industry? I do not believe that the change contemplated will give a positive answer to these questions. I am afraid that we will be giving up innumerable advantages which we won with great effort at the cost of many sacrifices. Today, for example, our guiding authority makes use innumerable times of the professional, political maturity of our economic leadership. The national economic interest may require the undertaking of this or that job out of sequence. Whether it will pay or not we undertake it and make it. But what if the leadership had to face a series of independent foundries? Now we can do it, by spreading the burdens evenly, including material losses. A large enterprise passes the test in other variations also. For example, our modern Mohacs foundry was working on a foreign order when the order was suddenly canceled. If our foundry had been independent it would end the year with a serious deficit, there could be no talk of technical or wage development at this site for next. There was a similar case in our Sopron foundry also. Here they were making special shaped castings

for an Iranian order. They tooled up an entire production system for this order. As a result of the Iraqi-Iranian war this order went down the well also. The Foundry Enterprise stood this test too, and our Sopron workers got the same share of the profits as workers at the mother factory in Kobanya. I am afraid we will lose such possibilities."

"We Can Still Debate"

"So you do not agree with the planned reorganization of the enterprise?"

"The party demands strict discipline from its members and organizations, but it has been a long time since it required us to be simple yes-men," Mrs Pezmandi replied. "The decision is now before us, we can still debate, present our arguments. But this is not enough. In this situation our party organization and our economic leadership must examine themselves, even if our profit this year approaches 380 million forints. In our opinion breaking up the Foundry Enterprise would result in competition for competition's sake, without any enriching content, so we must seek a possibility; How could we better fulfill our role as industry's background industry?! For example, our factory units might compete for the most favorable solutions within the enterprise and our common resources might be made available to the one offering the best solution. And we might change our system of internal guidance so that not the directorate general alone but rather a council of directors of factory units might decide about our problems and development. The essence of our party guidance now is to accelerate renewal."

"And if there is a directive contrary to your thinking?"

"We will work on as independent enterprises. With discipline, precision and integrity. Today we are still debating in every forum, but I have no anxiety for tomorrow. There are united, uniform party organizations in all our factory units. Political maturity and an awareness of responsibility are not the privilege of the Kobanya center."

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RESOLUTIONS ON ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT, SUPERVISORY COMMITTEES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Nov 82 pp 1, 4

[MTI report: "Council of Ministers Meets, Resolution on Development of Enterprise Guidance," and article by K. B.: "Council of Ministers Discussion--Supervisory Committee, Director's Council, Leader Selection"]

[Text] The Government Information Office reports:

At the Thursday meeting of the Council of Ministers Gyorgy Lazar reported on his official visit to Turkey. The government took cognizance of the report.

The Council of Ministers passed a resolution on the further development of the system of enterprise guidance. Within this framework there will be an expansion of the sphere of tasks of the enterprise supervisory committees, an increase in the authority of the director's councils and a modification of the appointment practice for a defined sphere of enterprise leaders. The provisions will go into effect on 1 January 1983.

In a joint resolution the government and the presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions designated tasks serving the further development of the practice of place of work democracy.

On the basis of a report by the National Public Culture Council the Council of Ministers reviewed public culture activity done in capital residential areas and approved tasks for its development.

The government heard a report concerning the employment of students during recesses and term-time. Evaluating the usefulness of this work it called on the leaders of ministries, organs with national authority and councils to take the measures which become necessary on the basis of experience.

A commentary on the agenda of the session follows.

At its Thursday session the Council of Ministers analyzed the tasks for development of the state enterprise guidance and organization system. Substantial themes in the course of modernization are an expansion of the authority of supervisory committees and director's councils and a further development of the practice of leader selection.

Supervisory committees have worked at the larger enterprises already. Their work, however, has been limited largely to subsequent supervision; that is, they have evaluated the management of the enterprise being supervised after the fact. Now they will undertake complex supervisory control and their work, as compared to the practice thus far, will be directed simultaneously at comprehensive supervision and the longer range orientation of management. That is, acting for the founding organs, they will constantly evaluate the management of the enterprise, and the activity of the leaders and will help the guidance work of the supervisory organs with their opinions. At the same time they will take part in analyzing the strategic medium range plan conception, profile and organization of the enterprise and in evaluating ideas pertaining to modernization of the internal interest system. It will appear from all this that the supervisory committee does not have a decision making authority and thus its operation does not limit enterprise independence.

The supervisory organ appoints the chairman of the supervisory committee. Its members may be representatives of special ministries--such as industry and foreign trade--and of various chief authorities--such as the Ministry of Finance, the bank and the National Planning Office--and the branch trade union can delegate a member also. The members of the supervisory committee can sign a special work contract with those they represent and can do their work for an honorarium or as a second job. The members cannot have a share of the profit of the enterprise being supervised by them. The supervisory organs will organize the supervisory committees, endowed with a new sphere of tasks, partly from those already operating and partly by creating new ones.

Expanding the authority of the director's councils is intended to aid primarily institutionalized collective decision making and a more democratic guidance of the enterprise. Previously, director's councils worked only at the trusts, but they appeared at a few enterprises also, in an advisory role. Experience showed that their activity was limited to transmitting information within the enterprise. The new regulation is intended to broaden the authority of the director's councils by entrusting them with decision over enterprise strategic questions. In the future the supervisory organ will designate those trusts and enterprises--this applies to industry, the construction industry, the foodstuffs industry and trade alike--where director's councils with decision making rights must be organized.

The members of the director's council may include the director general, his deputies, leaders of the production units and representatives of the developmental organization, and the trade union can delegate two physical workers to the body also. Hereafter, the director's council can decide on the goals of the long and medium range plan, on choosing technical development directions, on the larger investments and on the development of the guidance and interest system within the enterprise. It would be useful if this body would become a debate forum as soon as possible, where the interests of organizations within the enterprise could clash and where the aspirations of the supreme leadership and of various units could be presented. All this is expected to help the development of internal enterprise organization and guidance and to increase the independence of the economic units of large enterprises with a number of factories or sites. The director's council cannot decide in operational questions; naturally, the director continues to be responsible for the leadership of the enterprise.

More modern methods than those used thus far will be used in selecting enterprise leaders, while realizing the proven principles of cadre policy. The role of selection via competition will increase and appointments will be increasingly for a definite time--generally for 5 years. There must be an attempt to develop a general mood in which it will not entail a loss of social prestige or an unfavorable moral judgment if the appointment of a leader is not extended for a new cycle. If the leader is not relieved for disciplinary reasons the supervisory organ is obliged to see to his new assignment. It is essential that the supervisory organ prescribe concrete requirements for workers in leadership positions when they are appointed. These might include putting an end to deficits or transforming the product structure, that is, not simply formulating for them the general goals of economic policy. When grading a higher leader the supervisory organ will take into consideration the opinion of the supervisory committee also. It is an important change that hereafter the director general or director will exercise the rights of employer over his deputies, thus the authority of the number one enterprise leader will include pay analysis, awards, premium payment, appointment and removal in regard to the deputies. It would be desirable for the selection of deputies to take place via competition also.

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PRINCIPLES FOR REVISED TEACHING OF MARXISM-LENINISM OUTLINED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 11 Nov 82 pp 3-13

[Article by Gyorgy Jozsa, main department chief of the Ministry of Culture: "Principles and Directions of Modernization in the Teaching of Marxism-Leninism"]

[Text] The great majority of the present Hungarian intelligentsia consists of those who received their education and established the foundation of their professional knowledge after 1945, and their socio-political attitudes and their commitment to socialism developed under socialist social relations. The new higher education system that developed after the liberation played a great and basically effective role in this process. But this can no longer fully meet the increased quality requirements. The social and economic development of recent times and the new results of science and technology have made necessary the modernization and further development of a higher-level human instruction. The working out of the long term development concept of higher education--on the basis of the Politburo's February 1981 resolution--is at present underway and, according to plans, will be finished by the end of next year. In the frame of this development work, a proposal is being made ready to strengthen activities for career education in higher level institutions, the intensified development of the communal-social activity of students, and raising the level for the teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

In harmony with the long term development concept of higher education, comprehensive and extensive work has been conducted in the past year and one-half in the field of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The debate materials prepared on the basis of the analysis has been discussed at about 20 places by teachers of Marxism, social scientists, state and party leaders at universities and colleges, party workers and propagandists. Parallel with this, the university and college KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] organizations also organized exchanges of ideas at various places on the questions of world-outlook education. Simultaneously with these discussions, a number of articles in TARSADALMI SZEMLE and in TAJEKOZTATO, the periodical of Marxist-Leninist instructors, dealt with the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The KB [Central Committee] Agitation and Propaganda Committee also discussed in August 1982 a situation analysis taking into account the experiences of the debates. In approving this report, this body indicated the most important principles and the directions of development for the modernization of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, it was not only the development work of higher education that made necessary the analysis prepared for the modernization of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The problems of modernizing the teaching of Marxism-Leninism have been placed in the forefront in a number of European socialist countries. Everywhere attempts are being made to see that the teaching of world-outlook subjects should be capable of fulfilling its mission in the present period of the building of socialism.

The teaching of Marxism-Leninism achieved significant successes in Hungary in the 1960's and 1970's. In most of the universities and colleges, the level of teaching rose, the scientific preparedness of the teachers was improved, the subjects of Marxism-Leninism were better linked into the specialized subjects of the individual institutions of higher learning, and new teaching forms and methods were developed. All this was done on the basis of a large-scale socio-economic development that occurred in our country. The consistent ideological policy of the MSZMP created good conditions for the development of Marxism-Leninism and, in general, of Marxism social sciences for the teaching of Marxism at universities. Favorable to this was the main development of international relations, the unfolding of the process of detente and the world-wide advance of the forces of social progress.

However, in the beginning of the mid-1970's, the breaking down of the detente process, the new processes developing in the world economy, and the economic and political problems that were appearing in some of the socialist countries made their effects felt more and more. From many points of view the building of a Hungarian socialist society also found itself in a new situation. The surfacing of the need for and problems of intensive development and the increasingly difficult effects of the capitalist world economic crisis placed our country also before a serious test. Add to this the problems of the higher education system, the weaknesses in the democratism of university life, the problems of KISZ activity, and the initial career difficulties of some of the young intelligentsia that were more difficult than justified. In some places, views emerged which belittled the results of socialist society or charged that socialist values were being surrendered. For Marxist education these problems appeared in the form of questions that had to be answered. But Marxist education was unable in every respect to respond to the increased requirements stemming from the new situation.

Therefore, in the course of the past few years a great deal of criticism has been leveled at Marxist education in universities and colleges, as well as outside of these institutions. There were some people who wanted to make Marxist-Leninist teaching responsible for all the negative phenomena appearing in the world outlook of the students and in their political attitudes. Behind other criticisms, however, the ill will toward Marxist-Leninist theory was perceptible.

Most of the teachers of Marxism view their own activity critically. Although there were some who thought they saw an attack on Marxism-Leninism in every kind of criticism, the position gained preponderance in discussions that the starting point of further progress can only be found in a realistic and critical picture of the situation and not in the covering up of actual errors.

However, we cannot judge the teaching of Marxism by itself: the teaching of world-outlook subjects is only one factor in a manifold system of influences that affects the students. Therefore, the demand which emerges explicitly or implicitly that the teaching of Marxism should develop a firm Marxism world outlook in the students independently of changes in the social environment is fully unrealistic and alien to the spirit of Marxism. At the same time, the position is untenable that the information materials and outlook derived from family and secondary school, the development of the international and the domestic socio-political situation, the cooperation of the youth organization, and the mass communication means define the political-ideological orientation of the students to such an extent that it is impossible to expect a stronger effect on world-outlook formation from Marxist teaching. This view blurs the responsibility of the workers in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and ascribes all weakness in teaching to external factors.

Analytical work and the experiences derived from the discussions unanimously confirm that the situation of Marxist-Leninist teaching is very complex both from the aspect of the level and of world-outlook conviction, and that there are great differences among the individual institutions, the individual faculties, the teaching of the various subjects, and the teachers. It is possible to find high-level teaching-education work and professional backwardness, encouraging experiments and rigidity, and open and closed attitudes alike. But neither the results nor the faults can be explained merely by factors within education. However, in the course of the analytical work--of course, without forgetting those "external" circumstances in which teaching is conducted--it was necessary to turn our attention above all to the critical points of our teaching-education work.

The success of Marxist-Leninist teaching in higher education is unfavorably influenced by the fact that the historical knowledge of the students is wanting, and their general level of education is inadequate. A role is played in this by the abolition of history certification in the earlier years, and because of this a significant part of the studies in the third and fourth classes of secondary school are limited to the two subjects that are important from the viewpoint of university and college acceptance. Meanwhile, it is well known history has again become a certification subject, and that the higher education acceptance system has also been altered. All this will have a favorable effect, it is expected, on the preparedness of young people entering on higher education.

Further problems are caused, however, by the fact that in secondary schools the teaching of certain subjects is not accompanied by adequate emphasis on world-outlook interrelationships. The subject course called Foundations of Our World Outlook can give only some kind of superficial Marxist-Leninist picture. At present, this course is too crowded in respect to topics and thus is unable to give a world-outlook synthesis of the subjects taught in secondary school. The teaching of this subject could be much more successful if instead of striving for extensive completeness in developing a world outlook it would

deal with several world-outlook problems which are better related to the knowledge and interests of secondary school students. According to this concept, we already started in the autumn of this year to transform the materials in the Foundations of Our World Outlook course.

Frequently, however, students arrive in higher learning with prejudice toward the schematic picture they received of Marxism and sometimes of the Marxist-Leninist theory. Despite the weaknesses in world-outlook education, a considerable portion of the students entering college or university still come to Marxism with a great deal of sympathy and open interest; in addition to social influences and family stimulation, a significant role is played in this by the successful education work and the attractive personality of a considerable number of secondary school teachers.

Time and again analytical work has been confronted with the difficulty that we do not adequately know the present university and college students, we are not familiar enough with their living conditions, attitudes and world outlook. Of course, a role is played in this by the fact that we do not have appropriate means and methods for measuring characteristics and changes in world outlook. Studies for analyzing world outlook are most capable of adequately reflecting knowledge level, and by supplementing certain experiences deductions are made from this level about world outlook and political convictions. Actually, this method of approach is only suitable to establish to what extent and how the students have acquired the political-ideological knowledge which is required by us and regarded as important. Frequently these studies merely establish the obvious fact that the youth of today do not have any direct experiences with capitalist society; nor do they have enough information and knowledge about socialism as a historical process.

Surveys prepared in earlier years and party, state documents generally proceed from the premise that students "were born into" a socialist society and our relations are accepted as a natural medium of existence. However, the fact of being born into it and the acceptance of socialism as a socio-political system tells us nothing in itself about the world outlook and political attitudes of today's youth, and at the most it establishes that these youths relate to socialism differently from earlier generations.

In the discussions there were many who said that the concept we have formed of the political and world-outlook characteristics of the students and the various student groups is not deep and nuanced enough. From the political and world-outlook point of view they were differentiated, generally speaking, among three sub-classes in recent years: the great majority of students accept socialism and in their world outlook are close to Marxism; the ratio of those who are indifferent is relatively large, and the number of those who are politically active and have a mature Marxist outlook is small; in a small youth group, certain bourgeois views and a kind of unsatisfied political attitude can be observed.

This picture of a threefold division among students reflects essentially correctly the political and world-outlook conditions in universities and colleges. But experiences in the past several years show that the development of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook among university students is not an unconditionally linear and forward moving process but a trend in which there are lapses and temporary declines. Every new university generation must strive for a world outlook, for a political commitment; the "birth" of the young into a socialist society does not automatically shape a socialist consciousness. Differentiation among the students and political and world-outlook orientation can change rapidly in response to external conditions, and if we do not take these changes sufficiently into account in our teaching-educational work, it is useless for us to continue with the earlier method and level, for the desired results will not be attained. Under such circumstances the danger exists that Marxist teaching will be divorced from the political and theoretical questions that interest the students.

Perhaps the weakest point of our teaching-educational work is that we do not deal convincingly enough, deeply enough with the present questions and problems of building socialism and the development perspectives of a socialist society. And we are unable appropriately to analyze those changes which have taken place in the recent past in the developed capitalist and the developing countries. There is inadequate harmony between an understanding of the theoretical bases and the discussion of present problems. In discussing the problems of socialism, our education deals frequently with the ideal, and is divorced from the actual problems of socialism.

All this is not basically due to inadequate preparedness of the teachers. Much more often the cause is that the Marxist-Leninist theory itself and the Marxist social sciences are out of phase in answering the various important problems of our times, and thus teaching has nothing on which to rely. Of course, it is also necessary that the teachers should come to know the newest results of Marxist social science as deeply and rapidly as possible, and use these in their teaching. We also lack those high-level and popular works which by relying on the most recent results of scientific researchers would assist in political, ideological orientation in the present. But the students, in fact, will not approach theory from abstract principles and the precepts of Marxist theory but from social, economic and political problems that are directly experienced; they will ask for an account of the imagined or actual problems of Marxism from the teaching or the teachers of Marxism.

