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THE ROLE OF THE PEOPLE' COUNCILS IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

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- Rumania -

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OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

[Following is the translation of an article by Al. Tanase in Cercetari Filosofice, Vol VII, No 6, Bucharest, 1960, pages 31-56.]

The practical achievement of the objectives of the program for the fulfillment of socialism adopted by the Third Congress of Rumanian Workers' Party requires imperiously the continuous growth of political factors -- leadership by the Marxist-Leninist Party, and development of the Socialist state and of communal organizations.

In the report on activities of the Central Committee, presented by comrade Gheorghe Gheorghui-Dej, as well as in a series of speeches by delegates to the Congress, the Marxist-Leninist thesis was stressed that the chief instrument of the Party in securing the organization and conduct of economy and socialist culture is the popular democratic state of the new socialist type, which constitutes the most democratic form of government in the history of our people.

The functions of our state have evolved according to profound economic changes. The democratic improvement of the functions of the state along with the economic, political, and spiritual ripening of the socialist order is one of the basic laws of historic evolution of proletarian dictatorship. The latter includes a vast number of political organizations of state and community whereby the socio-economic and cultural aims of the revolution are realized and whose essence resides in the socialist democracy.

The radical abolition of the system of exploitation and social classes, the consolidation of our socio-political order, the great victory achieved in setting the technico-materialistic basis of socialism, the growth of the moral-political unity of the working people "have continuously reduced the ground for action of the enemies of socialism -- conducing to a gradual restraint of the coercive function of the state" (see note).

([Note:] Congresul al III-lea al Partidului Muncitoresc Romn [Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party], Ed. Pol. 1960, page 295] The constructive-educational aspect of state activity which manifests itself particularly in the economico-organizational and cultural-educational functions, is gaining more and more weight. This does not mean, however, a weakening of control by the

repressive organs and by the whole people against the stubborn reactionary elements, blinded with hatred, which violate the security of our social order -- the spies and diversionists -- the more so that (as it is well known), in imperialist America spying, sabotage, and diversion are promoted to the rank of state policy.)

As a political superstructure of the socialist economic structure the necessary development in breadth and depth of socialist democracy depends on the extension and improvement of socialist production as well as on some other objective and subjective factors which are a function of the degree of economic and moral-political maturation of the socialist society.

In the actual stage of socialist fulfillment whose basic characteristics and dominant trends have been amply analyzed in the documents of the Third Congress of the P.M.R. (Rumanian Workers' Party) the political organization of our society and the development of the democratic-popular order of state bring up new and better forms and methods of action, which are more efficient and closer to the working mass.

"Marxist-Leninist principles indicate that the forms of organization and the methods of activity of the socialist state are improving steadily. They must be adequate to the needs of social development or else they may hinder the progress of the country" (See note).

([Note:] Congresul al III lea al Partidului Muncitoresc Roman [Third Congress of the Romanian Workers' Party], Ed. Pol., 1960, page 165)

Among the multiple problems raised by the laws of development of the socialist state and its functions, we shall analyze in continuation the role of People's Councils in the development of socialist democracy.

1. The Particular Role of The People's Councils in the System of Proletarian Dictatorship

A particular role characteristic to the system of proletarian dictatorship is that of the People's Councils which came about as a new and superior kind of state organs during the collapse of the old state system and "represents the most important achievement in the realm of state construction" (see note).

([Note:] Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, Raport de activitate al C. C. al P.M.R. la Congreaul al II lea al Partidului, E.S.P.L.P., [Report of Activity of the Central Committee of the P.M.R. at the Second Party Congress] 1956, page 34).

The basic principle of organization and activity of the People's Councils (as of the socialist state in general) is democratic centralism, which ensures the coordination, and unified and harmonious development of all branches and sectors of the national economy and culture.

Democratic centralism represents the most consistent embodiment of the unity of interests and will of the socialist nation in the process of constitution and development. At the same time, and in contrast to bourgeois bureaucratic centralism, democratic centralism does not exclude and even more it presupposes the widest diversity with regard to the constructive initiative of the masses, the forms and methods for their participation in the conduct and solution of public affairs according to particular local problems -- economic structure, way of life, level of education of the people. Under a successful socialist construction the workers live directly a new and profound political experience, in the course of which they become penetrated by the necessity of the democratic centralism, which implies a rigorous external and self-discipline intertwined with a very broad initiative by the masses.

The People's Councils are "local organs of state power and, at the same time, the most inclusive communal organizations" (see Note).

([Note:] Congresul al III-lea al Partidului Muncitoresc Romîn [Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party], Ed., Pol., Vol 25, page 422).

Representing a truly democratic form of organization of state power in our country -- which ensures direct participation of the masses in the conduct of community and state affairs -- the People's Councils reveal in their activity, with particular emphasis, the rise of large masses of workers -- formerly kept in ferocious material misery and cultural backwardness, prevented by all means from participating to political life -- to a broad and complex political activity of the state and community according to the growing economic and socio-cultural tasks in the process of fulfillment of socialist construction. Lenin underlined the existence of necessary laws for the socialist state order conducting to a gradual improvement of the mechanism of the state and the amplification of its functions, through an ever larger participation of the workers, until they become habits and finally wither away as special functions for a special group of people. ([Note:] V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 25, page 422).

Under the leadership of the Party great success has been achieved in our country in the setting up of a new state apparatus to secure effective participation of workers in the conduct and administration of state life with maximum of satisfaction of their growing interests and needs. The state problems gain large popular

audience also through the elected deputies and become problems of the whole community, and the state organs for this democratic revolutionary metamorphosis are the People's Councils.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the PMR in December 1956 established that for the strengthening of our democratic-popular order and the development of a socialist democracy, one of the most important tasks for the Party is the improvement of People's Councils' activities as local organs of the state in democratic centralism.

In his report to the Congress, Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej stated: "The measures which widen the sphere of activity and economic possibilities of the People's Councils must lead to their greater responsibility for the economic development of regions, cities, and villages and in meeting the needs of the workers. They must lead to a growth in initiative and management by the People's Councils to call them to vigorous activity in view of solving with local forces the various economic, managerial, sanitary, socio-cultural problems for the interest of the workers (see note).

([Note:] Raportul tovarasului Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej la plenara C. C. al PMR din decembrie 1956 [The Report of Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PMR in December 1956] Ed. Pol., 1957, page 44).

The directives from the Party have been consecrated in the law on the Organization and functions of the People's Councils adopted by the first session of the Great National Assembly of March 1957 (see note).