One of the cardinal questions of the debate over Marxist teaching has been how and by what method the teaching should deal with actual questions. A number of people expressed the view that Marxist teaching must continue to impart an understanding of the theoretical bases and the Marxist-Leninist method of analyzing reality, since an approach to the question of the present period and the discussion of current political questions will only ruin respect for teaching and lead to a justification of the tactical steps of policy. Finally, in the exchange of ideas the position was developed that teaching cannot avoid current questions, and the teacher errs who shirks their discussion. At the same time, it is obvious that teaching cannot permanently become a political forum of debate, for in the course of instruction it is precisely those

theoretical interrelationships which the students must adapt that may help them understand current political questions. Therefore, dealing with the questions of the present does not mean actualization, and even less the justification of daily policy; policy itself does not require this. But teaching cannot afford to stop with the most general precepts of theory. The basic goal is that we should help the students understand the present and the main questions of socialist development.

A Marxist approach to and understanding of the present and of socialist social processes can be prepared for appropriately only through instruction in the theory explained by the classics. The students become familiar with the theoretical bases of Marxism-Leninism mostly through the explanations and lecture notes of the teacher, the reading and analysis of classical texts are frequently only of supplementary character, and sometimes serve only an illustrative function. It is a paradox of our teaching that the students could pass examinations in the subjects of Marxism-Leninism without reading, as a whole, a single one of the more important works of Marx or Lenin and without understanding the historic interrelationships of the birth of the individual theoretical theses. It may happen, therefore, that some of the students identify Marxism with lecture notes (or the weaknesses thereof) and conceive of it as a gray, monotonous collection of precepts. The examination-centric mode of teaching also strengthens this outlook, or the circumstance that a considerable number of teachers are overly strict and formal in accountability for course material.

A deep study of the classical works by the students is limited by the big load they carry. But the position of the Marxist classics exercises an important influence on the students. They not only recognize their intellectual achievements, but the clear logic and animation of their thinking seizes hold of their minds. In most places, teaching makes good use of this possibility, many teachers are capable--despite the above-mentioned difficulties--of imparting to the students the theoretical heritage of the Marxist classics in a convincing way.

But the idea also exists among students that since Marx, Engels and Lenin lived in an earlier historical period, their theories cannot be standard for answering the questions of today. But indirectly and despite intent, that method of teaching--which fortunately occurs less and less frequently--strengthens this position with constant reference to the classics, actualizing their ideas or maintaining that on the basis of Marxism-Leninism it is necessary to know or say this or that about a problem. By such appeals to authority, however, young people may be alienated from Marxism rather than convinced.

Today in universities and colleges everywhere they teach the three components of Marxism-Leninism: political economics, philosophy, and scientific socialism. In 1978 the history of the Hungarian workers' movement and the teaching of general sociology was introduced (the latter only at several places as of now). The instruction of the individual subjects has also been significantly developed in the recent past, but the teaching-educational work

is not harmonious among them. Instruction is excessively fragmented, the individual subjects are divorced from one another. Up to now there has been no opportunity for thinking through the relationship of the three basic subjects and for simultaneously shaping the programs; only partial adjustments have been made, which have helped, to be sure, in eliminating unjustified overlapping but without solving the necessary theoretical, substantive and conceptual relationships. It is a serious weakness of our teaching that because of the substantive and structural fragmentation of our instruction the students do not become acquainted with Marxism as a unified world and social concept. The individual subjects are given philosophical, economic or political enlightenment separately, and thus the unified Marxist world outlook necessary for understanding complex social processes cannot be adequately developed.

In the course of the debates, everyone agreed that it is necessary to strengthen the effect of teaching on forming a unified world outlook, and at the same time it is necessary to guard the scientific and pedagogical experiences accumulated in the course of teaching the subjects.

The compulsory instruction of Marxist subjects assures the organized possibilities of forming a world outlook and of consciously shaping political commitment, and we must in no way give up doing this. But the compulsoriness is accompanied by disadvantages also; it brings the danger that the young will not approach Marxism as a world outlook that gives answers to social and human problems and helps to understand reality, but as a compulsory task that must be done to pass an examination successfully. This danger is heightened if with reference to the claim of science Marxism is taught purely as a subject of instruction and not as a scientific world outlook.

But study requirements and world-outlook education based on conviction are not mutually exclusive. The contradictions between them are resolved, or the alienation stemming from the compulsory nature is dissipated if the students recognize that we do not want to force on them simplified precepts and a closed world outlook, but rather we are extending theoretical and methodological assistance to the understanding of actual problems and the discovery of the interrelationships of reality. This is not yet being realized everywhere. In some places difficulties are also caused by the fact it is not adequately clear that the compulsion refers to the study of Marxist subjects and not to the acceptance of a world outlook.

It is natural at most places for the students during instruction to express their views frankly and to state their problems. This is very important because the development of a world outlook is an active process which cannot be conducted without the active participation and intellectual efforts of the students. But the active cooperation of the students in the process of world-outlook teaching-education is not yet sufficient. It is an unacceptable attitude here and there of teachers that fails to regard students as thinking partners and rejects written or spoken thoughts simply by saying "it is not Marxist." Nor has it entered sufficiently into the consciousness of students, during instruction, that Marxism-Leninism is a developing theory, an analysis of the changing world, and develops by way of confrontation with bourgeois ideas and through debates and exchanges of ideas within Marxism.

The students rightfully demand that instruction should devote more attention to discussing and criticizing the bourgeois theories of today. This relates, of course, to the fact that in recent times some students have had the opportunity to observe the effects of bourgeois theory as it appears in the name of modernity. A significant part of these trends appear merely as fads, they do not exert a lasting world-outlook influence on the students, but can influence their positions on important political and economic questions.

Discussions on bourgeois views are frequently limited only to low-level reviews and to showing their anti-Marxist nature. Instruction frequently polemizes with obsolete, ineffective and peripheral theories; and it is precisely in the more important questions of the modern period that it is unable to confront the Marxist position with bourgeois views. But in the debate with non-Marxist philosophical, political and economic theories it is not their exposure and criticism that is most important but that we should show how Marxism is capable of answering the questions that have been raised.

The activity of the faculties for Marxism plays an important role in the educational work of institutions of higher education. The state and party leadership of higher educational institutions relies to a great extent on the faculties for Marxism. But in the educational process there is inadequate harmony between professional training and teaching of Marxism. The lack of coordination among subjects is particularly felt in the relationship of the natural sciences and philosophy, and generally also in the relationship of Marxist subjects and the social sciences. And still, world-outlook education and teaching are a common task, and cannot be limited to the teaching of Marxism. Recently, an effort can be observed in more and more faculties to shed light on the world outlook interrelationships of the subject taught. In many places the teachers of the specialized faculties exercise an important influence on the development of a Marxist outlook among the students. But this favorable trend is not yet a general one, not every faculty has recognized as yet its responsibility for world-outlook education, the role of the specialized subjects has not yet been adequately clarified.

The analytical work and the experiences of the debates showed that most of the Marxist teachers are performing their work at a high level and with a sense of calling, their commitment to our socialist social order is firm. They are making significant efforts to see that their knowledge is always kept up to date and that they will be capable of giving convincing answers to the questions of their students. At the same time, it has been observed that some of the teachers show a certain lack of ideological clarity, some of them have been made less certain by the present complicated and difficult situation and by the decline evident in the development of Marxist theory. Also, some of the teachers have stopped in their development, and are not capable of doing successful world-outlook educational work. Although theoretical-political dogmatism has been to a large extent eliminated from teaching, incomplete preparedness appears as a dogmatic concept rigidly clinging to precepts that have been bypassed. This has a repelling influence on students who can easily generalize the mode of outlook of certain teachers and their incomplete preparedness to all of teaching, and in fact project these even to the Marxist

theory. Still, the situation frequently exists that at certain universities and colleges the teachers cling rigidly to earlier views and are insensitive to new problems while teachers who look for answers to the problems of reality in a creative way often do not receive adequate support.

A serious problem of Marxist teaching at present is the solution of the problem of recruitment. Most of those who are graduating from universities are professionally well prepared, but their practical experience is small. At the same time, the professional knowledge of those who come into Marxist teaching from other places of work is out of date, and this cannot be equalized by political experience. A problem is also caused by the fact that well-trained, politically experienced teachers are constantly leaving the field of Marxist teaching to work in important areas of political or ideological life. From the viewpoint of party policy this is a fortunate type of mobility, but it continuously leads to a weakening of Marxist teaching, and it is impossible to make up for this loss from external sources. Not only is the solution of recruitment difficult but in general it is also difficult to keep well-trained and talented teachers capable of development. The material and moral recognition of our teachers is not adequate either. But in addition to the fact that most teachers perform their teaching-educational work conscientiously, they also participate to a great extent in the political-community activity of universities and colleges.

The studies for analyzing the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the debates have revealed the successes and weaknesses of teaching-educational work. They have also revealed that the problems and weaknesses did not come about from one day to the next, but we are speaking of a gradual falling behind. We are speaking of the fact that teaching, despite every effort and result, has not been able to keep pace with the social, economic, political and ideological changes of the past 25 years, the processes of international life, and the influences on the students and teachers alike of the generational changes. Therefore, partial modifications are not enough; we need essential changes that permeate the whole field of teaching. The basic conditions exist for the process of making these changes: the results achieved thus far by teaching, a high-level of preparedness, a sense of calling and action capability attained by many teachers in order that our education work should be capable of meeting the new, higher requirements stemming from social development. The guarantee that this action capability should lead to results is that in Hungary--despite every difficulty--there is a calm, balanced political atmosphere favorable to the diffusion and acceptance of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

But the modifications that appear necessary cannot be realized from one school year to the next, and important results can become evident only over the longer term. The changes must not cause an interruption in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, we must see to it that the teachers are appropriately prepared for the new tasks.

An understanding developed during the debate regarding the most important principles and the main directions of development for modernization. A common position was developed regarding the most important task of the development of Marxist-Leninist teaching: the approach to today's reality, a deep analysis and convincing presentation of the development processes and perspectives of socialist society. But to this end, the efforts of the teachers are not adequate; this task can be solved only if Marxist-Leninist theory, Marxist social sciences react more rapidly to the new processes underway in reality, the possible theoretical deductions are drawn from these, and teaching adapts the scientific results flexibly and without delay. For all this, it is necessary to have the party's increased help, the support of its stimulating and guiding ideological activity in the field of social sciences.

For the political and world-outlook preparation of the intellectual specialists trained in higher education, it is necessary to have the unified and complex planning of world-outlook education from lower and middle level teaching to higher education all the way to the first phase of beginning an intellectual career. The development of a world outlook starts in childhood and does not end with the conclusion of university life. Today the situation generally is that the individual phases of world-outlook formation repeat themselves at a higher level, and thus, for example, the secondary school subject, Foundations of Our World Outlook, approximately anticipates--less in detail and profundity--the Marxist-Leninist teaching that is done at universities. Today at every teaching phase we are still trying to develop a "full world outlook as though before sowing we were to substitute several plowings a centimeter deep for a single deep plowing. Nothing could come of this but superficiality, or the feeling in the pupils and students that they are repeating the same thing over and over. (It should be noted that this mistake is to be seen in the teaching of other subjects as well;)

It is necessary, therefore, that the goals of world-outlook education at the individual teaching levels should not be determined separately and independently of each other. Within the world-outlook attitude-forming system of higher education, Marxist teaching must contribute with its own characteristic means to seeing that the experiential and empirical materials of the students should become a matter of consciousness with the help of Marxist thinking in harmony with the basic development process of our society. We must help the young intellectuals who are proceeding into practical life to be capable of independently orienting themselves on the basis of the social concept of Marxism-Leninism and to act on the basis of the socialist value system both in private and public life.

To this end, Marxist teaching must see first of all that the students acquire the theoretical bases of Marxism-Leninism, become familiar with the analysis of social processes by Marxist-Leninist means and understand the role of Marxist-Leninist theory in establishing the foundations of policy; that their conviction should become conscious and strong that only socialism is capable of finding a humane and communal solution to the questions of our time, and to domestic social and personal problems.

However, it is necessary to concretize from time to time the unified goals of world-outlook education on the basis of the changing social conditions and the differences according to succeeding generations, or these must be realized in differentiated substance and form in the various institutions of higher education.

The modernization of Marxist teaching must proceed together with the development work of higher education. We must strengthen the role of the specialized subjects in world-outlook education, and in addition to a high-level exposition of the theoretical-methodological bases of Marxist-Leninist teaching we must approach specialist training in a better way and deal more deeply with the world-outlook interrelationships of the sciences that are taught in the institutions. All this is of particular importance in institutions engaged in social science and generally in teacher training, in which the teaching of Marxist subjects must form an organic part of specialized training.

For the greater effectiveness of world-outlook formation, we need the more active participation of the young, and a livelier spirit of debate. It is important that teaching should give frank answers to the questions of the students without leaving unmentioned those problems for which there is no mature Marxist answer. Teaching should also guide the political-ideological interests of the young. It is becoming more and more insufficient to acquire a certain level of knowledge--we need to develop a sensitivity to problems and a Marxist capability for analyzing phenomena. It is, therefore, advisable to put the intensive teaching forms in the forefront and to link team teaching appropriately with the problem-discovery lectures of the best prepared teachers. It is very profitable to broaden and strengthen the activity of scientific student circles for Marxism-Leninism. In this area, too, we need increased cooperation with specialized faculties and with KISZ.

There was much discussion in the debates about the preparedness of the teachers, their educational activity, there was agreement that the professional, political and pedagogical requirements placed on the teachers cannot be regarded separately but must form a unified system. An active acceptance of the party's main political directions and identification with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook are basic conditions. At the same time, professional preparedness, general education, and an appropriately human observance of socialist norms are requirements of political importance for Marxist teachers.

On the basis of principles which have ripened in debates on Marxist-Leninist teaching, the duties which face teaching have assumed the form of concrete tasks. At present it is the faculties that prepare the task plans. They study what they must do to explain more convincingly the development of our times and socialist society; how they can cooperate with the specialized faculties in the formation of a world outlook, and how they can assure that the subjects taught will have a unified world-outlook effect. In the preparation of the task plans they devote great attention to more flexible and variable instruction, and to seeing that it will better take into account the interests of

the students. The solution of these continuous problems may raise the level of Marxist teaching to a great extent and intensify the conviction of its world outlook. But to see that instruction shall be capable of meeting requirements over the long term, something else must be done.

In the exchange of ideas, one of the most important points of debate was whether we need greater changes or whether it is enough to improve the teaching-educational work we have had thus far, to raise it to a higher level. On the basis of the new tasks and the seriousness of the problems rising in the field of Marxist teaching, the Agitation and Propaganda Committee took the position that for the solution of tasks over the short run and for the continuing tasks it is necessary substantively to renovate and structurally transform instruction. The preparation of these changes will require about 3 to 6 years.

1. In harmony with modernization and development work, we must assure the unity of world-outlook education as conducted in public schools and higher education. This will require the coordination of education goals and study materials, and the elimination of unnecessary repetition. It is essential to develop increased cooperation and organic relations between Marxist-Leninist teaching in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning on one hand and the parallel or pursuant KISZ and party-instruction forms on the other.
2. We need to study what kind of learning materials and talents are necessary in the present period of socialist development for orientation based on the Marxist spirit. Accordingly, it is necessary to develop a new kind of work distribution among the three basic subjects of Marxist instruction.
3. We must change the structure of the teaching process. We must take into account in a more differentiated way the differences in training time and the characteristics of the individual institution types. In the near future expert bodies will work out alternative proposals for a new teaching structure, and these will be prior tested in several institutions. In their main outlines, these structural changes, it is expected, will be the following:

We are planning integral instruction at colleges (3 years' training time) within which one subject will include the most important philosophical, economic and political ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This subject does not simply mean the summarization or condensation of the three basic subjects formed on the basis of the presently taught, three component elements of Marxism-Leninism. The goal is to have the students gain a unified picture of the world-society concept of Marxism-Leninism at the 3-year college, and through elimination of fragmented instruction prevent the theory of Marxism from being broken down into courses of instruction. The newly integrated subject will be followed by the teaching of one discipline linked to the specialized training conducted at the given institution. The instruction will be done jointly by a team of teachers formed from instructors of the present basic subjects.

At universities and teacher-training colleges it appears advisable to build two steps, by and large following each other in point of time. In basic training (years 1, 2, and 3) the students will become familiar with the basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism on basis of the works of the classicists and the Marxist social sciences. This will be followed by the alternative (built largely on optional instruction forms) step (years 3 and 4). In this framework the students may freely choose from among the announced subjects and special colleges. These are linked in part to specialized training, and also they make possible the study of present reality and the important problems that are of interest to students.

The teaching of Marxist-Leninist subjects at colleges and universities alike will be concluded by a step dealing with the basic questions in the development of a socialist society. With the transformation of the subject called the History of the Hungarian Workers' Movement it will be necessary to develop a new subject which after a short historical introduction will discuss our history since liberation and the most important problems in the building of socialism by pointing out the most important international interrelationships of development.

4. Substantive and structural modernization cannot be conceived of without a new system of specialized training (the training of specialists in philosophy, political economics, scientific socialism and sociology). A rise in the level of the supplementary specialties is of particular importance because a significant share of the teachers of Marxism receive their necessary specialized training in these fields since they have already acquired specialized training at some other university. The present evening school and correspondence instruction forms must be supplemented by intensive training steps in the interest of more profound preparedness.

5. We must establish a new, unified continuation training system for the teachers of Marxism-Leninism. The starting point for this is the central unification of continuation training as linked to the three basic subjects. The basic task of the new center is the improvement of the teachers' professional and pedagogical preparedness for the sake of a unified world outlook. It is particularly important that the continuation training center should prepare the teachers to be capable of giving deep and convincing instruction in the questions of our time and in the development processes of a socialist society.

The teaching of Marxism-Leninism at universities and colleges faces many great tasks. The readiness for action and change exists in the teachers. But their efforts will be truly productive if in the formation of the students' world outlook and political convictions they receive increased help from the state and party leadership of the universities and colleges and from Marxist social scientists.

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CSO: 2500/47

PARIS PAPER VIEWS TRENDS IN POLISH RESISTANCE

PM091341 Paris LE FIGARO in French 8 Dec 82 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland: The Resistance's Three Directions"]

[Text] Warsaw--The failure of the 10 November strike, the political authorities' agreement for the pope's visit, Mr Walesa's release and the announcement of the forthcoming suspension of martial law have undoubtedly enabled the government to score points. These tactical successes have certainly caused some disturbance in the democratic opposition, but they have done nothing to change a dual fundamental truth, namely that General Jaruzelski's team is still not in a position to put forward a program likely to steer the country out of the economic depression, and that it is even less so since it enjoys no confidence or credibility among a population the vast majority of whom are with the opposition in spirit.

Nonetheless, the clandestine structures of Solidarity and of the opposition in general must rethink their action. First, they must regain self-confidence. For instance, the clandestine newspaper TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE writes in an editorial: "Solidarity's social movement will continue to exist as long as there is no freedom, justice and economic reform in Poland."

The same newspaper admits that, after the failure of the 10 November strike, "the hope of a rapid victory vanished," and that "fighting from the old positions is, therefore, futile."

However, when it comes to defining this new action program very clear divisions emerge. It is possible to say that three main directions are now emerging within the opposition.

Long-Term Action

1--Preparing open struggle in the near future.

The most hardline faction is convinced that the opposition has lost a battle but not the war. It regards it as certain that the government will not succeed in steering the country out of the economic depression and that the economic crisis will merely worsen. In these conditions, an abrupt explosion, an uncontrolled revolution, will inevitably occur in

6 months or a year. The opposition should therefore prepare for that confrontation and ensure that it is victorious, even if it means assuring the Soviets that the new regime which will emerge from that will in no way threaten the Kremlin's security.

Many supporters of this line are found among the former Workers' Self-Defense Committee [KOR] members. Their hold over opinion and especially over young people is undoubtedly stronger than it was in 1980, because in the eyes of many people the events seem to have shown the system's irreformable character.

2--Organizing underground for long-term action.

A very strong current of opinion leans toward the creation of a kind of state within the state, a parallel state. For instance, the technical school's clandestine Solidarity pamphlet notes that "what we still have to do in the present situation is to organize and function alongside the state structures, ignoring them wherever possible." TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE shares that view. Recalling that "we have known for a long time that the struggle we are waging cannot be won after one battle but looks as if it will last for years," it stresses the need to take action by all possible means--acts of Solidarity distribution of newspapers and pamphlets, discussion clubs, cultural and scientific movements, clandestine trade unions and so forth.

WOLA, another clandestine organ, holds the view that the action of what it calls the "alternative movement" should go in both directions at once: expanding the symbolic sphere of influence (by all the means just mentioned) and developing long-term undertakings in the economic and organizational spheres, both within the clandestine structures and the legal structures such as the Catholic Intellectuals' Clubs [KIK].

In an article under the heading "Between Defeat and Victory," TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE stresses the need to draw up a "clear political program" and adds: "A clear program is a program which does not try to build a historical compromise with communism, but proclaims that we will gradually cut the ground from under the feet of the Reds."

Many clandestine trade union cells have already been organized in the factories and enterprises alongside the new boycotted trade unions. Those cells are receiving subscriptions from the workers and are organizing social aid as normal. Similarly, an "All-Poland Peasants' Resistance Committee-Solidarity," which groups the three former free peasants' trade union movements, has just been set up in the rural districts.

Reviving Dialogue

3--Trying to revive dialogue and act within the existing official structures.

A third faction, however, advocates moderation, the resumption of dialogue with the government and a "historical compromise." It claims to follow both the Polish primate, his Constitutive Council, and Mr Walesa. A "statement" issued by the Solidarity Interregional Defense Commissions opposes the theory of the "irreformable nature of socialism" and that of the "insoluble contradiction between society and the government in socialist Poland." If they were to be accepted, it maintains, the only thing left would be to leave the country. The signatories declare their "readiness to work for social accord." The idea that "by strikes and street demonstrations it was possible to force the government to make concessions was mistaken from the start." Launching that idea showed "lack of realism." The government proved to be more than a "paper tiger."

It is now impossible to accept that there should be more casualties, because they might create a barrier of blood between the government and the country, making national accord impossible. The authors therefore advocate an attitude which they describe as "centrist," stating that "adventurism and apathy are dangerous for the country's future." It is necessary to show that Solidarity is capable of constructive action." This is particularly important, since a policy which would lead to civil war would, according to the authors, turn the bulk of the population away from the free trade union.

This policy of holding out a hand is, according to them, particularly important since the government is, unfortunately, now going in a different direction. "The government's tactics, which are emerging with increasing clarity, threaten a new social conflict so serious that it might be worse than anybody could imagine."

According to circles close to Solidarity in Warsaw, it is not impossible that Mr Walesa might shortly express the same view: In that connection there is reason to think that if the Solidarity leader instructed the trade union members to join the new cells which have just been created by the authorities and to act within them to ensure that they are truly independent, that would be likely to cause some disarray in circles close to the country's leaders.

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PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT OF NATIONAL REBIRTH HAILED

AU151355 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by Jerzy Weber: "A Movement Which Gives an Honest Chance"]

[Excerpts] The Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON] is becoming more and more clearly part of our public life despite the fact that programmatic discussions are still going on within the movement and despite the fact that issues like its range of powers and its formal place in our system of democracy have not been finally settled. The 20 July declaration by the PZPR, the allied political parties and Catholic and Christian groups concerning the formation of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth lays down in very general terms a range of problems which this movement should be interested in, as well as who should form it.

In the meantime, omitting the question of to what degree this movement's principles and ideas have been accepted by society, public opinion is already linking important facts to the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth. The Initiating Commission for the establishment of a Provisional National Council assigned its own representatives to take part in a Government Presidium session upon the invitation of the premier. Several days later, the commission appealed to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic to lift martial law as a competent representative of society. Voivodship Provisional Coordinating Councils of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth have asked for the release of internees being held in their respective voivodships, and these requests are being fulfilled. It is this movement which is being turned to more and more often whenever something is said about the basic political reform which awaits us, the reform of the electoral rules to People's Councils and to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

One can say that the movement already exists politically before it is fully organized. Here I want to say in advance that I see a huge chance for the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth; more than this, I see a huge chance for the process of democratization of life in Poland which has been announced by the authorities and which is expected by society.

A lot of things indicate that a political idea is being formed before our eyes in a different way than has been the case up to now. The Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth is creating its structures without any hurry. As the movement's signatories themselves admit, the Provisional National

Council was originally meant to be formed within a month of the creation of its Initiating Commission in September this year. Almost 3 months have gone by, and it is only the upcoming suspension of martial law that is speeding up this council's formative process.

The signatories of the 20 July declaration assumed that the achievement and guarantee of national accord is a key condition for overcoming the Polish crisis, and in a way they programmatically withdrew from organized interference in the formative process of this social movement. The movement is already characterized by a large degree of autonomy. It should itself decide on how to form a program and how to structure it, uniting those social forces and Poles who reconcile national accord with the unquestioning recognition of the political principles written down in the constitution of the Polish People's Republic. This is really a very broad formula, for it cannot be denied that the huge majority of the citizens of our country accepts these principles. Even if their acceptance is motivated by a feeling of political realism among a small section of the community, this acceptance is motivated by a deeply-embedded prosocialist orientation among the majority and especially among working people.

Nevertheless, there is still a lot of lack of confidence. This is the reason for the genuine and understandable care displayed by the people who comprise the Initiating Commission when they make final programmatic and organizational decisions. By the way, it is a rare occurrence in our political history when programmatic thinking receives priority over thinking about organizational structures. May this become a permanent characteristic of this movement, to which, as one of today's activists has said, the greatest danger will always be formalism and bureaucracy.

Thus, a constant programmatic discussion has been going on since September. The experiences of the past, both before August and before December, weigh heavily on this discussion, along with the knowledge of the existing divisions within the community. Nevertheless, from the proposals that have been put forward, and there have already been several of them, an increasingly clearer picture of an authentic citizens' movement is being painted, a picture of a partnerlike representation of all social circles at the side of the authorities, particularly of nonparty people. This is an important element in stimulating and guaranteeing the process of socialist renewal.

Less discussion and more activity is being undertaken "at the bottom" of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth--in its basic circles, among which are above all the Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [OKON] and also self-governing bodies of residents and other social initiative teams which have emerged since 13 December and which have applied to join the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth. The pressure of the problems of daily life is overpowering. Nothing joins people together like joint work, especially social work.

For months, hundreds, even thousands, of initiatives which conform to the content of the July declaration have been undertaken throughout the country. Local social representations are being formed, though not always without

misunderstandings. They have a long way to go before they are fully representational and they often lack a cohesive and logical program and a fuller knowledge of the role which the movement, which is being set into motion by means of these initiatives, will play in our sociopolitical lives. That is why there is a natural need to set up secondary social bodies--coordinating ones and, in a sense, programming ones. Therefore, Provisional Coordinating Councils of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth have been set up in all voivodships. We may expect a Provisional National Council to be set up soon.

Nothing in this movement has been prejudged yet. Many questions remain open. To what degree is the movement to be a form of organized public opinion and to what extent is it to be an institution of public life with certain powers? How should one turn this movement into the broadest and most accessible forum for public discussion on matters concerning Poland and Poles? What should one do to encourage useful social initiatives and thus also make the movement a useful way of checking the effectiveness of what the administrative and economic authorities do? How should the movement become a school for developing political and citizens' maturity?

There are more questions like these. Some of them are bound to be answered by the first programmatic documents after the Provisional National Council has been set up. The others will be dealt with by the Congress which has been announced for early next year. However, one ought to realize that the Movement of National Rebirth is part of socialist renewal. In this sense, its final shape and its role and place in the country's sociopolitical life will be determined by the amount of consistency with which the renewal program contained in the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress is implemented. A lot depends on the intelligence and activity of our party--of its members, circles and cells. A lot also depends on how quickly life becomes normal in Poland and how well Poles can find a place in the joint labor of leading their country out of the crisis. The fate of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth will be an important indicator in this.

CSO: 2600/179

'TRYBUNA LUDU' CRITICIZES POLISH-FRG RELATIONS

AU092028 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Dec 82 p 6

[Article by Daniel Lulinski: "More Checks Than Good Will--Bonn's Attitude Toward Poland"]

[Excerpts] The 12th anniversary of the signing in Warsaw of the foundations of normalization of Polish-FRG relations induces us to review the last 12 years. The treaty signed on 7 December 1970 has played a crucial role in strengthening detente and stability in a sensitive part of Europe and, together with the other treaties between the socialist states and the FRG, created conditions for signing the CSCE Final Act.

The great importance of the 1970 Polish-FRG treaty has not changed under the conditions of current East-West relations, which have been complicated by the power beyond the ocean. When 60 days ago the right-of-center coalition of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], CSU [Christian Social Union] and FDP [Free Democratic Party] took over in the FRG, the question was how Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government would continue to normalize relations with Poland.

The evaluation of the Polish policy conducted by the Kohl Government is bound to provoke critical reflection. Both in the initial government declaration in the Bundestag and in other statements, Chancellor Kohl and his government have stressed above all the desire for the so-called unification of Germany, ignoring the present political and border reality in the center of Europe, and have reduced the importance of the international treaties signed with the socialist countries.

The FRG is actively participating in the implementation of the Reagan policy of sanctions and restrictions imposed on Poland by the United States and NATO countries. In fact, Bonn has frozen many economic and fiscal accords, which has been a painful blow inflicted on our economy. These measures have been accompanied by demands and conditions, which are addressed by the FRG Government and the Bundestag to our country and which concern Poland's internal, sovereign legislative and the government decisions. Changes have been demanded in Polish internal policy in line with U.S. and NATO ideas as a condition for a return to official contacts and for abolishing the sanctions.

Chancellor Kohl and his Christian-Democratic parties are not aware of the delicate nature of Polish-FRG relations, which are especially sensitive because of the burden of the past, especially between 1939 and 1945 when the aggression of German Fascists was responsible for the death of over 6 million of our citizens.

It is hard to interpret in any other way H. Kohl's interview for the DEUTSCHLANDFUNK on 25 November in which the Chancellor spoke of the "revenge" wrought by the Poles on the Germans after the war. We know this thesis from the FRG history books which put the victims and the aggressors on the same footing.

The impression is that the FRG Government and the leading politicians of the new coalition are intentionally closing their eyes to a positive evolution of the Polish situation, of which other western states are aware, dissociating themselves from the arrogant and blind anti-Polish policy of the U.S. President. Could it be that the FRG Government would like to become the last Mohican in Western Europe of R. Reagan's anti-Polish line? This policy is inconsistent with Europe's overriding interests in security and in the continued mutually advantageous economic cooperation between East and West, which proved its value in the 1970's.

Regarding its alliance with the Warsaw Pact states as the foundation of its position in Europe and the world, Poland is for expanding cooperation with the countries with other systems that have tried to preserve moderation and common sense in past years and months. In his Jastrzebie speech [on 3 December], Gen W. Jaruzelski stressed that such a far-reaching cooperation based on healthy and realistic foundations is possible and desirable today. It will be a great contribution to the great cause of peace, which is now seriously threatened.

Let us add that mutually advantageous Polish-FRG cooperation is also possible under these circumstances and on the strength of the 1970 treaty if it abandons prejudices and the Reagan line of confrontation, if it follows the letter and spirit of the 1970 treaty and if it contributes constructively to normalizing our mutual relations, just as provided for by the 1970 treaty signed in Warsaw.

CSO: 2600/178

POLAND

BRIEFS

CONSULATE IN ISRAEL CONTEMPLATED--MK Dani Rosolio, a member of the Israeli delegation that attended a meeting of the presidency of the Korczak Association held in Warsaw this month, has said that "the Poles are seriously contemplating the maintenance of a consular officer in Israel through one of the embassies which would represent Poland's affairs in Israel. There have been debates in Warsaw about the nature of relations with Israel, but deliberations were disrupted because of the war in Lebanon." Rosolio met with the Polish Sejm deputy chairman, the Polish ambassador to the Vatican and the deputy general director of the Polish Ministry [Office] of Religious Affairs. He said many of his interlocutors emphasized to him the intention to abolish martial law in Poland. [Excerpt] [TA231002 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 23 Nov 82 p 1]

'NOWE DROGI' CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER--PAP--The November issue of NOWE DROGI opens with a message from W. Jaruzelski and H. Jablonski to the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the USSR in connection with Leonid Brezhnev's death. The issue carries the statements made in connection with the 60th anniversary of the USSR by W. Jaruzelski, R. Malinowski, E. Kowalczyk, Z. Komender, K. Morawski, J. Szczepanski, S.R. Dobrowolski, J. Ozga-Michalski, J. Jaskiernia and S. Wronski. The issue carries extensive excerpts from W. Gomulka's speeches between 1960-70. W. Gora selected these excerpts. In connection with the 100th anniversary of the workers' movement, the issue carries documents and materials from 1918-23, which were selected and introduced by G. Iwanski and W. Mroczkowski. In the review column, J. Bohdan, in his article entitled "Attack Against and Defense of Socialism," discusses the materials published by the Government Press Bureau under the titles of "300 Restless Days" and "Prior to 13 December." [Text] [AU072020 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Dec 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/180

ROMANIA

READERS URGED TO SEND 'LETTERS TO THE EDITOR'

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Oct 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Gheorghe Mitroi: "A Word for Those Who Write to Us"]

[Text] The newspaper SCINTEIA - as an organ of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party - is contacted daily by a series of workers and citizens by means of letters, telephone calls or visits to the editorial staff's audience office. In the month of October alone, which closes out today, 2,018 persons wrote to or visited us, not counting the large number of telephone calls - calls that would be difficult to keep track of and that we have no intention of counting.