([Note:] For the democratic content of this law see also Mirces Anghene "The Intensification of Socialist Democracy Through the Activity of People's Councils in the Present Stage, Studii juridice [Juristic Studies], Ed. Acad. RPR, 1960.)

In this law (art. 1) their fundamental role is defined: "The People's Councils organize the active participation of workers to the socialist construction" (see note).

([Note:] Buletinul Oficial al Marii Adunari Nationale a R.P.R. [Official Bulletin of the Great National Assembly R.P.R.] No 3, IV, 1957, page 132) Art. 6 defines the basic tasks of the People's Councils granting legal status to their considerable functions, sphere of activity, and constructive political, economic, sanitary and cultural content. As state organs of the proletarian dictatorship they fulfill an important role in securing leadership by the working class -- headed by the Party -- in the economic, socio-political, and cultural life of our country.)

The strengthening of local organs of state has increased their responsibility with regard to the mobilization and organization of all material and human resources within their area in view of material and spiritual progress of villages, raionelor (districts), and regions for raising the living standards of workers.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the PMR of December 1959, has envisioned a considerable economic increase in the People's Councils activity and Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej's report on the National plan for economic development for 1960-65, includes a special paragraph concerning the local organs of the state, making them directly responsible for a significant part of the economic and socio-cultural activity: the local industrial production, village management, commercial network, general production, etc.

A particularly important role is attributed to the local government in carrying out the party policy for national economic development and the raise of standard of living (see note).

([Note:] Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, Raport la cel de al III-lea Congres al P.M.R. [Report to the 3rd Congress of PMR], Vol: The Third Congress of PMR, Ed. Pol., 1960, page 67.)

This broadening of functions and economic activity reveals itself also in a whole series of quantitative indexes: the local industrial production in 1960 is 7 billion, approximately 5.8 times greater than in 1950, and in 1965 it will be 10 billion. Within its sphere is presently included the entire production of grain needed by the population, 39% of lime production, 37% of the production of furniture, 65% of construction material, a good deal of meat supply, and other food products. Nearly the whole commercial network and a good deal of construction works are subordinated to the People's Councils.

The investment fund for construction and modernization of roads and bridges as well as other works of community management, embellishment of our cities and villages in 1960 is 2.4 higher than in 1955, and the investment prospect is 2,399,700,000 as compared to approximately one billion in 1955 (see note).

([Note:] "According to the Actual Tasks of the People's Councils in Local Economy", Din Experienta sfaturilor populare [From the Experience of the People's Councils], No 1/1960.)

This growth of the People's Councils and their sphere of economic activity requires imperiously an improvement in the exercise of the most important functions in the socialist state -- corresponding to the sphere and the high level of Socialist forces and relations of production in their area of competence.

a. The functions of An Organization with Awareness of the Plan for Socialist Economic and Cultural Development

In this direction steps have been taken to improve the system of planning and guidance of institutions under their command. "By enlarging the competence of the local government and the economic development subordinated to it the planning system has reduced the number of items for state planning and this has created the conditions for the enlargement of the sphere of local initiative" (see note).

([Note:] Prof Dr. Roman Moldovan, "The March of Planned Economy in RPR, Economia României între anii 1944-59 [Rumanian Economy between 1944-50], Ed. Acad. RPR, 1959, page 54.)

The People's Councils display also an important revolutionary cultural activity. All the workers, young and old generations, are learning, raising their cultural ideological level, changing their awareness according to the great transformation which takes place in their social life. Together with the various communal organizations, the state represents the main instrument in securing the material conditions and the development of a revolutionary culture. The Party guides the cultural organizations of state and community by continuously intensifying and improving the content of cultural-educational activity in order to raise our people gradually, but at an ever swifter rate, to a superior level of intellectual, cultural, and artistic life of socialist awareness.

The growth of political and organizational capacity of the People's Councils shows itself also in the abolition of the principle of dual subordination of the dependent sections -- which was needed during the first period of activity of the Councils when they were lacking the necessary experience (see note).

([Note] Before the law of 1957 on the organization and functioning of the People's Councils, their sections were subordinated to the respective ministerial departments -- and this was limiting control and guidance by the People's Councils.)

The People's Councils' functions of leadership, organization, and guidance for all the sections, units, and local enterprises presupposes and requires a centralized unitary leadership by branch for all sectors of socio-economic and cultural activity under the jurisdiction of the People's Councils so that the continuous rise in locally conducted activity contributes to strengthening the role of the socialist state and its central organs and ensures maximum efficiency for its directives and respect for socialist legal principles illustrating the superiority of the democratic centralist principle on which the socialist state is based. Parallel to the widening of competence and attribution of local government runs the problem of their central strengthening and political guidance by branch through departments and the Council of Ministers. For this purpose the Third Congress has indicated the best means for achieving such guidance

and liquidating some difficulties revealed in the activity of orientation and leadership of local economy.

b. The Function of Defense, Consolidation, and Development of Socialist Ownership

The socialist ownership relations as a basic element of socialist production, constitute the essence of our socialist order and their reflection on politico-judicial relations and awareness calls into being a central function for the new state, that of defense of socialist ownership, and a legal institution specific to socialist law -- the law of socialist ownership -- as an instrument of state function. The exercise of this function included in the first place a branch of economic organization (intertwined with the state as economic organizer), one of coercion for the punishment of anti-social elements attempting to undermine (notwithstanding the politico-moral sources of their action) the very foundation of our socialist life (closely connected with the coercive force of the socialist state), and one of education and re-education of all citizens in the spirit of a new socialist attitude toward work and public ownership (interlaced with the cultural-educational function of the state). It results that this function represents a sort of synthesis of all other functions of the socialist state in its relations to socialist ownership.

At the level of the People's Councils this function reveals itself not so much through normative judicial regulation (this is an attribute of the central state power) as through planning and operative decisions which in agreement with the law of the socialist state and the other branches of socialist law, aim at the defense, consideration and development of socialist ownership (state and cooperative) with a view to economic enterprises, local funds, and the other goods owned by the community in its sphere of politico-administrative authority. It should be stressed that, as representative organs of the state their decisions, ordinances, etc., within the limits of their competence and attribution, have legal power.

An attempt to draw the main characteristics of the development of our state structure reveals a course of development with a content characteristically democratic, ensured by the firm policy of the Party toward continuous fulfillment of its constructive functions (economic and cultural) and the widening role of the People's Councils in exercising them.