Everyone knows how much attention the party leadership and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally give to permanently strengthening the ties with the popular masses and the citizens. A series of party decisions addressing this aspect outlines important tasks for the party organizations, trade unions, Union of Communist Youth and other public organizations, as well as the organs of the collective state leadership, in constantly improving their activities in resolving workers' proposals, reports and requests - an important factor in achieving a lively dialogue and a broad and fruitful contact with the people. On the basis of these documents and in light of the speech given by the secretary general of the party at the festive meeting dedicated to the 50th anniversary of SCINTEIA, working with the readers' letters represents a basic task for any press organ.

Why does a person write to SCINTEIA? For a thousand and one reasons. Perhaps he saw around him - in the unit where he works, where he lives, in his neighbor's yard - something beautiful, an initiative, an achievement or an experience and he feels his civic duty to make this widely known so that good things will be spread about and generalized in our common interest. Perhaps in his work or his life he has found something that is not right, some type of negligence, a misunderstanding, a shortfall or an abuse of some kind, and he feels it is his civic duty to take a public stand - by virtue of a clearly stated constitutional right - both in order to correct a bad situation and in order to avoid it in the future.

Finally, perhaps he was wronged by someone or he feels he was wronged or he was given a run-around trying to get some type of document or someone is putting him

off day after day in trying to satisfy a justified request - and then he writes to our newspaper with the belief that he will be helped.

These are the most frequent subjects of the contacts with the editorial staff, and it is understood, in this same analytical, responsible, principled and constructive spirit, that we are waiting constantly for more and more. As we say, each person makes contact with the newspaper in the manner most convenient to him. And, the form of expression is also different: articles or reports, critical notes or investigations, varied facts or interviews, reporter-like stories or photographs and even poetry, epigrams, drawings and caricatures. These are journalistic forms used depending upon the subject and the preference and abilities of each person.

In addressing SCINTEIA, people enter into a necessary and expected dialogue with the newspaper, with other citizens, with party and state organs and with mass and public organizations. In other words, through this means we give expression to one of the basic principles of the socialist democracy of our own society: the ever broader involvement of the masses in the management of public affairs and in the solution of the specific problems that stem from reality, and the permanent consultation with the citizens on all the questions that involve their life and work. For that reason, it is ever so natural for those people who contact us to know directly and on a timely basis what is happening with their letters and where are they going and what is the final result.

In light of the party decisions and the repeated directives issued by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu - who is concerned, as we all know, with the continuing improvement of the work to resolve the citizens' proposals, reports and requests - and by virtue of certain duties and rights outlined by the Press Law, our newspaper gives full attention to every letter from and contact with our readers. In this regard, the daily work has been taken up not merely by an office specializing in these problems - the letters section, but by the entire editorial staff.

Clearly, the first way, and the one most desired by those who write to us and by the editorial staff, is to give the printer the ideas taken from the letters sent to SCINTEIA. Many letters appear just as they arrived, going directly from the envelope in which they arrived to the pages of the paper.

Other letters have been reflected in our newspaper in diverse forms - either shortened (only the essence of the problem or proposal being presented) or commented upon, just as a series of citizens' reports constituted a welcomed tip and a starting point for SCINTEIA's editors in order to carry out an on-the-scene effort (sometimes even with the people who wrote the letters) to achieve certain broader and more efficient investigations, like those published this month.

There is also the category of letters that the editorial staff sends to the appropriate authorities accompanied by a note asking for a verification of the facts, the taking of measures to correct any confirmed deficiencies and the

forwarding of a response, within the legal timeframe of 30 days, both to the author of the original letter and to the SCINTEIA editorial staff. And, normally, the authorities proceed in this manner as indicated by law. And, in those cases when they do not, our newspaper - in the spirit of the Press Law - promptly intervenes.

Finally, the citizens who send in letters that do not fall into one of these categories or that contain questions about legislation or other problems receive their answers both in the pages of the paper and directly in letters and notes, certainly within the legal timeframes.

Therefore, esteemed readers you can see that we are waiting in a fully understanding manner for you to enter into a dialogue with SCINTEIA and, through it, with the entire country. And, for those of you who have never written to our newspaper, those of you who have written only once or twice and, not to mention, those of you who have become voluntary correspondents of SCINTEIA through your systematic writings, you are all invited to take up the pen and to contact our editorial staff whenever you have something to say. And, there is a lot to say when you look around carefully and actively experience everything that is taking place in a revolutionary manner today in Romania. Both our socialist reality in general and the day-to-day concerns of our people, as well as the activities of each work collective offer a very broad and rich field from which to extract useful and interesting themes that can be written up in letters addressed to the newspaper. We are all involved in the precise fulfillment of our economic tasks and in increasing the quantities of energy and raw materials concomitantly with the efforts to conserve them. Wherever there is an efficient initiative in this regard it deserves to be brought to the attention of the public so it can be spread about. In agriculture, there are similar concerns for a better organization of work and for a revolutionary approach to this significant aspect of the economy. The affairs and activities of party organizations and public organizations are also broad areas where anyone can uncover new things and broadly promote them. Just as the affairs in the towns across the country and the operations of the public institutions and institutions of socialist democracy for their part offer unending sources of inspiration for any voluntary correspondent anchored in the boiling midst of current events. And, more examples could be given...

In writing to SCINTEIA, you have at your disposal in carrying out a dialogue with the newspaper not just our editors and specialists, but also several special columns: "The Readers' Word, the Word of the Workers," "SCINTEIA's Public Audience," "A Dialogue With Our Readers," "A Letter Addressed to the Editorial Staff for Public Opinion," "Diverse Facts," "The Daily Notebook" and "Letter of the Week."

Once each month, beginning with this issue, a page in this paper will be dedicated as well to those who write to us.

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CSO: 2700

NEED FOR RESPONSIBILITY, DISCIPLINE IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT in Romanian Sep 82 pp 3-7

[Article by Cristian Ionescu: "Political Responsibility, Order and Discipline in All Economic-Social Activities"]

[Text] One of the major objectives of the program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society, as powerfully restated at the enlarged plenary session of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982 and at the Second Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, is obtaining a new quality in work and life - a requirement for certain innovative transformations in the field of production and social relations and in the organization and leadership of society. It is understood that the achievement of this requirement involves the natural linking of the development of the material base of our socialist society and the political-ideological and educational activities of creating a higher social awareness that will characterize the revolutionary builder of our new social-economic system. As was pointed out by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in closing the proceedings of the enlarged plenary session of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982: "Only by having a full unity in looking at all the facets of the material and spiritual activities of our people and our party will we be able to work as revolutionaries, as true communists and will we be able to ensure the solution under good conditions of all the problems dealing with our direct movement forward towards the golden dream, towards communism."¹

Certainly, in the revolutionary process of building the new social system the level of socialist awareness and the civic behavior of the workers take on new values since it is known that in the system of socialist democracy and worker self-management the assumption of increased responsibilities in all fields of activity actually means a full integration with all energies in the work to develop society and a citizen's duty to work to implement the strategic objectives established by the 12th RCP Congress, party and state decisions and the nation's laws.

The measures established in recent years to improve social-economic leadership, which bear the mark of the innovative theoretical thinking of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, call for, in this regard, the achievement of increased efficiency in all sectors of activity, the more decisive move to the use of the workers' creative potential within a climate of high political responsibility, the direct adherence to laws and decisions and the elimination of outdated manifestations and shortcomings that affect the appropriate carrying out of activities in some units.

As was shown at the Second Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, it is necessary to demonstrate a high degree of political responsibility in the elaboration and firm implementation of decisions and organizational measures that are designed to ensure at all levels and in economic and social-cultural units the best working conditions and an outstanding climate of order and discipline. The analysis undertaken in the spirit of the speech by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the enlarged plenary session of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 regarding the efficiency of political-educational activities and the manner of carrying out party and state decisions in social affairs shows very clearly that respect for order and discipline in work and in social-economic activities is of great importance in achieving the objectives established by the 12th RCP Congress. As practice has shown, the failure to respect certain legal provisions, the manifestation of certain serious deviations in different sectors and the violation of discipline impact upon the fulfillment of production tasks, with these reflecting, in the final analysis, shortfalls and shortcomings that still exist in educational activities and activities to create the new, socialist awareness.

As was pointed out at the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, within the mass political activities a certain decrease took place in the level of the militant, revolutionary spirit and there was a weakening in the firmness towards negative manifestations, towards backwards ideas and attitudes and towards shortcomings and failures. It is understood that the elimination of these aspects requires a profound analysis of them and the causes that brought them about, the adoption of certain organizational and firm political-educational measures designed to create a broad mass opinion against any type of negative phenomenon and to ensure the strengthening of order and discipline, the full affirmation of the principles of socialist ethics and equality, and the implementation of the norms for work and life that are promoted by our socialist system.

The implementation of these measures is not possible without the positive example set by leadership cadres and the activists who work in the front lines of the ideological front to instill a strong civic behavior at each place of work. As was shown in the opening speech by comrade academician engineer Dr Elena Ceausescu to the Second Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, under the leadership of the party organs and organizations all responsible factors in the work of communist education must permanently militate so that a lasting progressive attitude will be instilled in each unit and each collective regarding work and society and so that they will directly apply the principles and norms for communists for living and working and for socialist ethics and equality.²

The highly complex objectives of this five year plan and the tasks assumed by each work collective in industry, agriculture and the other sectors of social-economic affairs require the presence of the most competent and honest cadres in the leadership organs, who can prove their abilities, who are ready to work decisively for the direct fulfillment of the party's policies, who will promote a principled atmosphere in accordance with the norms of socialist ethics and

equality and a high degree of responsibility in the direct fulfillment of their tasks, and who will ensure the strict adherence to the laws and the strengthening of order and discipline at work. It must be understood that no one can permit the violation of the behavioral norms of our own socialist society, with the activists having to make full efforts for the exemplary fulfillment of each work collective's tasks. In this sense, it is a natural obligation of each party cadre and all citizens to demonstrate a high political and moral honor and behavior, one that is principled in their social affairs.

The problems related to the citizens' behavior and moral-political profile, their behavior in society and the firm respect for discipline and order in all areas of activities present a special importance since many of the shortcomings recently criticized by our top party and state leadership are caused precisely by people who ignore or violate certain legal provisions and by a lack of firmness in punishing violations of any type. The failure to adhere to plan indicators, shortfalls and a series of shortcomings in respecting the law show that complete order and discipline has never meant a routine act or some kind of "auxiliary" within the framework of the indicators that a person has within one collective or another.

The complex problems of the current stage of multilateral development in our socialist society and the dynamic changes that are taking place in social affairs in themselves require the strengthening of legalities and the climate of order and discipline in all sectors and the increase in the level of the workers' awareness. In referring to such aspects, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed "that the development of socialist awareness among all the people constitutes one of the tasks of special importance for our party and for the activities of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing towards communism."³ As is known, obtaining the greatest level of success in each work collective depends decisively upon the concern for instilling a climate of complete order and the strict respect for the norms of socialist behavior and upon the exigency and combativeness with which each party organization works against mistakes and shortcomings and adopts a firm attitude towards manifestations of indiscipline and any violation of the law.

It is in the spirit of our party's and state's policies and the speech by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the enlarged plenary session of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, not to tolerate disinterest, a lack of responsibility at work or indulgence towards those persons who cause damage to the economy and public property. In exercising a decisive role in the organization and leadership of the economic and social activities of each unit, party organizations bear a high degree of responsibility in this regard for the proper administration and development of public property and for the continuing growth of national wealth - the source of the well-being of all those who work.

The strengthening of legalities - an inseparable component of our socialist democracy - requires, however, not just the direct adherence to the provisions of the laws and the norms of behavior, but also a firm, intransigent attitude

towards negative phenomena and manifestations of subjectivism and arbitrariness in social affairs in order to combat any violations of order and discipline. The broad development of the system of worker self-management and the participation of the masses in the elaboration and fulfillment of decisions have nothing in common with ignoring social norms or with the failure of each worker at his place of work to consider his obligations. On the contrary, the superior status of being the owner, producer and user of the national wealth requires the assumption of direct responsibilities by each worker and each collective with regards to the manner in which they fulfill the objectives of the program of socialist construction and respect the laws and decisions of our state, a natural outgrowth of the desire to be masters of their own destiny, of all citizens. Viewed from this perspective, the keys to our workers democracy are based upon a normative framework designed to ensure a proper climate for work and a useful activity for the entire collective. The optimum operation of the system of socialist democracy involves, however, the requirement to carry out a permanent material and spiritual activity within the constructive efforts of all the people. It is a fundamental truth, as also revealed at the enlarged plenary session of the RCP Central Committee, that in Romania's socialist society each citizen must carry out his professional tasks in an exemplary manner, with the collective not being allowed to tolerate a lack of responsibility or the violation of the norms of social behavior by those who commit abuses and take the work done by others.⁴

As was revealed at the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, for the overall national economy positive results have been obtained, as shown by the quantitative and qualitative increases in production, by the extension and furthering of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration and by the improvements in the democratic framework for the masses' participation in the management of units and all of society. It is natural that in obtaining these fruitful results contributions were also made by the precise fulfillment of legal provisions and party decisions regarding the proper organization of economic-social activities.

Social-economic practice shows, however, that in the activities of certain units and central organs a series of shortcomings persists, that there is a failure to consider sometimes the legal framework for carrying out economic activities and that some illegalities are committed. Not just a few times, violations of discipline contribute to the production of certain inferior quality products in certain units that cannot be used in another technological stage or directly in commerce. In such situations, is indiscipline not, perhaps, a source for failures and certain shortcomings that impact upon the proper organization and operation of economic activities?

We have a Code of the Norms and Principles of Socialist Ethics and Equality and a legal framework in order to respect order and discipline and to strengthen the work climate in which the material values of the entire society are produced. The norms regarding, for example, worker protection and safety, behavior in workshops and sections are known and adopted so that exacting respect for them should be a natural habit for all workers. Despite all this, as was pointed

out at the session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on 31 May 1982, in some industrial units "there still is an unjustified number of accidents due especially to the failure to adhere to production technologies and to correctly use work installations, indiscipline, negligence and a lack of responsibility in the way management and production personnel fulfilled their job attributes."⁵ Reality shows that in some units a series of laws and decisions of special importance for the organization of production activities are not understood and precisely respected and that there is an incorrect understanding by some enterprise chiefs of the meaning and economic and social significance of certain normative acts which they replace with all kinds of instructions, formulations and provisions.

Frequently, the checks and workers review conducted in some economic units, in connection with the manner in which discipline and order are respected and with the firm implementation of laws and decisions, are reduced to a superficial finding of certain minor violations, shortcomings in administration, the deterioration of certain goods and so forth, without succeeding in uncovering the true causes of the violations of the legal provisions regarding the proper organization of production and work. In criticizing such shortcomings, the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, points out that many of the reviews conducted avoid problems and try to justify a series of shortcomings and violations of laws and decisions, with these reviews not being followed up by firm measures that would lead to the elimination of the shortcomings that were found and to the improvement of activities.⁶ Even when such violations of legal provisions or violations of technical or safety standards in the production processes are discussed in work collectives, the strong opinions of the collective are sometimes hard to discern because of a weakening in the militant spirit to firmly combat any type of violation, manifestations of certain tendencies towards formalism in the analysis of shortcomings and a lack of responsibility in some leadership cadres regarding the fulfillment of assumed commitments.

Because of certain deficiencies existing in the work style and methods of certain department chiefs and unit chiefs, the political activities to mobilize the workers to achieve plan tasks and to prevent and combat disciplinary violations and other violations of order are lacking efficiency, and they are working only sporadically against shortcomings. The experiences of social-economic affairs show that there still is a sufficiently large amount of bureaucratism in the activities of carrying out legal provisions.

In the activities of certain organs, certain people resort to all kinds of attempts to avoid the content of the decisions and laws and to justifications for the failure to precisely achieve them. Many times such violations are tied precisely to an insufficient concern on the part of certain party organs and organizations and of certain leadership cadres for ensuring the implementation of the laws in different sectors of activity and for thoroughly analyzing shortcomings and firmly punishing the guilty persons. Beyond the justifications presented even by some leadership cadres, these violations are due to a great

degree to a poor efficiency of certain organizational measures, to cover-ups of shortcomings, in some cases, and to limitations upon formal punishments.