This vast process which crystallizes and ripens the basic characteristics of the People's Councils within our democratic state points to such tasks as:

A strong and persistent application of the democratic centralist principle all along the chain of state-apparatus;

Consolidation and development of political organizations for mass participation to leadership and fulfillment of state and community goals;

Continuous growth of the role of the deputy as a basic link between People's Council and the mass of citizens and the role of the periodic sessions of deputies in the activity of elected organs within the state; and

The assertion of party leadership within the People's Councils.

2. Strengthening and Development of Political Organization for Mass Participation to the Conduct of Public Affairs.

In the analysis of the socialist democracy two indissoluble united aspects, characteristic to any historical type of democracy, have to be kept in mind: the politico-economic substance of democracy and its form of political organization. The politico-economic content of democracy is the result of the class relationships in society. The criterion for the degree of democracy in the state is the class order as determined by the relations of production and the class which controls the economic and political power. "Our popular democratic regime represents a real democracy because there is full agreement between the popular ownership of the means of production and the effective exercise of power by the workers" (see Note).

([Note:] Speech by Ion Gheorghe Maurer at the festival Meeting on 23 August, Scanteia [The Spark], No 4920, 23 August 1960.)

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as an organization of the oppressed, as a result and a weapon for political revolution, is accomplishing a profound revolution in the political relations of man, changing the political and moral values of socialist democracy (the system of real democratic rights and liberties with large possibilities to practice them for the multilateral development of the unchained human personality) into properties of the majority and then of the whole people as a means for civil and spiritual rise of the large working mass.

The superiority of the socialist democracy as compared to bourgeois democracy reveals itself also in the political organization of the state. The socialist democracy realizes for the first time a full harmony between the politico-economic content of democracy -- which is a real and profound democracy for the large mass -- and the juridico-political and organizational form (or the politico-juridical institutional form) for achieving the democratic norms and principles. In the socialist order all democratic institutional instruments are truly efficient because they "are a form of expres-

sion and achievement of the economic and political democracy ..
In this very harmony of content and form resides the neat superiority
of socialist democracy over any other kind of democracy" (see note).

([Note:] Congresul al III-lea al Partidului Muncitoresc
Romin [Third Congress of Rumanian Workers Party], Ed. Pol., 1960,
page 410.)

While in the Capitalist state, even the most democratic, there
is an ever improved technique to limit the participation of the workers
in political life, by all kind of obstacles which "exclude the poor
from politics and active participation to democracy" (see note),
the strength and superiority of the Socialist state are precisely
in its mass democracy, in the quantitative and especially qualitative
extension of conscious political activity of the workers and the en-
forcement of a system of organization to include the masses into
the public life.

([Note:] V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 25, page 458).

According to the law of organization and functioning of
People's Councils, the main form linking the latter to the mass of
citizens are the Permanent Commissions and the Citizens' Committees.
However, practice and spiritual initiative have generated also addi-
tional forms of organization for mass activities.

The Permanent Commissions are defined by art. 38 as "organs
of support for the People's Councils, for the study of problems of
common interest and formulation of propositions in this regard and
for the active control of sections and units subordinated to the
People's Council" (see note).

([Note:] Buletinul oficial al Marii Adunari Nationale a
R.P.R. [Official Bulletin of the Great National Assembly of R.P.R.]
No 3, IV, 1957, page 135.)

Besides the Executive Committee, the organ of execution and
disposition of the People's Council, the Permanent Commissions, as
linking organs with the mass, are elected by the People's Council,
and are responsible to it, functioning throughout the mandate of the
People's Council -- on a legal foot of equality with the Executive
Committee (see note).

([Note:] "About the Legal Position of the Permanent Com-
missions," Din experienta sfaturilor populare [From the Experience
of People's Councils], No 3/1960.)

Between these organs of the People's Council there is a re-
lationship of co-operation and not subordination. Their main attri-

butes are:

a. Means of control of sections and subordinated institutions and enterprises; as a consequence of this control the Permanent Commissions can not take any coercive measures because they are not state administrative organs. Their conclusions are subject to debates in the People's Council in form of co-reports; and

b. The study of the most important problems concerning the economic managerial, and socio-cultural development of the region, city, raion, or commune and the appropriate proposals.

In order to carry out these tasks efficiently, the Permanent Commissions are obliged by law "to attract into their activity the mass of citizens", according to their particular conditions. The efficiency of their work depends on the way they respect this obligation. Following the pattern of the Great National Assembly but with an eye to the local socio-economic sphere and conditions, the Permanent Commissions are generally organized by sectors of activity -- budget-finance, local economy, communal management, agriculture, mass culture, education, health and social service. Over the whole country there are 16,079 Permanent Commissions with 112,000 Deputies, plus 60,000 citizens specialized in the respective problems, workers and peasants (engineers, technicians, medical doctors, teachers, and good managers, etc.), capable people with strong patriotic sentiment and devoted to the popular cause.

The permanent Commissions represent those links in the state apparatus whereby the needs and aspirations of the people are selected, studied, and become state problems being inscribed, within the limits of practical possibility, into the respective plan of state activity. There is here a continuous intercourse and overlapping of community elements and those properly called state activities of the People's Councils. In the I. V. Stakin District of Bucharest for example, the 9 Permanent Commissions (including 231 deputies and 110 working citizens) have submitted several well studied and judiciously justified legislative proposals. Many of them have been adopted by the Executive Committee concerning the improvement of reparations carried out by IRCR, the control of the management for construction works, measures against wasting of material (the Permanent Commission on Communal Management), the development of educational networks, provisions and development with regard to material needs, efficient measures concerning content, orientation, and effects of teaching activity (the Permanent Commission for Teaching). In those sectors where the Permanent Commissions' work is done properly they assume a role as the main factor in the elaboration of the most important decisions and measures concerning economic, socio-cultural, and sanitary development of the region, raion, or village. The proper attitude toward the role and efficiency of

these Commissions, can be established in the consideration given to their co-reports in the business of the day during the session of People's Councils in Bucharest.

A model of Permanent Commission is that of local industry in Ploesti, which has elaborated studies and made proposals of great economic efficiency with regard to a better organization of work in local industrial enterprises and the raise in quality and rentability of products (see note).

The most important proposals have been: for the opening of a carrier of paving stone and cast stone of superior quality (only 5 km away from the railway loading station) where local stoners are employed; a factory for carbonic acid from the combustible products burned in the lime-ovens at Gura Beliei to be constructed in Scaeni; the introduction of a little mechanization at the "Bucegi", Sinaia, and other enterprises; organization of technico-economic brigades for the study of a maximum reduction of unproductive expenses in order to improve the rentability of some local industrial enterprises. As a result the industrial combine "Progresul" -- Ploesti, Poligrafia Ploesti, "Octombrie Rosu" Targoviste a.o., which recently were behind, have achieved important progress -- so that in 1959 only 3 enterprises were working behind schedule and in 1960, all of them had become rentable.

([Note:] Din Experienta sfaturilor populare [From the Experience of the People's Councils] No 2/1960.)

The Citizens' Committees (in cities, Street Committees) are organized by citizens in electoral districts and have the role of mobilizing the population for community actions. The Citizens Committees are direct community mass organs by their origin (are not elected by the People's Councils but through popular meetings) and responsibility (according to the law "they are responsible to the electors" (see note).

([Note:] Art. 39 of the Law for the Organization and Functioning of the People's Councils, in Buletinul oficial al Marii Adunari Nationale a RPR [Official Bulletin of the Great National Assembly of RPR], No 3, IV, 1957, page 135.)

They are direct creations of the citizens, an important lever -- very simple but efficient -- in engaging the citizens into community actions for the management and decoration of our cities and villages: paving and cleaning the streets (see note), maintaining parks etc.

([Note:] In the Capital there are over 1,000 streets maintained and cleaned by Citizens Committees and Women's Committees. Citizens Committees are active in respect to general objectives set up by the Executive Committee of the People's Council and to demands

and proposals by the citizens of the village, cartier, or the respective street.)

One of the fundamental achievements of the People's councils and other mass organizations under the leadership of the Party and through example set by the communists, is the gigantic movement for patriotic work.

"A task of greatest importance for Party organizations, People's Councils, syndicates, and the VTM -- as Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej indicates -- "is the extension of mass participation of workers to patriotic voluntary labors for community works" (see note).

([Note:] Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the CC of PMR, 26-28 November 1958, Ed. Pol., 1958, page 14.)

Within the framework of People's Councils' organizations -- particularly the Citizens' Committees -- thousands of Labor Brigades have been set up including hundreds of thousands of people. Where Citizens Committees are fully active the achievements are remarkable. In the commune of Costesti, District Horezul, Regiune Arges, through voluntary contribution and patriotic work, the people have constructed a magnificent school building offering facilities for more than 700 primary school students (see note).

They faced great difficulties because of lack of funds and material, yet they made a point to achieve their goal. A popular meeting called on by the Citizens' Committee, elected a special action committee for construction to secure and organize the work. The citizens provided for 211,000 bricks and did all the manual work, totaling 33,000 hours. The result was the turning over, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary from the liberation, of a school building with 8 classrooms, 2 offices, library, laboratory, medical office, workshop, hall for physical education, and a Pioneer room.

([Note:] Al. Roman, "When Citizens' Committees are Fully Active," Din experienta sfaturilor populare [From the Experience of People's Councils], No 4/1960.)

At the 9th session of the People's Council in Bacau -- in the past one of the most backward, today including several economic enterprises of national importance -- dedicated to the mobilization of patriotic work, could be said with pride: "There is no realm of activity in which the Citizens' Committees, the Street Committees, the Permanent Commissions, and the Deputies have not contributed to the management and decoration of towns and villages, in the region" (see note).

([Note:] "Report of the Executive Committee of the People's Councils in Bacau Region at the IXth Session of the Council of

4 February 1960 [from the Archives].

For 1959, the Executive Committee of the People's Council had a vast plan of objectives to be achieved through patriotic work and voluntary contribution -- which was elaborated and approved in 681 popular meetings with approximately 150,000 participants. The following was provided for and achieved: national and local construction of roads, housing, school buildings, cultural houses, medical dispensaries, pastures, and forest plantations. The value of all these works amounted to 36 million lei, which, if included in the budget of the People's Council would have caused the construction of 1,000 less family apartments; the primary source of success were the 160,000 citizens mobilized by the Party for patriotic labor with 343,000 days of work. The Regional People's Council and some raion Councils (Roman, Bacau), systematically applying the party line, have been continuously concerned with the organizations for mass contact and have initiated the control "on the spot" the work done by some Citizens Committees in the field. For 1960, the goals are even higher: electrification of 40 villages, 71 school buildings, 149 classrooms, 56 cultural houses, 9 medical dispensaries, and 296 other socio-cultural objectives, which speak convincingly for the amplitude of the movement for patriotic labor in only one region.

We must stress that the value of patriotic labor is not limited to the saving of several ten million lei. This gigantic mass movement has also a profound educational meaning; the patriotic labor is an effective means for educating the workers in the spirit of socialist patriotism, communist moral, and love and appreciation of the labor for the community. And above all in this movement is the embryo of the communist labor and of communist attitude toward work. What Lenin says with regard to sabotniks [weekend volunteer workers] in 1919, applies also to this movement in our country and other socialist countries. "We call communism the social order wherein the people get used to accomplishing its social duties without special means of coercion and voluntary work for the community becomes a universal habit" ([Note:] V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 30, page 275.) And Lenin underlines in continuation that "The communist element" appears only then when this payless labor is organized on a large scale without enforcement and is being carried out by various persons for the well being of the community ([Note:] Ibidem, page 276).

In order to stress the growth of Socialist awareness and the new way of understanding the common interest in the process of patriotic labor, we shall choose two more examples from the many which can be given; in the region of Banat arose a problem of great economic significance: the utilization of swampy and flat terrain. In this work participated also peasants from villages which had never suffered from floods (see note) and were not directly concerned with the work.

The interest had a general character even if apparently it did not reach beyond the frontiers of the region. I say apparently because, in fact, any economic and cultural advancement of a village, raion, or region changes the map of our country and contributes to its economic and socio-cultural progress.

([Note:] Ioan Bedeanu, "With Citizens' Support, Important Achievements for the Community," Scanteia [The Spark], No 4908, 8 September 1960.)

Another example was offered by the citizens of the collectivized commune of Leresti, Arges -- a village with houses of good appearance, painted fences, two cultural houses, communal bath, schools, well provided stores, and industrious people animated by a sentiment of community interest. These good hearted people responded with enthusiasm the call of the Party and communal organizations for participating in the labor of constructing a school building in the village of Pojorita. Their only compensation was the moral satisfaction of contributing to the material and cultural rise of one of the most backward peoples.