Due to these practices, we, thus, lose sight of the fact that the failure to respect the law and the norms of work discipline "blunts" the legalities in an economic unit. From this point to the point of not having appropriate punishments for waste, of considering this to be an "inevitable evil" or a "perishable percentage" of economic activities, to the point of not respecting certain basic rules for the operation of certain complex equipment is but a single step. And, practice shows that frequently this is done without the organs of collective leadership or the party organizations intervening promptly in each case.

The political-educational and organizational measures established by our party and state for the purpose of overcoming such shortcomings are closely tied to increasing the exigency in the implementation of laws and decisions and to intensifying political-educational activities.

The strengthening of political and ideological work and the continuing development of the level of awareness among communists and their political-ideological level have an important role in the correct understanding of the great problems in the current stage of development of our society. The achievement of such an objective requires the increased responsibility of each member of the work collective with regards to fulfilling their tasks and precisely applying the laws and decisions. It is necessary to apply certain energetic measures to strengthen responsibility, order and discipline at all levels and by all means, both in the activities of the collective leadership organs in the ministries, central organs and social-economic units, and in the leadership organs of the local organs of state administration. We cannot tolerate any blunting of legalities, no matter how small they would seem at first glance. It is known that the failure to give firm, effective punishments for violations creates a climate appropriate for other manifestations counter to the norms and principles of life in our society. As a result, in each work collective, enterprise, public organ and in the state apparatus, we must instill a firm discipline and an outstanding order in the fulfillment of the tasks that stem from the programs of activities.

In this regard, an important role is played by political-educational and organizational work carried out by the party organizations, youth and trade union organizations and the other worker organizations in order to understand the meaning and content of the legal regulations and our state's decisions, which reflect, moreover, the general interests of society and to create communist convictions to work under all circumstances to achieve them. The priority of educational work is natural since the efficiency of the act of leadership (which also includes the mechanism of regulating social relations) is greater when you prevent rather than when you punish. Such a method of organizing and improving social relations and the respect for legal and ethical norms stemming from convictions place stress on the educational-formative

facet of political-ideological activities, knowing that its success or failure is expressed, in the final analysis, in respect for or a lack of respect for the norms of behavior. As was stressed in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Enlarged Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee: "It is necessary for us to work so that all theoretical, ideological, political-educational and cultural-artistic activities will also more powerfully develop the spirit of responsibility and the decision of the masses and all the people to directly carry out the party's Program and socialist Romania's domestic and foreign policy."⁷

The party organizations are called upon to work in such a way as to ensure a daily, permanent concern for the strictest respect for all the laws and decisions approved by the party and state leadership, planting in the awareness of each citizen, and first of all in the activists and cadres in the state apparatus, the truth that one of their fundamental duties is to fight untiringly to defend and constantly strengthen socialist legalities and to take a firm attitude against any violation or avoidance of the law. Our society cannot allow anyone, regardless of their position, the place they hold in social affairs or previous merits, to violate the decisions of the state and to ignore the norms established by our socialist legislation and the principles of equity and equality that have been constantly promoted by our party.

The political-organizational measures recently approved by our top party and state leadership are part of the improvements to the activities of state organs, solutions to economic problems and the establishment of a firm framework for strengthening order and discipline in the state apparatus with regards to the rigorous application of party decisions and the country's laws and to the review and coordination of different areas of social life. In order to achieve these objectives, it is necessary for all leadership cadres and the entire state apparatus to show constant concern for protecting and developing the national wealth and for increasing efficiency in all fields of economic-social affairs, and to demonstrate professional competence and a high degree of political training under all circumstances - essential characteristics of the activist and communist leader.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Conclusion of the Plenary Proceedings," in "The Enlarged Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee, 1-2 June 1982," Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982, p 258.
2. See the "Opening Speech by Comrade Academician Engineer Dr Elena Ceausescu," in SCINTEIA, No 12391 of 25 June 1982.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee of 31 March 1982," in SCINTEIA No 12320 of 2 April 1982.

4. See Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech Regarding the Current Stage of Building Socialism in Our Country and the Theoretical, Ideological Problems and the Party's Political, Educational Activities," in "The Enlarged Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee, 1-2 June 1982," Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982, p 36.
5. SCINTEIA No 12357 of 16 May 1982.
6. See Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Conference of the RCP Central Committee of 29-30 May 1980," in "Romania on the Path of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 20, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1981, pp 72-73.
7. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech Regarding the Current State of Building Socialism in Our Country and the Theoretical, Ideological Problems and the Party's Political, Educational Activities," in "The Enlarged Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee, 1-2 June 1982," op. cit., p 68.

8724

CSO: 2700

LAW ON INVESTMENTS BY WORKERS IN ECONOMIC UNITS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 104, 20 Nov 82 pp 1-3

/Law No 3 of 12 November 1982 on Contributions, in the Form of Shares, of Workers in State Economic Units to the Formation of the Economic Development Fund/

/Text/ The development of socialist ownership and workers self-management and the enhancement of the workers' capacities as owners of the production means and as producers and beneficiaries of the entire national wealth requires them to directly assume more of the responsibility for good management of the portion of the national wealth with which they have been entrusted and to take an active part in the most efficient administration of the unit's property and in the management and development of its entire economic activity.

Accordingly, in order to link every worker more closely with the unit where he works and to give the units' personnel a greater incentive to obtain better economic results, the workers must be granted the right to make cash contributions in the form of shares to development of fixed productive capital and to receive an additional income out of the profits in proportion to their contributions.

The workers' contributions to the formation of the development fund will lead to their greater sense of responsibility, as owners, for development and protection of public property and the most efficient use of the means available to them, to the working collectives' more active participation in the unit's self-management and self-administration, and to greater profitability and profits and accordingly higher incomes for working personnel.

In order to regulate the workers' right to contribute to the formation of the state economic units' development fund, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby ratifies the present law.

Section I: Fundamental Principles

Article 1. Workers in state economic units may own a portion of the value of the fixed capital managed by said units in the form of a share.

In proportion to the value of the share held, workers benefit under the present law by supplementary incomes in addition to their remuneration for work performed.

The worker's right to his share is guaranteed by law.

Article 2. The share owned by each worker is formed by depositing a sum of money in the unit's economic development fund.

Workers' cash deposits in the economic development fund may not exceed a total of 30 percent of the value of the unit's fixed capital.

The Workers General Assembly annually determines the volume of deposits for the whole unit.

Article 3. No worker may own a share greater than 50,000 lei or less than 10,000 lei for the whole period of his activity. The value of a share is 1,000 lei [sic]. After they have deposited a share, workers benefit by the rights specified in the present law.

Article 4. Administrative and other working personnel on the state staff and in political and public organizations or educational and social-cultural units as well as military personnel may deposit, on the terms of the present law, monies as shares in an economic unit and benefit by additional incomes in proportion to the value of the share and on the same terms as the workers in the respective economic unit.

Working personnel on the staffs of the ministries and other central and local organs with economic units under them may participate in the formation of shares in a unit in the sector wherein they work.

Working personnel in the other ministries and central or local organs, political and public organizations, and educational and social-cultural units, as well as military personnel, may participate in the formation of shares in an economic unit in the sectors determined by the Council of Ministers.

Workers who deposit monies as shares in units other than those employing them are entitled to attend the Workers General Assemblies, support the work of the collective management organs, and make suggestions to enhance the economic effectiveness of the whole activity.

Article 5. Workers' contribution to the unit's development fund is based upon each worker's free consent in writing.

Workers' participation according to Article 4 in formation of shares in units other than those wherein they work must be approved by the Workers General Assembly in the respective economic unit.

Workers' deposits as shares in the economic development fund may be used, according to law and on the basis of the Workers General Assembly's decision, to make productive investments with immediate results in production and in growth of incomes and profits of the unit.

As an exception and with the General Assembly's approval, deposits as shares may be used to finance circulating capital insofar as they are available in the development fund.

Section II: Formation of a Share

Article 7. Every worker's deposits to form a share are determined according to the depositor's incomes and the volume of deposits approved by the General Assembly for the plan year.

Sums representing contributions to the formation of a share may be paid in equal or differentiated installments, monthly or at other intervals, or in full as the depositor chooses.

Article 8. Workers' deposits as shares are made for a period of at least 5 years. After that period, upon the depositor's request, and if the total deposit is at least 10,000 lei, the share is returned in full or staggered over a period of 2-5 years according to the decision of the Workers General Assembly and depending upon the economic possibilities of the unit. Complete restitution of deposits to form a share is guaranteed.

If the depositor transfers to another unit, upon his request the sums representing his share are transferred to his new work place or to an economic unit determined according to Article 4, as the case may be.

If the depositor changed his job without the unit's agreement or if his labor contract was annulled through his fault, the 5-year period after which he may request restitution of his share according to Paragraph 1 begins to run as of the date of hiring in the new unit.

Until his share is transferred, the depositor's rights and obligations in connection with his contribution to the development fund are determined in the unit he left and on the terms of the present law.

Article 9. When the balance sheet of the unit's economic and financial results is discussed, the Workers General Assembly will analyze the use of the sums deposited as shares and adopt measures to enhance the unit's economic effectiveness and profits. To this end the Workers Council is required to report the deposits made, the sums used, and the results obtained to the General Assembly.

Section III: Workers Profit Sharing in Proportion to Shares Deposited

Article 10. For the sums deposited as shares, workers benefit at the end of each year by an income in proportion to the total deposit as of that date, which income is paid out of the unit's profits.

Workers are entitled to an annual income of 6 percent of the total deposits if the unit makes its planned profits.

If the planned profits are exceeded the annual income may reach 8 percent, depending on the volume of profits and profitability obtained and according to the decision of the Workers General Assembly.

Article 11. Workers' incomes in proportion to the share deposited are paid out of the profits made before any other legally provided distributions.

Article 12. If the unit does not make its planned profits, workers are guaranteed an annual income of 5 percent of the sums deposited as shares, which is paid at the end of the year out of the profits made or the financial results as the case may be.

Article 13. Workers' incomes in proportion to the share deposited are tax-free and excluded from the incomes whereby their rights and obligations are determined according to law.

Depositors may collect the annual incomes due or deposit them as shares.

Section IV: Final Provisions

Article 14. Workers' deposits as shares may not be assigned to other persons or attached except for recovery of losses to public property caused by violations.

Article 15. When depositors are pensioned they may withdraw their share or continue to maintain it.

Depositors maintaining their share after retirement on a pension benefit by the entire incomes due for the sums deposited according to the present law.

Article 16. Deposits as shares are inherited according to law, in which case the heirs can request restitution of the sums.

Article 17. Deposits as shares and incomes paid are entered in an individual passbook of the shareholder. The content of the individual passbook is determined by the Ministry of Finance jointly with the Ministry of Labor and the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions.

The economic units are required to keep a record of all facts concerning the entries in the shareholder's passbook.

Sums representing workers' contributions to the development fund that could not be used by the end of the year are carried over to the following year, for which purpose the resources of that origin are separately recorded.

This law was ratified by the Grand National Assembly in its session of 12 November 1982.

Chairman of the Grand National Assembly,

Bucharest, 12 November 1982
No 3.

Nicolae Giosan

5186
CSO: 2700/62

LAW ON SUPREME COUNCIL FOR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 104, 20 Nov 82 pp 4-7

/Law No 4 of 12 November 1982 Amending and Supplementing Law No 1 of 1973 on the Supreme Council for Romania's Economic and Social Development/

/Text/ The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby ratifies the present law.

Single Article. Law No 1 of 1973 on the Supreme Council for Romania's Economic and Social Development, with subsequent amendments, is hereby amended and supplemented and has the following contents:

The goals set by the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism require further qualitative enhancement of all socioeconomic activity, regular improvement of its organization, management and planning, intensified socialist democracy, development of the role of the purposeful factor throughout the development of Romanian society, greater powers and responsibilities for all democratic bodies institutionalized on the national level, and uniform coordination of the activity and close cooperation of all those bodies.

Accordingly, the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development /CSDES/, a widely representative democratic body, discusses the fundamental problems of national economic development and contributes to the qualitative enhancement of the substantiation and preparation of the strategic options for national development.

Invested with broad functions and responsibilities, the CSDES as a permanent party and state deliberative organ studies the objective socioeconomic facts in the light of overall social development and the proportions and rates of economic growth, prepares forecasts of Romania's development, provides for scientific compilation of the uniform plans for national economic development, and helps to implement the party and state socioeconomic policy throughout its activity.

In the performance of its functions the CSDES functions as a legislative chamber of the party and state, to which end it takes a legislative initiative, discusses and reviews draft laws in order to submit them for ratification, approves

decisions binding on all state organs and socialist units, and prepares reports, studies and plans for national development and submits them for approval, in accordance with the party and state policy for building the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism.

Section I: General Provisions

Article 1. As an organ of the RCP and State Council for analysis, coordination and guidance, the CSDES provides throughout its activity for implementation of the party and state socioeconomic policy, efficient use of the nation's material and human resources, improvement of the economic mechanism, economic-financial self-administration and self-management, harmonious development of the national economy, and continuing improvement of the workers' living standard.

Article 2. As a deliberative organ of the party and state, the CSDES studies the socioeconomic facts, prepares forecasts of Romania's development accordingly in order to substantiate the strategic options for national development, and provides for integration of the long-term forecasts with the five-year and annual plans as well as consolidation of the role of the Uniform National Plan in implementing the party program.

Article 3. The CSDES functions as a legislative chamber of the party and state with functions of an economic parliament considering economic and social problems, taking a legislative initiative, discussing and reviewing draft laws on national socioeconomic development, and approving, in accordance with the laws in force, decisions binding on all state organs and socialist units with tasks in its field of activity.

Article 4. As a widely representative democratic forum, the CSDES is composed of party and state administrative personnel, workers working directly in productive units in industry, construction and transportation, highly qualified specialists, and peasants from agricultural cooperatives and uncooperativized localities.

The CSDES operates in close connection with the party and state organs and recruits a wide circle of specialists from various economic, social and scientific research activities for its operations.

Article 5. In the performance of its functions, the CSDES submits reports, studies and plans for implementing the RCP Program for Romania's Socioeconomic Development to the RCP Central Committee and the Grand National Assembly.

In the performance of its tasks the CSDES also submits reports and suggestions to the State Council concerning the economic and social development of socialist society.

Section II: Functions

A. As to Forecasting Socioeconomic Development

Article 6. The CSDES has the following main functions in order to accomplish the basic tasks for national socioeconomic development that are included in the RCP Program:

a. It prepares long-term macroeconomic forecasts of national socioeconomic development in a uniform conception and in accordance with modern technical-scientific advances and with the aims of construction of the fully developed socialist society and communism.

b. It directs and coordinates preparation of forecasts for sectors, sub-sectors, products and regions by ministries, other central organs, local organs, units for scientific research, technological engineering and design, and educational institutions.

c. It provides for updating long-term forecasts in keeping with the requirements of national socioeconomic development, changes in the economy, and worldwide technical-scientific progress.

d. It approves decisions concerning organization and progress of forecasting on all organizational levels.

Article 7. The CSDES submits macroeconomic forecasts to the RCP Central Committee.

B. As to Planning

Article 8. The CSDES provides for integration of long-term forecasts with the five-year and annual plans and for scientific substantiation of the Uniform National Plan, having the following main functions:

a. It guides preparation of the Draft Uniform National Plan for Socio-economic Development by providing directions and recommendations for including in said plan the basic tasks and aims set in the party directives, for harmonious integration of the departmental plans, according to sectors and regions, in the Uniform National Plan, for correlation of the effectiveness criteria with the necessary socioeconomic development of all counties and localities, and for the balanced development of the national economy as a whole.

b. It analyzes, discusses and evaluates the Draft Uniform National Plan for Development of the National Economy and the execution of the plan for the past year and the draft state budget and the general accounting at the close of the budgetary year, checking the way they reflect the aims of the party program, the scientific substantiation of the plan proposals, and the accomplishment of the assigned socioeconomic objectives before they are submitted to the Grand National Assembly.

Article 9. The draft plan, the draft budget, the execution of the plan for the past year, and the general accounting at the close of the budgetary year, improved according to the CSDES' recommendations, are submitted by the Council of Ministers to the Grand National Assembly for discussion and approval.

The CSDES presents the Grand National Assembly with its coreport on the draft plan, the draft budget, the execution of the plan for the past year, and the general accounting at the close of the budgetary year submitted by the Council of Ministers for approval.

C. As to Improvement of the Economic-Financial Mechanism

Article 10. The CSDES makes comprehensive analyses, arranges discussions, prepares studies and adopts measures concerning:

a. Efficient ways and means of developing industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and all sectors of the national economy and social activity on the national and regional levels and on the basis of the advances of the worldwide scientific-technical revolution, for the steady growth of the national income, increase of the national wealth, and improvement of the people's material and cultural living standard;

b. The most efficient use of energy, fuel, raw material and manpower resources, their better exploitation, the most productive use of production capacities, improvement of product quality, reduction of production costs, increased social labor productivity, and greater efficiency in all activities;

c. Management of material and cash resources with a strict regime of economy, constant reduction of costs, maintaining the financial, monetary and foreign exchange balances, and strengthening the national currency

d. The socioeconomic phenomena and processes in the context of the international socialist and worldwide divisions of labor and the worldwide trends of economic development, the efforts, capacities and resources necessary to expand trade exchanges and relations of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with other countries, and a greater contribution of foreign trade to national development.

Article 11. On the basis of the analyses made, the CSDES submits suggestions for Romania's socioeconomic development to the party and state administrations.

D. As to Improvement of Economic Legislation

Article 12. In functioning as a legislative chamber of the party and state, the CSDES primarily performs the following functions:

a. It originates draft laws in its field of activity, which it submits to the Grand National Assembly for approval.

b. It discusses and reviews draft laws on national socioeconomic development originated by other organs before they are submitted for ratification.

c. It hears and discusses reports of the managers of the central organs of the state administration or public organs concerning the activities of those organs, as well as those of the chairmen of the executive committees of the people's councils concerning those councils' activities, and it analyzes the respective organs' implementation of party and state socioeconomic policy.

d. It organizes public opinion polls on the main trends of national socioeconomic development as well as other matters of particular importance to the progress of socialist construction in Romania.

e. In accordance with the laws in force, it approves decisions binding on all state organs and socialist units with tasks in its field of activity.

Article 13. The CSDES discusses draft laws on the basis of the reports submitted by the originating organs and with the participation of representatives of the main central advisory organs.

Draft laws on socioeconomic development are submitted to the Grand National Assembly for approval only with the consent of the CSDES, after they have been improved according to its suggestions.

Section III: Organization and Operation

Article 14. The CSDES is composed of:

a. Members of the management councils and executive bureaus of the following organs:

- National Council of Workers in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Circulation of Goods and Finance

- National Council for Agriculture, the Food Industry, Forestry and Management of Waters

- National Council for Science and Technology

- Central Council for Workers Control of Socioeconomic Activity

- Council for Socioeconomic Organization

- Council for Socialist Culture and Education

- Higher Council for Education and Instruction

- Higher Health Council

- Committee on People's Councils Problems

- Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions

- Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth

- National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives

- Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives

- Central Union of Cooperatives for Production, Purchases and Sales of Goods

b. Members of executive bureaus of management councils in the following ministries and other central organs:

- State Planning Committee
- Ministry of Finance
- Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of Fixed Assets
- Ministry of Electric Power
- Ministry of Mines
- Ministry of Petroleum
- Ministry of Geology
- Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry
- Ministry of the Machine Building Industry
- Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrotechnical and Electronics Industry
- Ministry of the Chemical Industry
- Ministry of Industrial Construction
- Department for Constructions Abroad
- Ministry for Industrial Processing of Wood and Construction Materials
- Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications
- Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation
- Ministry of Light Industry
- Ministry of Domestic Trade
- Ministry of Tourism
- State Committee on Prices
- State Committee on Nuclear Energy
- Ministry of Labor
- General Directorate of Statistics
- Central Institute for Economic Research

c. Seventy workers working directly in productive units in industry, construction, transportation appointed by the Workers Councils in those units;

d. Thirty peasants belonging to agricultural cooperatives, appointed by the general assemblies of cooperative members;

e. Five peasants from uncooperativized localities, appointed by the Central Commission of Agricultural Producers in said localities.

The CSDES members specified in c - e are appointed for a 5-year period. They may be recalled before the expiration of that term by the CSDES at the suggestion of the organs that appointed them.

In its first session, the CSDES decides to validate the formation of the CSDES according to the present article.

Article 15. The CSDES elects from its members a chairman, a first vice chairman, vice chairmen and a secretary.

Article 16. The plenary sessions of the CSDES are chaired by the president of Romania.

Article 17. The first vice chairman of the CSDES is also chairman of the Permanent Bureau of the Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development.

Article 18. The first vice chairman, the vice chairmen, the chairmen of the management councils or executive bureaus of the bodies represented in the CSDES, the chairmen of the specialized sections and the secretary form the Permanent Bureau of the CSDES.

The Permanent Bureau organizes and controls implementation of the CSDES' decisions and, between sessions, exercises operational management of that organ's activity.

Article 19. The CSDES conducts its proceedings in plenary sessions and in sessions for specialized sections, with at least two-thirds of its members present.

Article 20. The CSDES is convened in plenary sessions twice a year or whenever necessary on the initiative of the Permanent Bureau or at the request of at least one-third of its members.

The CSDES discusses and reviews draft laws and approves decisions by open vote of the majority of its members.

Article 21. The specialized sections of the CSDES are as follows:

- a. Section for raw material, fuel and energy resources;
- b. Section for the metallurgical industry and machine building industry;
- c. Section for the chemical industry;
- d. Section for industrial construction, construction materials, and the wood industry;
- e. Section for transportation and telecommunications;
- f. Section for foreign economic relations and international cooperation;

- g. Section for consumer goods and the living standard;
- h. Financial section;
- i. Section for planning and forecasting.

The National Council for Agriculture, the Food Industry, Forestry and Management of Waters, the National Council for Science and Technology, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, the Higher Council for Education and Instruction, the Higher Health Council, the Council for Socioeconomic Organization and the Committee on People's Councils Problems also perform the functions of specialized sections of the CSDES.

The CSDES may also organize other specialized sections as needed.

Article 22. The specialized sections of the CSDES are composed of the members of the Executive Bureaus of the Workers Councils, the members of the Executive Bureaus of the economic ministries and central coordinating organs, workers and peasants, depending on the nature of each section and the need of all responsible elements' participation in the analysis and discussion of the economic and social problems. The composition of the sections is approved in the plenum of the CSDES.

Each section elects from its members a chairman, vice chairman and secretary, who constitute of bureau of the section.

Article 23. The specialized sections work in meetings held during sessions of the CSDES or in intervals between sessions.

Article 24. The specialized sections analyze and discuss forecasting operations, draft plans, and draft laws in their specialties and prepare studies in their fields of activity. They also perform any other tasks assigned by the CSDES or its Permanent Bureau. The conclusions from the discussions are submitted to the Permanent Bureau of the CSDES.

Article 25. The CSDES and its sections may form temporary working commissions composed of their members and specialists who are not members of the CSDES, as needed to examine particular problems.

The specialists are appointed with the consent of the head of the organ to which they belong.

Article 26. The CSDES and its sections involve the research and educational institutes and specialists working in various economic and social sectors in the performance of their tasks.

Article 27. At the CSDES' request the State Planning Committee, the General Directorate of Statistics, the National Commission for Demography, other economic and social coordinating organs, and the specialized scientific institutions will compile draft forecasts and plans, studies and other works for national socioeconomic development.

Article 28. The Central Institute of Economic Studies and REVISTA ECONOMICA are under the CSDES.

Section IV: Final Provisions

Article 29. The CSDES has a secretariat to prepare its proceedings.

The maximum number of the secretariat's personnel, the specific list of its functions, and the remuneration for those functions are approved by decree of the State Council.

This law was ratified by the Grand National Assembly in its meeting of 12 November 1982.

Chairman of the Grand National Assembly

Bucharest, 12 November 1982
No 4.

Nicolae Giosan

5186
CSO: 2700/62

MACEDONIA'S STAVREV INTERVIEWED ON DEBTS, USE OF FUNDS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1664, 21 Nov 82
pp 15-19

[Interview with Dragoljub Stavrev, president of the executive council of the Macedonian Assembly, by Jug Grizelj: "Macedonia and Cooperation"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Whatever topic you bring up these days in Skopje, the conversation will turn very quickly to the energy difficulties that have been afflicting Macedonia for a long time now. There is no fuel oil, gasoline, coal, or electrical energy. In Skopje they say, "The difficulties are an integral part of our historical existence; we are accustomed to enduring, and we are not spoiled. Nevertheless," they add, "there are limits to everything. If these shortages and restrictions were a daily matter in some other part of Yugoslavia," our interlocutors add, "the federal government and the Assembly would receive daily protests and petitions."

The conversation that we conducted last week on the subject of cooperation, relations between narrower and broader interests, and the jurisdictions of the republics and provinces vis-a-vis the Federation, with Dragoljub Stavrev, the President of the Executive Council of the Macedonian Assembly, was also conducted under the shadow of the serious energy crisis which is afflicting both the Macedonian economy and the living conditions of its citizens.

[Question] In the conversations that NIN has been conducting for several weeks with prominent figures in the political and governmental life of the republics and provinces, at the beginning of each conversation, we have asked our interlocutor to describe for us the way he sees cooperation. Cooperation is a fashionable word now, and we are all in favor of cooperation, but it is obvious that not all of us are defining it in the same way.

[Answer] I can say with complete assurance that the Macedonian people consider cooperation among Yugoslav peoples and nationalities to be a fundamental issue, of crucial significance for all of us, and thus for Macedonia as well. The Macedonian people and the nationalities living in Macedonia are profoundly convinced that it is only in this Yugoslavia, as it is, that they have been able to achieve their national and social freedom and a comprehensive material and spiritual development, and thus gain recognition in the broader

international community. I am convinced that such feelings are also harbored by others in Yugoslavia. When I describe the feelings of the Macedonian people on cooperation, I am doing this because the Macedonian people, throughout their long and difficult history, have continually been exposed to denationalizing pressures and to a denial of their national identity. Unfortunately, it is difficult to conceal that such tendencies are still present in certain neighboring countries.

I think that there is a fair amount of truth in the statement that we are all in favor of cooperation, but that we do not always define it in the same way. Possibly we would understand each other more easily if we made use of a more extensive description of this concept, at least in some significant circumstances, and I will be glad to do this. Thus, to be quite precise, I understand cooperation to mean the following: the fraternity and unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia on the basis of full equality in a socialist federative community, which in the interest of each people and nationality separately and of all of them together--and I am stressing this--ensures the united interests of the working class, and unifies and coordinates efforts to develop the material basis of society as a whole and of all of its parts separately, on the uniform basis of socialist self-managing socioeconomic relations, the unified Yugoslav economic area, etc. I know that it is more practical to use the expression "cooperation" instead of this entire definition, but a more extensive definition excludes any possible disagreement. These are the basic orientations expressed in the LCY Program, and the essence of the relations established by the constitutional documents.

Question If we were to speak quite openly, the basis for some interpretations of cooperation and solidarity these days lies in the current problems of development in the republics and provinces, and this means relations between the parts and the whole. If you agree that it is very useful to discuss this publicly as well, tell us how these relations are viewed in Macedonia, especially in light of certain positions from various areas that have recently been publicly defined on several occasions.

Answer Naturally, people differ; I have my own impression of the measures and the situation, and my own view of the public polemics. Let me say right away, however, that I am not opposed to discussing such sensitive issues in public; on the contrary, I think that our citizens are mature enough to make their own evaluations and assessments, and that it is good for them to be informed about all of the issues involved. Before I dwell on one of the most vital issues that affects Macedonia as well, I would like to say something in principle about these polemics on cooperation. Our cooperation is an inheritance from the revolution, but also a lasting constitutional element of the revolutionary process in our country, that has to be cherished and strengthened, while continually confirming it through the practice of living together.

Without Improvisation

I think that we have to resist attempts to characterize individual segments of the socioeconomic system as the most essential elements in our cooperation, because of current difficulties or because of a particular current republic view of specific interests, or on the other hand, to portray them as a brake on our overall development. I am thinking here of certain concrete positions in connection with the country's foreign exchange system, the unified Yugoslav market, the implementation of the LCY Program, and the directions adopted by the SFRY Constitution for more rapid development of the underdeveloped areas, and recently--I mean in the case of Macedonia--completely unjustified and inaccurate criticisms of the foreign indebtedness of the republics and provinces.

I repeat that the principle of publicity and the freedom to state different positions are a commitment of Macedonia and of the constitution. But if today informing the public of different views on issues on which we have already achieved agreement is even unconsciously growing into pressure to prejudice the new solutions, without a discussion and without a new agreement, I think that this does not lead to anything and is of no use to anyone. I also think that a general scorn for all past solutions likewise does not lead to anything, except giving a false picture of what has been accomplished and undermining our joint involvement. We must all keep in mind that inaccurate, hasty, fragmentary, and improvised views and assessments can lead only to an exacerbation of certain social relations, including interrepublic relations.

Question Can you cite for us certain concrete examples so that the public does not receive the impression that on this occasion as well a conversation is being conducted in the newspapers that is understood only by a select few?

Answer There is no reason not to be specific. Recently the thesis that some people spend and we all pay has become fashionable. Let me dwell on this first of all from the standpoint of Macedonia. I can say with complete authority that Macedonia has not taken a single dollar in foreign credits beyond the limits that were agreed upon. I can likewise say that Macedonia will do everything possible to repay its debts, no matter how difficult this is. It is true that Macedonia, like the whole country, is burdened with significant foreign debts. I feel that this is an expression of necessity in one phase of our development. We know exactly how much we are in debt, and we are taking this into account. We also know how much others are in debt. I have to say that we are keeping very close track of our foreign debts, as well as the payment terms, on the basis of our own documentation, while continually verifying it with the unified information of the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

In the second phase, it is not true that we got into debt just "as much as we had to." According to official and coordinated data on the state of the debt as of 30 June 1982, Macedonia's share in the total indebtedness of Yugoslavia is at the same level as its share in the country's social product, and with respect to indebtedness in the convertible area, it is even less.

If we agree in this regard that from the economic standpoint the underdeveloped countries--and in our case the underdeveloped areas--objectively have a greater need for indebtedness in order to ensure development, then I think that the state of Macedonia's indebtedness is such that it does not provide any basis at all for criticism along the lines of "some people go into debt, and we all pay." In connection with this, it should naturally be stressed that investments and foreign debt have been used to build industrial capacity that contributes to the development of the republic, but that this is at the same time part of the country's planned capacity, as can be seen from its use by manufacturing capacities both within Macedonia and outside it.

Who Is Irresponsible?

I fully accept the reasons why foreign debt is the subject of great interest and involvement by the state, as well as every citizen. I think that in this case we really have to discuss what solidarity is and what irresponsibility is, and to be very specific in seeking those responsible. In this regard I have to say that in my opinion, Yugoslavia's present debts can by no means be explained by the thesis of "general theft," nor can the present debts be viewed solely through today's reasoning. Foreign indebtedness has as a rule--in the case of Macedonia, without any ideological exceptions--been the subject of consultation among the republics and provinces, during which the extent and terms of this indebtedness were established. Also, the extent, rights, and obligations for the use of foreign credits by organizations of associated labor in individual republics and provinces were likewise coordinated and agreed upon, and in the case of Macedonia, they were explicitly followed.

In saying this, I have in mind the Agreement on the Distribution of the Right of Indebtedness Abroad among the Republics and Provinces from 1976 to 1980. In light of this agreement, which has never ceased to be in effect, I wish to call attention to the fact that Macedonia has used about 50 percent of the foreign credits agreed upon. We have serious problems because we have carefully taken into account the extent of the republic's indebtedness: we have deliberately halted progress in the construction of some capacities, and we have deliberately slowed down employment. In Macedonia today there are more than 120,000 people seeking employment. I would like to put these data in the context of population, employment, the degree of development observed and achieved, and many other indices, in comparison with the other republics and provinces. I am not trying to say that we have not had errors and excesses or that we have always been sensible, but this is one thing, and it is another thing when through insufficient identification in criticism it is possible to receive the impression that some people in Yugoslavia have been stealing and expecting others to pay for it.

Question For a long time now people in the developed areas have been criticizing the way in which the fund for the underdeveloped areas is used. In connection with this, they often mention irresponsibility in the use of these funds.

Answer Before I give a very specific answer to this question, trying not to be emotional, I would like to request your readers to read some of the following figures carefully, no matter how tiring it is. In addition to this, I would like to say the following: in contrast to some other parts of Yugoslavia, before the liberation Macedonia was a highly agrarian and underdeveloped area, and in general, a backward one. During the years of its free life in this socialist federative community, Macedonia has developed its production forces considerably, contributing to the social development of the country as a whole. All of the republics and provinces have achieved an accelerated and comprehensive development. Naturally, in some of them the growth rate has been higher, and in others lower, among other things as a result of their differing degrees of development immediately after the liberation of the country. In this regard, although no one denies this, Macedonia has used and is using funds from the Fund for the Underdeveloped Areas.