It could be objected that if patriotic labor is part of what Lenin called an element of communism precisely because it is done for the community without norms from above, why should it be examined here in a paper dealing with state problems" Actually, there is no contradiction at all. Patriotic labor, could certainly be the topic of an interesting ethical analysis stressing its moral aspect. But, the new type of socialist state represents an organiz mutual penetration of institutions and mass activities. Its originality is due, among others, to the mechanism of institutional organization, state, and community within the dictatorship of the proletariat and represents, parallel to the directly productive activity, the most appropriate mass framework for the political, moral, and spiritual advancement of the workers. The mass activity within the framework of political organs has a profound moral meaning flowing from its political content. Therefore, this activity can be the object of Marxist political science research, as a branch of Marxist sociology, as well as of Marxist ethics. As to Citizens Committees whose task is to organize and guide the patriotic labor with support from People's Councils (see note) -- as we saw above -- they are not state but directly community organs with a mass character.

It is one of the ways for the creation of an all-including social experience needed for the conduct and solution of public affairs which reflects the process of continuous development of democracy in our state and represents the germ of future communist relations.

([Note:] In this connection it is interesting to point out that this support does not come through salaried administrative

employees but through voluntary instructors with experience in social activity who work with modesty and abnegation for the common welfare,-- their only "remuneration" being the moral satisfaction.)

The activity of Citizens' Committee includes also a cultural-educational program; they organize and conduct -- under the guidance of the Party -- many reading circles, discussions of literary works, and circles for childrens' stories. Bucharest alone has 427 house libraries and 800 reading circles. In the rural areas, the initiative and the sphere of cultural activity of Citizens' Committees are even larger and where these Committees are active, they carry cultural work through dancing and theater teams, artistic brigades for agitation, and popular orchestra.

The Citizens' Committees' activity, as the other organs of People's Councils, includes political and cultural-educational aspects. Lenin says that the problem of mass participation to the conduct of public affairs cannot be solved only through law; it requires a continuous growth of the cultural-ideological level. Only through this growth the state organs are changing from leadership for the workers through the avanguard of the proletariat into leadership by the workers. ([Note:] V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 29, page 166).

The House-Management Committee, elected by the residents and responsible to them is also a community organ supported and guided by the People's Council. Its role is to instruct and educate the residents how to keep and preserve the residential fund (a very important part of communal property), the regular accomplishment of citizens' duties, respect for the norms of community life, etc.

It is through this House-Management Committee (when they are active and enjoy prestige) that the Street Committee mobilizes citizens for various communal activities. A remarkable activity of these committees manifests itself in the patriotic socialist attitude toward the real estate in their possession (property of the whole people) taking voluntarily upon themselves repair work which are legally of the resort of state enterprises. Besides the voluntary labor, these works represent an importance economic resource in the budget of People's Councils. During 1959 the residents of Bucharest have carried out works of management and improvement in the residential fund estimated at over 13 million lei. The House-Management Committee of Str. Doamnei No 5, (raionul Tudor Vladimirescu) alone has initiated and organized repair work of over 100,000 lei. In raionul Stalin, between March 1958-April 1959 works have been accomplished estimated at over 400,000 lei only in the city electoral districts No 2,8,12, and 27, as a consequence of the indefatigable activity of such deputies as Margareta Pescaru, Alexander Mihaileanu, and Ion Coliban.

The decisive condition for the strength and development of these links of state and social activity -- the citizens' com-

mittees and the House-Management Committees -- as of all state and community organizations under the dictatorship of the Proletariat, is the growth of qualitative leadership of the Party, and that presupposes the improvement of organizational forms, methods and style of work of the Party. The Third Party Congress has consecrated the principle of growth of Party leadership in the new stage of socialist fulfillment indicating also the way of setting it into practice.

"The Party exercises its role of leadership in the vast process of social transformation not only by tracing the line of socialist development of the country through education, organization, mobilization and conduct of the mass of workers but also by process of shaping and developing the instruments for accomplishing the tasks of socialist construction. Among these instruments a primary role belongs to the popular-democratic state ([Note:] The Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, Pol. Ed. 1960, page 408).

As to our concrete problem the new article (72) as modified in the Party statute adopted by the Third Congress is of particular importance: "In view of organizing the activity of Party members and candidates in cities and the continuous improvement of managerial, cultural, and political work in their residential areas groups of party blocs and street blocs shall be organized comprising all respective party members and candidates notwithstanding their basic organization" ([Note:] Ibidem, page 722). The particular concern of the Party for the improvement of the conditions for mass participation to leadership and solution of communal problems reveals itself also in the decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee concluded before the Meeting of the Congress - with regard to some measures for a better organization of communist activity in enterprises and institutions in their residential areas -- which have set up party groups by blocs or cartiere (districts), directly subordinated to city or raionale (in Bucharest) committees. The decision provides that these groups, in cooperation with the basic organizations in cartiere have important socio-managerial, sanitary and cultural tasks to accomplish: to maintain and preserve in good conditions the residential funds, support the deputies' initiative, citizens' committees, etc., and various cultural and managerial activities such as cleaning and decorating streets, and maintaining parks. The moral-political responsibility of all the communists is thus engaged not only professionally, at work, but also in the residential area. The Party is strengthening its educational influence for the formation of a superior civic awareness and a new socialist attitude in everyday life of the workers. As the decision points out, the application of these measures "will lead to the growth of Party influence on the mass and the improvement of the capacity for mobilizing the citizens for constructive purposes." ([Note:] Munca de partid [The Party Work], No 2/1960, page 13).

Though recently created, these party groups have already determined a sensible improvement in socio-managerial, sanitary, and

cultural work of street-blocs. Let us take a few examples: the IMS Bloc of Campulung-Muscel was surrounded by an area full of rubbish, junk, dirty streets. Attempts by the Bloc Committee to remedy the condition by calling on some meetings of residents have had no results. Since the creation of the party group things have radically changed. Through intense political activity by this group and the example of the 53 party members and candidates a mass opinion favoring some actions was brought to bear and the face of the Bloc was changed; a playground for children was set up in the place of the former infectious area - a shame spot for the whole area. The Party group has initiated other activities as well with regard to cleaning, cutting down maintenance expenses, and payment of debts to the State. The fruitful activity in the town of Campulung-Muscel has determined the intensification of managerial activities in many other blocs and streets, the arrangement of lawns over one kilometer along strade I. V. Stalin, the cleaning and arrangement of Parcul Libertatii, etc. (see Note).

Such party groups have become or are on the way to becoming political factors of great significance assuming roles of orientation not only in changing the hygienic and aesthetic aspects of cartiere in our cities (buildings, streets, fences) but also in the political and moral-spiritual transformation of citizens. An adequate organizational framework was created for the Communists to become more fully the motor soul of every mass activity for the multilateral socialist progress of our fatherland.