Has Macedonia irresponsibly "squandered" the money from the Fund? Here is what the data from the 12th LCY Congress say about this: from 1948 to 1980, Macedonia achieved a 4.8 percent growth rate in social product per capita. During the same period Bosnia-Hercegovina achieved 4 percent, Montenegro 4.4, Croatia 5.5, Slovenia 5.7, Serbia proper 5, Kosovo 3.1, and Vojvodina 5.4. This course of development is also confirmed by the data on the increase in the social product during the same period: Macedonia increased its social product by 7.8 times, Bosnia-Hercegovina by 6.1, Montenegro by 6.5, Croatia by 7.3, Slovenia by 8, Serbia proper by 6.7, Kosovo by 6.2, and Vojvodina by 6.9 times. Do these data, which indicate the enormous progress achieved in Yugoslavia, also show that the relative differences in development among the republics and provinces have basically changed for the better? Unfortunately, I think that this cannot be shown. It is significant that in the last ten years the differences between the developed and underdeveloped areas have not been reduced, and in some cases have even increased. Here are some data for the last ten years showing the size of investments in individual areas of Yugoslavia. In Macedonia, 61.5 billion new dinars have been invested, as compared to 151.6 in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 29.2 in Montenegro, 238.9 in Croatia, 150.9 in Slovenia, 214.6 in Serbia proper, 35.1 in Kosovo, and 97.5 in Vojvodina. Here are some more data on the total investments in dinars per inhabitant during the same period: 3,474 new dinars in Macedonia, 3,728 in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 5,176 in Montenegro, 5,279 in Croatia, 8,473 in Slovenia, 3,965 in Serbia proper, 2,461 in Kosovo, and 4,914 new dinars in Vojvodina. It would be good if these data were kept in mind in all of the areas, since then unjustifiable criticisms and misunderstandings would not accumulate, as is the case now in some places.

Why Is "Aid" Being Discussed?

Question It is apparent from your words that Macedonia feels itself to be unjustly affected by some views that the money from the Fund is often being used for different purposes or wastefully?

Answer You are correct that such a feeling exists, on the basis of these views. It is precisely for this reason that everything I have told you about

so far confirms the necessity of sharper monitoring of the development of the underdeveloped areas, as part of the unified development policy of the country as a whole. The money from the Fund, together with our own funds and funds received from abroad, has been used to accelerate the development of Macedonia and to construct significant production capacities. In view of the fact that these capacities were built in Macedonia on the basis of an agreement on the social plans for the development of Yugoslavia, they form part of the overall Yugoslav production base, and contribute not only to the development of Macedonia, but also to the development of the other republics and of the country as a whole. The meaning of cooperation is thus not seeking and offering generosity. This is the least important thing. Its meaning lies in a joint and secure progress toward the future and in jointly overcoming all of the difficulties along this path.

I do not have to remind your readers that the system of having the developed areas invest in the less developed areas is a principle that is being put into effect almost everywhere in the world, even in many capitalist states, for example in Italy, France, Finland, and if you like, even in the U.S.; and that this is not done from any altruism, but rather because the developed areas find a serious common motivation for the development of the less developed parts. When we speak of our country, however, the LCY Program and the SFRY Constitution established quite specifically the directions and joint interests concerning more rapid development of the underdeveloped areas, as an expression of cooperation and as a guarantee of more rapid development of the country as a whole. It is no accident that this Fund for financing the underdeveloped areas is the only fund established by the SFRY Constitution. It is no accident that it has remained in the Constitution, nor is it a remnant of the past. It is a very clear commitment, based on an agreement among all of the republics and provinces.

How is this Fund being put into effect?

On the basis of the Law, the money from the Fund is utilized partly through credit channels, and partly through pooling labor and funds. In the first case, these are returnable funds bearing an interest rate and having their own repayment terms, and in the second case, the funds are backed by joint income interests and goals, and thus also by joint results; thus the allocation and investment of these funds is always an expression of joint interest, and so sometimes the use of the term "aid" to the underdeveloped areas sounds rather strange. Today we must also emphasize the fact that Macedonia, like the other beneficiaries of the Fund's funds, will encounter difficulties as a result of the irregular receipt of funds both from the Fund and from the pooling of funds among organizations of associated labor, as a result of the failure to comply with legal obligations [on the part of the developed areas].

[Question] In Skoplje, one may also hear criticisms of certain loud views "from some parts of Yugoslavia" about how the Federal Executive Council measures concerning deposits are being interpreted, such as "Macedonians can bear the deposits more easily, since they do not have such well-developed ties with their more developed neighbors..."

[Answer] I have not heard any such interpretations, but I must say that we really would feel ourselves to be affected if some were to say, as the decisive argument for adopting or not adopting some measures at the national level, that we had to take into account who had what kind of neighbors and who had what kind of tradition. This means that only if someone has developed states for neighbors does he have to be sensitive to the kinds of measures that are undertaken and how this will affect development at a certain moment--as if our people could be easily demoralized because they were not as developed. I do not want to be dramatic, but I am trying to show the extent to which this may develop as the result of a lack of attention to the common difficulties and interests and needs of others, and as the result of a continual insistence upon defending one's own momentary interests or views.

The Narrower and Broader Communities

[Question] You spoke at the beginning about how you view cooperation. You said yourself, however, that there is no divergence in the programs' view of things. The problems arise with specific examples and with the relationship between the "narrower" and "broader" communities.

[Answer] Everything that people would like to shelter behind the screen of joint Yugoslav interest and cooperation, and that would objectively be a denial of the special historical circumstances, development conditions, and heritage of parts of Yugoslavia, is absolutely unacceptable, in my opinion; consultation and agreement are therefore necessary and are the heritage of our democratic development. I believe just as strongly, however, that it is absolutely unacceptable for us, proceeding from the constitutional principles on the responsibility of each region for its own development, but also for the development of the whole, to neglect the necessity of having this responsibility necessarily implemented through the appropriate channels of united agreement, a united view, and united coordination, and the necessity of our transforming this into practice, which supersedes the justification of the principles.

A simple assemblage of our individual interests is not always also the interest of the community, of Yugoslavia as a whole. If we insist on consistency in abiding by the commitments in the constitution, we must recall that it is no accident that we have not included any independent federal jurisdictions in the Constitution. I think that bypassing this fact is a distorted interpretation of cooperation. I cannot accept a view of cooperation in which we have to agree to all solutions first in the republics and provinces so that they can then go "up," and what we do not agree to cannot go up. The Constitution, for example, provided quite clearly that in some situations, when joint positions cannot be immediately coordinated and there are differences in the implementation of a unified policy, the appropriate organ of the federation is responsible for implementing temporary measures. Naturally, I am not in favor of having this become the prevailing practice, but if we included this in the Constitution, then we can by no means consider the implementation of temporary measures to be a "slow but sure" return to centralism and a "slow but sure" return to the already surmounted place and role of the state and the state organs; it is usually added then

that this is a sure indication that etatism and bureaucratism are growing stronger in Yugoslavia, and thus also unitarism, etc.

I think that this is a distorted view of cooperation and the functioning of the federation, because it turns out then that we have included a whole range of possibilities in our constitutional system, and that we have accepted only part of it. We have incorporated in our system a clearly defined place and responsibility for the state, and within the state, the place and responsibility of the federation. I thus think that there are many areas in which a unified national policy should be conducted, and if for any reason these unified national interests cannot be coordinated, the organs of the federation, in accordance with their authority, are obliged, and according to the Constitution responsible, for acting according to the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, for the sake of the interests of the whole. This is the way that we in Macedonia view the relations between what you have called "narrower" and "broader" communities, Macedonia and the SFRY. We stated in the Constitution that we would have a unified market, unified social planning, joint conduct of economic policy, etc. These are not just phrases. Without a unified national development concept, including priorities, not only is there no cooperation, but there is also no separation, no equality or responsibility, either for one's own development or for the development of the entire country. If we continue in this way we could bring matters to the point of absurdity, and in the name of an obscure view of cooperation based on momentary egotism and a narrow viewpoint, jeopardize everything that represents the real content of Yugoslav socialist self-managing cooperation.

Macedonia in the Dark

Question These days sharp criticisms can be heard from people in Macedonia to the effect that as far as solidarity is concerned, we are much stronger in theory than in practice. They add, specifically, that for two years now the people in Macedonia have for the most part been kept in the dark, and that during the same period there were no signs of anyone in Yugoslavia being disturbed by this. What is the energy situation in Macedonia really like, and to what extent is it uniquely Macedonian or part of the Yugoslav energy situation?

Answer This is naturally one more opportunity for the broader Yugoslav public to become acquainted with the actual energy situation in Macedonia, concerning which it can be said that it is not only disturbing, but actually threatens to paralyze economic activity in the republic. The energy situation in Yugoslavia is serious, but the real fact is that the energy situation is most serious in Macedonia.

For two years now, the economy and the citizens of Macedonia have been working and living under a very strict restriction on all types of energy. At the same time, in some other parts of Yugoslavia it was not really apparent that there was a shortage, let us say, of oil and oil derivatives, and electricity. The serious restrictions that are now affecting some other parts of Yugoslavia have unfortunately been a continuing practice in Macedonia for a long time now. What disturbs us most is that we are entering a situation in which all

of our economic processes are beginning to be threatened. I think that working people in Macedonia are most affected by the perception that in this case the system of solidarity has not been effective. Possibly there is an impression that this solidarity has been achieved through the latest measures by the FEC. We, however, feel that solidarity could be achieved in a way that is not purely verbal only through implementation of the initiative by FEC President Milka Planinc to work on the coordinated introduction of a 10 percent restriction throughout the entire country, an initiative that was recently discussed by the FEC Coordination Commission. We therefore cannot allow an energy collapse to occur, and in this regard, in addition to several determined and dramatic efforts to activate our own capacities, we expect full attention to be devoted to our call for solidarity by the organs of the federation. Concerning this, we have proposed a version of a possible social agreement.

I would like to add to this that there is a very critical situation in Macedonia with respect to the supply of oil and oil derivatives. We have very limited amounts of all types of oil derivatives. As with the electricity situation, this is not the result of negligence or of taking a look at the situation too late. At this time, I am intentionally not going into a detailed discussion of the problems that have led to this. I think, however, that we cannot cover up the fact that this situation is directly linked (although I fully understand the difficulties existing in other areas) to failure to carry out the social agreement on the equal supply of oil and oil derivatives, under identical conditions, to all areas of Yugoslavia. We cannot accept this, of course.

Question Finally, Mr. President, the final talks and agreements are under way on the draft resolution on the policy for implementing the social plan for 1983. It is no great secret that, if we are not mistaken, two positions have crystallized that are to a considerable extent mutually exclusive. To put it simply, the advocates of one position are being called "offensivists," and the others, "defensivists." The former favor a high growth rate, and the others, stagnation. It is clear that both of these positions are derived from the specific economic situations of individual republics and provinces. It seems to us that it would be significant if you were to tell us how Macedonia views the 1983 Resolution, i.e., what your priorities are.

Answer Next year, 1983, is very important in many ways. It is the third year for the implementation of the social plan for 1980-1985, and it may be a crucial one.

It is true that there are different views of the possibilities and requirements for Yugoslavia's development next year. In connection with this, I must emphasize that the view separating the actors in the concept for 1983 development into "offensivists" and "defensivists" is too simplistic. We are standing firmly by our position that the only correct and useful course is primarily self-reliance, reliance on the material potentials that have been created, natural resources, and the human element.

We in Macedonia feel that in 1983 we have to do everything possible to make maximum use of the available capacities. Such a commitment necessarily leads to a relatively high rate of economic growth. According to what we have learned thus far, Macedonia has both the capabilities and the requirements for us to become oriented toward increasing the social product by as much as 6 percent. I admit that under the present conditions this is a high rate of development, and it would be the result primarily of activating a large number of new capacities.

If you look at it carefully, this rate is not so high. If we achieve it, in the first three years of this plan we would have an annual growth rate of 3 percent in the social product, which is a stagnant rate of development, in view of demographic trends in Macedonia.

In advocating such a "high" growth rate for Macedonia in 1983, we are fully aware of the difficulties, especially in the area of paying for the country's present foreign obligations. The economy and the banks in our republic are those which feel these difficulties most sharply and most intensively. It is precisely for these reasons that we do not see any possibility of a way out of the difficulties unless we mobilize our own forces and our own production capacity to the limit.

We are also aware that production is not enough by itself, and that what has been produced has to be sold and exported, primarily to the convertible market. Thus, associated labor in our republic is now being presented with tasks that seem at first glance to be fantastic, with respect to increasing exports to the convertible area next year. We feel that this jump is both necessary and possible, however. If the Macedonian economy were to achieve this, Macedonia's share in Yugoslav exports to the convertible market would be somewhat higher than its share in the national social product.

Nevertheless, regardless of how much these export goals are justified and how realistic they are, achieving them is an extremely difficult task. Thus, what I could call a feverish activity is under way in Macedonia, primarily in associated labor, but also in all social structures.

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SERBIAN ORTHODOX PRESS CRITICIZED FOR HOSTILE VIEWS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 82 SEDAM DANA supplement p 9

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "The Lies of the Vidovdan 'Truths'"]

[Text] Some Orthodox newspapers have recently been making increasingly more open attacks on the fundamental heritage of our society, without hesitating to identify our revolution with highway robbery.

One of the Vidovdan truths, according to the PRAVOSLAVNI MISIONAR [ORTHODOX MISSIONARY] (issue 3/82), is that the Serbian people, "even though they have died throughout their entire history for the true cross," are nevertheless a sinful people, because they have "sinned against God and against Serbdom." As proof, the author, Professor Lazar Milin, states: "Let us take one example in regard to the church. The sufferings of World War II affected the Serbian people as a whole. The first and heaviest blows, however, were suffered by the Serbian church. Where is this recorded, where is this noted? Nowhere. No one speaks of this. An Italian postwar film, "Rome Is an Open City," portrays the sufferings of a Roman Catholic priest under fascism. Since the entire world knows that there were no such cases, however, the directors of the film stated quite honestly at the very beginning that all of the characters and events were invented. Nevertheless, through its content and its slant, the film arouses sympathy for the Roman Catholic priest among the viewers. With us Serbs, however, there has not been any need to invent martyred priests, and ruined and darkened churches spattered with the blood of the Serbian people."

When this "sin against Serbdom" is articulated, it turns out that according to the PRAVOSLAVNI MISIONAR, the people sinned because they did not proclaim the church to be the greatest victim of World War II, and thus possibly the one most responsible for the war's outcome in this area. In the second place, the author claims that the sufferings of the Serbian Orthodox Church are not recorded anywhere, even though it is well known that in 1960 the Association of Orthodox Priests of the SFRY published a "Memorial of Orthodox Priests 1941-1945," in which, in addition to information about the victims, their photographs were also published. Even this, apparently, was a sin, since those responsible for the "Memorial" were the associated Orthodox clergy,

which obviously does not suit certain individuals in the Orthodox church. Does this mean that they simply do not recognize that part of the church as part of the Serbian people, since they are accusing it of omissions that do not exist?

Milin goes a step further, however, and involves the Catholic clergy in this game of his, in a really incomprehensible manner. In fact, he asserts that the whole world knows that not one Catholic priest became a victim of fascism, and he interprets the ordinary text of the credits for the film "Rome Is an Open City" to support this, in a more than primitive manner. The truth, on the contrary, is that in both Italy and Germany, not to speak of Poland,--or in Yugoslavia, of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina--many honorable and patriotic Catholic priests fell victim to fascism. Denying this truth is worse than a transgression with respect to any sort of ecumenism. At the very least, this is slighting the other peoples. Since Milin feels himself to be so outraged that this Italian film "arouses sympathy for the Roman Catholic priest among the viewers," he would probably be satisfied if the reverse were the case. It becomes clear where this is leading if we know that in his article, he constantly identifies Serbdom and Orthodoxy, and accordingly identifies Catholicism with other peoples. In doing so he naturally forgets to mention all of the clergy who sinned against the interests of the Serbian people (as some others sinned against the interests of their people) during the war, and openly assisted the occupiers and the domestic traitors. Milin sees such people only in other churches and other peoples. This is what is sad, and at the same time politically dangerous. Thus, his position that a Serb "can have true freedom only in a country where a Serb rules according to the Gospels" is nothing more than an shibboleth of clerical-nationalistic ideology.

Such positions are unfortunately not held by just a few individuals, as demonstrated by the above-mentioned issue of PRAVOSLAVNI MISSIONAR. The journal actually contains one more rather long article in which the writer (Nikola Antic) writes about our society from an openly hostile standpoint. Thus, this is not a case of ordinary criticism of sectarian tendencies and incidents, but rather a case of criticism of the very Yugoslav socialism in which, according to Antic, "everything human is being sold out."

In any case, the article is entitled "Time: Present," and deals with the "moral poverty" of our young people, from the viewpoint of our sociopolitical system. "Analyzing" the reporting in some of our newspapers (especially NIN, DUGA, ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, POLITIKA, etc.) and television broadcasts, Antic notes that we are "reprinting both criminal stories and everyday scandals from the immoral chronicles of the West, especially America," which has a detrimental effect on youth. The guilty ones are our "progressive forces" (Antic refers to them in quotation marks), because they have allowed the "ideology and ideals of the 'progressive' East and the life of the 'decadent' and 'corrupt' West" to penetrate into our society. In particular, this is demonstrated by rock music, which has brought young people to "moral anarchy and personality cults." Naturally, this has not happened by accident, but rather in accordance with a deliberate plan of the "managers of culture" who were forced to give something to the young people for them to "sow their wild oats," so that they would leave in peace those "'humane and modest' people who have barricaded themselves in villas, in order to enjoy in peace the wealth

that they have 'rightfully won' in this now universal robbery. There is an entire strategy here for young people, based on modern methods" (sic).

One of these methods (to disorient youth morally and ideologically) is as follows: "The fathers have overvalued and emphasized only themselves and their 'superhuman' wartime services and feats, which are daily stressed, but not attainable by present-day youth. After all, they (youth) would have to desire another war, killing and destruction, in order to achieve these splendid heroic qualities, if this is still the highest scope of heroism and patriotism, i.e., who has killed how many people and destroyed bridges and burned houses, and in such a way as to fit in with such heroism from both sides in the war. Naturally, this is the greatest honor, and who dares to say anything against such an honor?"

It is almost unbelievable that some one could say what has been said through Antic by PRAVOSLAVNI MISIONAR (the newspaper of the Holy Bishops' Synod, with a circulation of 38,000 copies): that the partisans were ordinary murderers, arsonists, and that all of their patriotism and heroism can be summed up by saying that they were no different at all from the other side in the war. In short, everything that these peoples and nationalities did during World War II, all of the losses they suffered, are nothing more than highway robbery to the newspaper of the Holy Bishops' Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The newspaper also attempts to prove that this is really "so" by saying that this "false heroism and patriotism" is now being used as a means of keeping youth at a distance from the villas and the enjoyment of wealth in this universal robbery, as Antic puts it. He thus openly asserts, "According to someone's skillfully managed plan, youth is losing its orientation in all forms" (because everything is measured by the amount of one's salary and fees), and the ones who are principally guilty are the "moral idiots who view themselves as progressive."

It would take us too long to cite and analyze everything that Antic furnishes his readers (with so much hatred and primitivism), and we think that this is enough to see where some church individuals (and even organizations) in our church are headed. Why do they do this? Antic himself says that he wrote the article only because he regretted that our young people were no longer conducting themselves "in accordance with Christian moral examples," and he wanted to urge them to do so. What these "Christian moral examples" are like can also be seen from these "Vidovdan truths" of Milin, and this does not have to be discussed in particular. Naturally, the church, in its full splendor and power, would be at the center of such a "Christian" society if it were resurrected again, and it would prescribe for the people what was or was not good for them, since they obviously do not know themselves. Finally, Antic himself calls these common people the "morally unstable world," which (naturally) merits the spiritual yoke of the church. Does this require any further commentary?

9909

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SITUATION IN YOUTH FEDERATION ARGUED AT CONGRESSES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1662, 7 Nov 82 pp 11-13

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic]

[Text] "He who has youth does not know what he has" asserted the Austrian Marxist Ernest Fischer.

We who have cited this assertion know what we have, but we are not certain we should be happy about it. Here's why. One lad, we would say, of ominous visage, in a black leather jacket covered with rivets and himself adorned with metal, was sitting quietly at the Slovenian Youth Congress and, like most other delegates, carefully taking notes on the discussion. He was the representative of the well-developed local "punk" movement.

At almost the same time, at an exhibit of domestic inventions in Rijeka, Iran Zindovic from Belgrade, a fifteen-year-old, showed up with his invention--a computer! He came to the exhibit in the company of his grandfather, and explained that his computer, called "Idiot-1," could calculate, recall, correct errors in word processing and also serve as a partner in video games. He said that most of his help came from his parents, who provided 6,000 dinars for parts and also "kept their noses out of his business."

The point is that both the lad in the leather jacket and the inventor of "Idiot-1" are members of the League of Socialist Youth. Is that a valid confirmation of the conventionally labeled ideological, political (and esthetic) chaotic state of this organization? Or is it perhaps just an illustration of its breadth and the problem of articulating mutuality, at a time when it is asserted that the Youth League is "an organization without a membership, made up solely of the leadership?" There is also the fact that young people often simply avoid the organization. What really is happening with the Socialist Youth League, which at least on paper, groups half of the fully 6 million young people in the country?

The question is the logical consequence of the fact that both the membership and a good part of the leadership is dissatisfied with this kind of organization. It follows that many question just who needs this kind of Socialist

Youth League. In April of this year (1982) commissions of the Serbian LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Republic Youth Conference determined that "there really is a crisis in the youth organization and of increasingly noticeable manifestations of mistrust, as well as aversion of the young toward their own organization, which as is said has lost its membership and has artificially constituted its leadership pyramid, and that youth activism as presently conceived is unattractive and unsuitable."

Indeed, some youth organization functionaries assert that this does not represent "an exclusive definition" of the youth organization per se and that it is not clear to them why "such an extremely open manner is used to analyze the situation" in their organization alone. While respecting this position, we will go to "a very open analysis of the status in the youth organization."

The Congress Liturgy

Answers to some of the questions raised are expected from the youth congresses that have just now, at year's end, been happening successively. In Novo Mesto 2 weeks ago there was the Slovenian Youth Organization Congress, where there was a lot of talk about the "skirmishes" about formulations in the proposed materials for the congress. The day before the congress, Darja Colaric, president of the Slovenian Youth Organization, most frequently replied to the question as to whether it was true that she had to revise her keynote speech in places where it commented on the most recent measures of the Federal Executive Council by noting as follows:

"There were no malicious interventions 'but only well-intentioned, comradely suggestions.'" Her speech was read in advance at other sociopolitical organizations, but only so that the same thoughts would not be repeated several times at the congress opening.

Our collaborator Aleksandra Plavevska spoke with the new president of the Slovenian Youth Organization, Andrej Brvar, who considers that the congress immediately fell into the perennial danger of "congress activity."

[Brvar] This is the danger that, instead of engaging in revolutionary action, one falls into some sort of political liturgy, a spiritualistic seance in which the delegates form a living, and generally ugly, backdrop and the height of the nonsense is the introductory debate. We tried in several ways to avoid that danger. The first way was to insist on changing the formal and contextual format of that which by custom we call a congress.

Incidentally, he also asserted that they began a fundamental analysis of the position of the Slovenian organization vis-a-vis youth, as well as its position within the political system.

[Brvar] The analysis is very critical, or perhaps better, self-critical. It has resulted in the recognition that the politically and systematically proclaimed role of the Slovenian Socialist Youth League was largely some sort of mythic notion, while in reality in many ways the youth league is on the one hand an expressively sectarian organization that is open to the problems of youth, while on the other, it is patently obedient, and dependent, in a word,

an organization without its own backbone and opinion. It is clear to us that the process of liberation from those illusions and myths will be a long-term process that will have to take into account the strength of those who need such myths to preserve their privileged social position.

The Slovenian youth organization leaders added that if they lack anything, it is the education of the young to be capable to make their own Marxist evaluation of the social situation, and not to continue to be constant "expecters" and later, merely valuable and obedient implementers. They seek debate and openness in the struggle of opinion, critical attitudes and the possibility of criticizing, but finally, as Brvar says, they need the acumen necessary to recognize the enemy!

One of the positions of the Slovenian youth that caused the most comments was their belief that the inactivity of students in the youth organization is the consequence of their joining, some 10 years ago, with other parts of the younger generation.

The Successful and Those Others

Other than agreement that the assertion that today's youth is terrible is the first sign of sclerosis, there is no full accord on certain essential evaluations within the youth organization itself. That is best seen from the report prepared by province, republic and federal conferences for their highest gatherings. The analysis prepared by our collaborator Veselin Todorovic shows the wealth of differences.

The introduction to the federal report unambiguously states that "insufficient direction in actions toward resolving crucial questions of young people has resulted in the fact that the Yugoslav Socialist Youth League has not completely earned the confidence of the younger generation, and has begun to lose its authority"!

The general estimate of the success of the work of the Bosnia-Hercegovina youth organization, whose congress ended recently, diverges somewhat from evaluations that relate to the federal conference. According to the report of this republic organization, "the socialist youth league, together with other sociopolitical organizations, has made a significant contribution to overall socioeconomic and political development."

The documents for the conference of Kosovo youth were published at the beginning of November, when the public debate on the documents for the Serbian Socialist Youth League had already been concluded. The Kosovo Province conference considered that its 4-year results were "great and very significant both in terms of the development of the organization itself, and in implementing its role in socioeconomic and political life."

This report unambiguously condemns Albanian nationalism, but lacks clearly stated causes to explain the nationalism of youth. There is no truly clear picture of the situation at the university and in the schools. Resettling of Serbs and Montenegrins is mentioned in only one sentence, in the report introduction, and that is in a rather unfortunate manner:

"The activity of the Kosovo Socialist Youth League in the second phase of the report period has developed in the direction of taking measures related to the resettling of Serbs and Montenegrines out of Kosovo...."

Naturally, there is a typographical error in the middle of it.

According to the report from Vojvodina, there too the Socialist Youth League "has constantly become stronger in ideology, actions and organization and in that manner it has affected overall sociopolitical and socioeconomic relationships." Judging from the reports, it would seem that the youth organizations in the provinces have been incomparably more successful than those in other parts of Yugoslavia.

Youth organizations in Serbia and Vojvodina, however, agree in their reports that mutual action unity has not been achieved in sufficient measure. The youth of Vojvodina assert that "relations between the Vojvodina and the Serbian socialist youth organizations have been hampered by the concept that mutual and equal cooperation can be built primarily using resolutions approved by the republic conference of the Serbian Socialist Youth Organization, and not predominantly by unified implementation of the political action programs of the Socialist Youth Leagues of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Vojvodina combined, which in content are nearly completely coordinated."

This type of position acts as a response to the following sentence in the evaluation of the operations of the Serbian Socialist Youth League: "Along with implementation of the independence of province organizations, there has been an increase in the tendency toward introspection as an expression of neglecting mutual interests and determinations of the young."

The Difference Between the Vracar and Palilula Districts

Petar Damnjanovic, president of the Belgrade youth organizations told NIN the following:

There is an opinion that the Yugoslav Socialist Youth League is only a league of republic and province organizations, not a unified organization. We have reached the point where, within the framework of Belgrade, there are those who point out specific features of the youth of Vracar in contrast to those of Palilula. They constantly seek differences, and every attempt to emphasize similarities is looked on as suspicious.

It is probably for the above reason that at the LCY Congress Milan Obucina, president of the Serbian youth organization, warned that in many ways the Yugoslav Socialist Youth League is not a unified organization. He presented concrete evidence, such as the fact that the statutes of some republic organization have not been reconciled with the federal youth organization statute. Even traditional youth activities in school and at work are hampered by republic and province borders. There is no unified records systems for members. There is no unified program for ideological training of members, nor a functioning communication system within the Yugoslav Socialist Youth League.

Every republic organization has its own organizational rules for federal youth labor actions. Finally, the Conference of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth League does not coordinate the work of the republic and province conferences, as it should according to the federal statute.

In any case, recently after quite a bit of discussion it was decided in the Republic Conference of Serbian Youth that besides delegates from the opstinas of both provinces, special delegate quotas of province youth representatives should be delegated to the Republic Assembly, thereby expressing their individuality.

It is interesting, however, to look thoroughly at the way that other republic organizations evaluate their work. In the report from Croatian youth, it states that "partially because of objective circumstances, difficulties in economic development and the further building of socialist self-management, and partially because of weaknesses in the manner of work in the organization itself, the Croatian Socialist Youth League has not developed to the point where it can take upon itself the role and responsibility that, as a youth organization, it has at the present moment of our development."

The Macedonian Socialist Youth League, according to its own report, "has continued to develop and grow into a youth organization for those who have tied their future to the future of socialism. It has succeeded in realizing its basic function of training and including young people in the delegate system and in actions led by the organized socialist forces, headed by the League of Communists."

The Montenegrins have two contradictory evaluations. They believe that the Socialist Youth League has had an important place in all realms of social life, but also that it has not developed into the type of organization "required by the social moment and the interests of the younger generation as a whole."

Judging from the data, the youth of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Macedonia, Vojvodina and Kosovo have assessed their work more positively than the others, thus bringing the general evaluation of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth League into question.

In the assessment of Milinko Bujicic, long-term socialist youth activist, the report has been shown "to be the best way not to work, but to get everything done. Precisely for that reason a great deal of effort was put into perfecting the report."

Judging from everything, the slogan that the "world rests upon the young" in our case at least does not at all correspond to reality!

The Young and Pregnancy

Vuk Zugic, member of the republic conference of the Serbian Socialist Youth League, says: "One cannot without consequence keep an entire generation

'in the stomach' as during a pregnancy, frozen for a long period, without consequences for its readiness to emerge when the time comes for it to replace the older generation."

The communists of Belgrade were supposed to talk about the young people, their organization and position in society this month. They have dropped that plan, so that now these themes will be discussed only at a joint session of the presidium of the City LCY Conference and the City Conference of the Socialist Youth League of Belgrade. Preparations for the session of the Serbian LCY Central Committee, however, continue, with the theme "Urgent Tasks of the Youth Organization and Ideologicopolitical Tasks of the Serbian League of Communists." The theses for this session were debated 3 days ago. The debate at the session of the two LCY Central Committee commissions lasted several hours, and there were a number of comments on this material.

Speaking of the position of the young, Petar Zivadinovic, executive secretary of the Serbian LC presidium, said among other things in his introductory speech:

The dissatisfaction of much of our younger generation can lead to dangerous social tensions if allowed to continue. What should we do to prevent that? First we must prevent the dissatisfaction of the young from being easily identified with enmity toward the society, for research shows that the majority of them hold a positive attitude toward the basic values of self-management socialism. Yet as Marxists, we must know that the social being of the youth will be the same as its conscience. In other words, if the society rejects the young people, we should not be surprised when they begin to reject society. I am convinced that the League of Communists perceives the seriousness of the problem just because of the fact that it is being discussed.

The whole situation is complicated by the circumstance that new generation of young people are growing up in conditions of serious difficulties in the society, which damages their social position and partially restricts their prospects.

Such circumstances for a framework that causes "deepening of constant social inferiority of young people and at the same time strengthens certain paternalistic tendencies in the society regarding youth. There is constantly less recognition of the special life situation of the young and the specific difficulties and vital problems that youth confronts, and which increasingly limit the possibility for young people to function as autonomous participants in the self-management frameworks of current socialist democracy here in Yugoslavia, as well as in the institutional frameworks of the pluralism of self-management interests." This statement came from Professor Srdjan Vrcan.

As Petar Damnjanovic puts it: "Our organization is losing authority both toward the membership and toward society, because it does not function independently. Rather, most of our evaluations and positions are based on previously known positions of other sociopolitical organizations. It happened that we made our own assessment of events at the solidarity meeting in Belgrade, and there were stormy reactions."

The Bureaucratic Counterrevolution

At the Slovenian congress, it was heard that the momentary situation does not represent a crisis of socialist self-management, but rather "if you like, the crisis of a caricature of self-management."

The Belgrade youth organization leaders assert that the source of current problems is not among the young, but rather the present circumstances are a product--of bureaucratic counterrevolution! The bureaucracy has made its way into the party as well, they say, and while the party has not changed its program, they want to change the party. According to the bureaucracy, the only true youth is that part of the generation that is characterized by--obedience. The rest, and among them as a rule there are those who have the "charge" of creativity and the will for changes, remain outside the concept of "our young people." On the other hand, it is asserted that we need curious, disobedient, critical, self-assured and educated young people.

As far as the Socialist Youth League itself is concerned, the prevailing attitude is that in the future it cannot simply be involved with work actions and rock concerts. At present there are two polarized opinions about its structure. It will either evolve toward the broadest youth front, which means perhaps a discarding soon of the institution of membership, or else it will become stronger as an organization. This second path is criticized as a "return to the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia." Some of the advocates of such a youth organization say that it is unclear why the hope for a mobilized, strong action youth organization is identified with the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia, in a negative manner. Perhaps the dilemma over whether to be a movement or an organization will be resolved only at the federal congress at the end of December.

The future orientation as well as the questions that will be posed and the answers that will be offered by the young will shape the future of more than this organization, for as the young people say, "we reached this point without you. Yet it will be hard to progress further without us!"

It even seems to some that we talk too much, we are told by our interlocutors, who think that sometimes we should close our mouths. Yet even in that case, all the questions will remain open!

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