([Note:] Fl. Moaca, "The Party Groups by Blocs, House Groups, and Streets have Started Activity," Munca de Partid [The Party Work], No 8/1960.)

The Parents Committees for the schools -- guided and supported by the People's Councils - are communal organs with a dual role: Managerial and educational. They are the linking organization of the main educational factors of the young generation: parents and school.

Their managerial tasks are manifold. They are concerned with providing stationaries and didactic material through voluntary contributions (in raionul Stalin of the Capital alone they reached 100,000 lei during the academic year 1958/59), cleaning the school inside and out, arranging festivities, creating photo and physical laboratories, providing for experimental areas, organizing trips, and plantation of trees, etc.

However, their activity is not centered only around financial and managerial problems (though those have also their importance not to be underestimated) but rather educational-cultural. Through them parents were recruited as lecturers in many schools. The Parents' Committees in the raioanele Stalin and Tudor Vladimirescu have been very active with regard to scholarly discipline, preparation of papers

for lectures with topics like: Parents' support in Educational Work, Parental Authority, Communist Education in Family, The Book for Parents, by Makatenko, Parents' Example in Children's Education, The Friendship between Boys and Girls, How Parents Should Help Children in Learning, a.o.

For direct co-ordination of all these activities and for the propagation of valuable initiatives, in raionul Tudor Vladimirescu, a Raion Parents' Committee was set up which held discussions on "The Improvement of Patriotic and International Educational Work for the Students" and set up a raion program of monthly lectures on pedagogical and communist education.

In some of the People's Councils dedicated to the problem of education, the deputies have indicated that a role of vital importance for the Parents' Committees has not been yet given sufficient attention namely the contribution to creating a healthy public opinion directed against those retrograde and mustic tendencies which still persist in some family circles causing a negative influence on children and scientific education in school.

The People's Council of Tudor Vladimirescu's raion has grasped it. In its decision in the 9th session of 1959 was provided: "The Executive Committee through its branch on education shall direct the Parents' Committee toward a participation to the achievement of a basic scientific preparation of students and their education in the spirit of a new attitude toward work and common ownership."

In what was said above we did not exhaust the many politico-organizational forms of attraction and participation of the mass to the conduct of and solutions to public problems. Besides the analysed organs there are others like reconciliatory commissions, teams of social control under the guidance of syndicates, committees of support, etc. In connection with them the role of the deputy in the socio-political life of the country is increasing considerably.

3. The Continuous Growth of Deputy's Role as the Main Linking Factor Between the Mass and the State.

The essence of representative institutions in the Socialist state lies in the fact that they are genuine instrumentalities of people's sovereignty through elected representatives. The harmony between substance and form, word and deed in a socialist democracy reveals itself in the very internal mechanism of state activity. The socialist deputy is no longer an individual isolated from the mass of voters but a worker of the community who lives and works beside his electors, knows their aspirations, sentiments, and thoughts -- making himself their competent and persuasive interpreter. The best expression of this identification of state activity with the mass aspirations and interests is the deputy who is no longer a "professional" politician, apart from and opposed to the mass, but a

person who embodies the legislative activities with the practical work of the application of laws. Lenin wrote that the socialist state "offers the possibility of combining the advantages of parliamentarianism with those of direct democracy with the representatives of the people as makers and executors of laws" ([Note:] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol 26, page 84).

The application of laws by the deputies presupposes not only practical work in the ranks of the electors (and the use of adequate economic, political, and cultural organizations) to see the concrete realization of governmental programs (and this is the basic element) but also a strengthening of control over the executive branch of the state. The law mentioned above, of organization and functioning of People's Councils, includes provisions which have led to a considerable increase of deputy's role, and his rights and duties. A whole chapter (Ch. V., art. 36) is dedicated precisely to the rights and duties of People's Councils' deputies from which we quote: "... to ask questions and make interpellations during sessions with regard to the activity of executive committees and the respective sections of the People's Councils. Those asked or interpellated must answer in the course of the same sessions:

To initiate communications and proposals with regard to problems raised by their electors;

To be elected in a permanent commission and to participate in its activity; and

To keep in permanent contact with the electors and organize meetings, to examine the needs and solve their just demands (see note).

([Note:] The Official Bulletin of the the Great National Assembly of the RPR, No 3, IV, 1957, page 135).

From all these it results that the intensification of socialist democracy in the organization and functioning of People's Councils does not mean only the widening of economic basis and their attributions in all sectors of activity but also the growth of moral-political responsibility of the deputies. The key of success achieved by some of People's Councils in the Capital -- in the first place the raioanele "V. I. Lenin" and "I. V. Stalin," which are leading in the patriotic race -- is to be found precisely in the deep concern for a good organization and direction of deputies' work for efficient use of all forms of communication with the masses.

The session represents the main organized form for collective exercise of the functions of People's Councils. "The session is the main organized form of activity of the People's Council where the deputies examine the problems solved in the interim period by the

executive committee and those in its exclusive competence" (see note).

The prestige and authority of deputies and People's Councils have grown also in the sphere of leadership and guidance of socio-economic life in their competence.

([Note:] Principii de drept [Law Principles], Scientific edition, 1958, pages 60-61.)

The majority of executive committees are judiciously concerned with the selection and preparation of themes for the sessions enabling the deputies to contribute efficiently to solving problems and making well documented and substantial decisions. A regular trend in the development of the socialist state, determined by the objective process of socialist construction in this stage, is the continuous simplification of the administrative apparatus by combining more and more state functions with the direct social functions of other political organs within the dictatorship of the proletariat. The decisive factor in this gradual process is the dynamic and fruitful activity of the deputy and his presence among electors, at sessions, in the Permanent Commission, etc., contributing thereby to the absorption into state and political activity the positive values created through the enthusiastic work of collectivities brought to political awareness for the first time by the socialist world. Only through active support of the deputies the session can reach its target as principal instrument of the People's Council in the exercise of a competent educational control over the executive committee, the permanent commissions, and the activity of each deputy.

One of the means (or legal institutions) whereby the deputy's authority and role in political life are invigorated is the right of interpellation. This right has been legalized precisely in order to strengthen our democratic order. It enables the state organs to exercise in a simple and efficient way, control over the executive and the deputy and promptly solve urgent problems -- thus, stimulating initiative and dynamism. "The essential aim of interpellation as a special state right is to give the soviet the possibility of controlling administrative activity without limitation by and independent from the business of the day. Owing to interpellations this control becomes permanent, and fully operative" (see note).

([Note:] N. A. Kudinov, "Interpellations by Deputies of Local Soviets in the Soviet State and Right," transl. Sov. Rev. No 9/1957, page 187. In continuation, Kudinov shows that the interpellated executive organs cannot avoid answering on the ground that it was not included into the business of the day and must answer in the course of the same session or at a fixed date. "The executive organ -- he writes -- is not subject to control by deputy as an individual

and does not have to account to him for its activity but must report to the Soviet. The interpellation by a deputy in Soviet-session does not mean control by that deputy as an individual but a form of control by the Soviet over the activity of the respective executive branch" [pages 187-188].

In the practice of our state activity interpellations are usually related to the direct activity of the executive committee and aims at executive responsibility of sections, enterprises and instructions sub-ordinated to it. Deputy Bir Sandor from Tg. Mures has interpellated the executive committee in connection with its activity in the problem of organization and administration of nationalized housing because of improper behavior by some employees. The persons involved were summoned to account in that very session (see note).

([Note:] Iosif Udvarhelyu, "Deputy's Use of the Right of Interpellation," Din experientia sfaturilor populare [From People's Councils' Experience], No 4/1960)

Interpellations are often made at the request of citizens vitally concerned with the good management of public affairs.

A primary role in the instruction of Deputies for various problems in their sphere and the development of political awareness and moral responsibility is played by the Deputy's Chamber. Its positive action has led to some meritorious achievements by many People's Councils. The Deputies must be assisted in order to become dynamic state and community elements. The methods frequently used by the Deputies' Chamber are: "days of the deputy" for lectures (sometimes followed by discussions) explaining current laws and decisions, meetings for exchange of views between deputies and the permanent commissions, consultations with regard to problems in the field (at the People's Council in V. I. Lenin raion have been set up Consultation days), briefing the deputies on important activities. Comrade Vasile Popa, spokesman of the leadership committee for the Deputy's Chamber in Medias presents an interesting experience: daily meetings by rotation in problems of management, housing, health, practice for students in production, experimental exchange among street committees, emulation between electoral districts in patriotic activities, etc. Moral stimuli are used by awarding banners and diplomas of merit, and names of top deputies and citizens are published in the newspaper Deputatul and broadcasted through a special program "The deputy on the microphone" (see note).

([Note: Din Experientia sfaturilor populare [From People's Councils' Experience], No 2/1960).

Where it has the support of the People's Council and is not being considered a simple administrative-documentary annex, Deputy's Chamber represents a very important means for popularization and validation of Deputies' positive work and of all those acting in the program of relations with the mass. In this respect we consider as an outstanding example the system practiced by the People's Council in the Capital whereby an exchange of experiences takes place among the eight raions with an annual rapporteur briefing his neighbour chamber on his own chamber's activities. In 1960, this exchange took place in raionul Grivita Rosie. On this occasion it was revealed in concrete examples how substantial the contribution of Deputy's Chamber could be in the achievement of various goals. Persons with long activity and experience have raised problems and made interesting proposals for qualitative and quantitative improvement of working methods for guiding and supporting the deputies in their periodic contact (as frequent as possible) with the citizens, and organizing the exchange of experience among groups of deputies; finding adequate forms facilitating meetings of deputies (for common discussions and planning), and engaging them in collective activities to stimulate those inactive.

The Deputy's Chamber has given its contribution in every field of activity. The activity of Permanent Commissions in the V. I. Lenin Raion has improved in the last few years owing to a systematic support from the leadership committee of the Deputy's Chamber. This committee has understood also that the success of the People's Council depended on the validation and diffusion of the best methods applied by deputies in their effort for mobilizing the mass for community works. One of the methods broadly used and approved by the Chamber is the organization of meetings of Street Committees' chairmen and Women's commissions with the best citizens, to discuss problems connected with success and efficiency of patriotic labor and communal works. Action committees are being set up by citizens and special labor brigades organized for various works according to aptitude and capacity.

The result of such initiatives has been since 1959, a reason for joy and pride for comrades in the raionul V. I. Lenin where several works have been completed ahead of schedule -- Piata "13 Septembrie," the parks Peceneaga and Rahova, Rahova School, Scoala Cilindrului, the extension of the track for tramcar, 15, etc. Until 13 September 1959, raionul Lenin had finished its patriotic tasks for the whole year and was granted the first raion flag in Bucharest. There are a thousand similar examples.

Besides the Deputy's Chamber the other institutional organizations of People's Councils have brought their contributions also. It should be stressed, however, that the main contribution of the deputies is due to their capacity to detect innovation in life and work, and set it into practice.

In the past, when the state belonged to the exploiting classes and local government had an administrative-bureaucratic and police function "contact" with the workers was limited to collecting taxes and persecuting the "subversive elements," nobody cared about public and communal works. Today, we are witnessing a sweeping transformation of our cities and villages in their aesthetic-architectural appearance and great number of works have been accomplished in household and public utilities. And who decides about the execution of such works? The citizens themselves, the mass of workers by various means-- meetings with the deputy, popular reunions, citizens' committees, etc. -- and proposals for community works. The most important are centralized, considered, and selected by the Deputy's Chamber and become part of People's Councils' planning. It should be stressed that the working masses of today are the source of important creative work and of the most important decisions with regard to community. And here is precisely the essence of socialist democracy.

A basic principle in socialist democracy is the deputy's responsibility to his electors and the possibility to withdraw the mandate at any time if no longer trustworthy. This principle, inconceivable under bourgeois democracy, has become part of our constitution. Art. 101 of the RPR constitution reads: "Each deputy is accountable personally and institutionally to the electors." Art. 37, for the organization and functioning of People's Councils, clearly establishes that "the deputy is responsible to the electors for his entire activity. He reports to them at least once every six months on People's Council's and his own activity" (see note).

([Note:] Official Bulletin of the Great National Assembly, No. 3/IV, 1957, page 13).

As to real achievements through this principle, they are conditioned by the quality of Party leadership. Party organizations are the source of inspiration and stimulation for consequent democracy and moral-political responsibility to the people. Lenin has stressed this principle "... it is indispensable to preserve and develop contact between communists and the people outside the party. Therefore, it is necessary to organize regularly not only mass meetings of workers and peasants but also reunions including persons with functions of responsibility to report on their activity to the farmers" (see note).

([Note:] V. I. Lenin, Despre Constructia de partid [On Party Construction], Ed. Pol., 1959, page 753).

It depends on the communists activity within People's Councils and on various state and community organs supporting the deputies, to make the meetings of deputies and electors a success, and not only a mere occasion of contact between deputy and a few citizens

(such contacts are continuously taking place in audiences and deliberations) but real popular reunions as among the most expressive manifestations of socialist democracy. In the course of 1959, 2,491 deputy-electors meetings were held where approximately 160,000 citizens spoke out and over 5,000 proposals were made with regard to the improvement of People's Councils' activity and new managerial and socio-cultural achievements. A great many of these proposals were inscribed in People's Councils' programs for Bucharest and raioane. In the region of Cluj, during the fourth quarter of 1959, deputies from communes, cities, raioane, and the region held 1,568 reporting reunions with 100,000 participants, and 13,800 meetings with a participation of over 500,000.

The progress of our socialist democracy reveals itself especially in the qualitative improvement of debates. A remarkable fact is that the increasing number of participants are not concerned only with personal interests. They raise with confidence such problems also but problems of public concern have had priority in the last few years.

It is well understood that the individual well being depends on the common progress. The growth of moral and civic awareness brings about a supple communal framework for debates on legislative and state activity. The socio-political practice in our country and the experience gained by state organs from the Great National Assembly to People's Councils in villages reasserts Lenin's thesis: "The principle of democratic organization ... means that each citizen from the mass must be granted the opportunity to participate in legislative discussions, election of representatives, and application of laws" ([Note:] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol 27, page 196.)

The analysis of debates in popular reunions with reports, reveal a most interesting qualitative aspect in the development of socialist democracy.

At popular reunions and citizens debates in the last few years, in many electoral districts from raionul I. V. Stalin (deputies N. Nemteanu, Aurel Popa, Maria Stenciu, Mariana Gaina), from raionul V. I. Lenin (Matilda Volintiru, Aurel Florea, Aurel Nitescu), from raionul Tudor Vladimirescu (Ion Axinte, Georgeta Hogeia), etc. discussions were held around such problems as: a) the special concern of People's Council and citizens with housing problems, repairs, cleaning and decoration of buildings; b) house-hold activities, paving of streets and sidewalks, public utility works, etc.; c) children's education in and out of school (in the street, at home, the educational role of parents); d) cultural activity of circulation libraries, readers circles, and children stories circles; e) patriotic education for citizens and formation of a public opinion against those disregarding the rules of social co-existence and good citizenship; and f) patriotic labor and the maintenance of greens and pleasure gardens. Many citizens are very exigent with their deputy and with themselves scrutinizing deputy's work as manager, patriot, and

his interest and competence in solving street and district problems. In the course of debates the electors comment with legitimate pride on achievements, or criticize the deputies for not being sufficiently active.

One of the most eloquent signs of moral-political maturation and civic awareness is the fact that the workers do not ask everything "from above;" they know and feel that it is their state and its prosperity depends on them; proposals and demands are therefore joined with what can be done by local persons or collectivities.

In the last part of this paper, we would like to stress some conclusions we consider important.

1. The Documents of the Third Congress of the PMR stress with particular emphasis two basic characteristics, as objective laws in the development of our popular democratic state:

a. Growth and fulfillment of the educational constructive substance of state functions within the framework of socialist structure, and

b. Continuous intensification of socialist democracy by engaging and organizing mass participation to the conduct of state and community business.

In practical social life these are the two indissoluble aspects of a unique process; though, in theoretical analysis they need be explained in their unity and interdependence as well as in their particularity.

2. In the stage of socialist fulfillment new and original elements appear continuously in the structure and evolution of state functions. This trend is obvious in the activity of People's Councils whose growing mass character requires a supple mechanism of political organization to insure the continuous growth of mass participation to the conduct of and solution to public affairs.

Revisionists are discrediting the socialist state as bourgeois because of bureaucratism and praising the so-called system of workers' self-leadership allegedly practised in Yugoslavia. It is significant that the revisionists do not apply the problem on practical social ground but keep it at the stage of sterile discussion. However, obvious facts indicate beyond doubt that the socialist state is shaping the largest politico-organizational mechanism for creative mass activity which is the strongest antidote to bureaucracy.

3. It is well known that during the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism by a gradual process of transformation some state tasks are taken over by community organizations.

The process is not a simple but a complex and long one struggling against bureaucratism, inertia, and passive attitude. This metamorphosis, however, does not affect the political character of the respective functions and tasks because these very community organizations have a political character determined by two factors proper to a socialist society.

All these state and non-state organizations are part of the internal structure of the proletarian dictatorship. Until the final communist victory, when social classes will disappear completely, all organs and workers' state and community organizations must serve as instruments for the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat -- with its reach and many-sided content. The leading role of the Party as a supreme political form of the working class reveals itself in every activity as a fundamental principle for socialist progress in our country.

"The leading role of the Party," says Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, "is decisive for the strength of labor - peasants' forces in the struggle for socialism" [Note:] Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, Articole si cuvintari [Articles and Speeches], 1955-1955, Ed. Pol., 1959, page 345.) There is an objective law in the dynamic functioning of all the links of social life which has now become part of our constitution. Art. 36 reads: "The Rumanian Workers' Party is the vanguard of Workers' organizations and of state institutions and organizations".

The leading role of the Party flows from the very socialist essence and objectives, and is not a spontaneous and anarchic process but one of scientific laws. The economic, political, and moral position of the working class which can become an independent political organization fully aware of itself, only through its vanguard armed with a scientific concept of world and society and tied up indestructibly with the working mass.

The Party leadership principle asserts itself vertically and horizontally at central and local level. In his speech before the regional party organization in Cluj, Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, stressed the leadership role of local party organizations in economic and socio-cultural spheres. Our party doctrine clearly indicates that the strengthening of leadership by the party means qualitative improvement in the politico-ideological orientation of all other sectors economic, sanitary, cultural etc. from the top position of the Central Committee down to grass roots.

The Third Congress of the P.M.R. marks the superiority of Party leadership over state and community organizations within the proletarian dictatorship.

The very changes operated within the state point out to an improvement in content, style and efficiency through leadership, practical policy and party guidance at local level as reflected in the city committees, party committees, and strong party leadership in

administrative and state institutions, etc.

As to People's Ciuncils, the Party leadership principle asserts itself in the activity of executive organs under the guidance and oreientation of local organs and organizations as well as in the activity of mass community organizations as those analyxed above.

Through personal example of dynamism, spirit of initiative and optimism the communists are stimulating the deputies and all those working for state and community within the proletarian dictatorship; the Party organization through its political, organizational, and educational activity has been the main factor in the successful work for mass mobilization and organization, management and decoration of our villages and cities, and the advancement of a cultural revolution.