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East Europe Report

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17 JUNE 1986

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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AGRICULTURE

POLAND

PZPR CONGRESS URGED TO DECLARE SUPPORT FOR PRIVATE FARM SECTOR

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 20, 17 May 86 pp 1, 5

[Article by Ryszard Manteuffel: "A Place for the Private Farm Sector"]

[Text] What is the future for Polish agriculture?

In issue No 12 of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE (23 March 1986), a discussion article by Prof Mieczyslaw Mieszczankowski appeared under the title "Gaps in the Theory of the Economics of Socialism."

I shall not discuss the specific gaps which Mieczyslaw Mieszczankowski perceives in this theory. I will leave that to others. Anyway, anyone wanting to take part in this discussion would have to read the article. I shall confine myself solely to several general comments, which prompted me to make this statement.

Professor Mieszczankowski says that the economics of socialism is a young discipline and that it was undoubtedly influenced by the trammels of dogmatism. An essential defect in the characterization of the economics of socialism is the vague description of economic relationships. A particularly important assertion by Mieszczankowski is the one which indicates that ownership of means of production cannot be included in basic economic relationships. I am familiar with it and it supports the views of a group of agricultural economists to which I belong.

The article ends with the conclusion that many generally accepted theses and opinions thought previously in the economics of socialism to be a certainty, should be verified and revalued. That the present exposition of the economics of socialism has ahistorical aspects. This latter statement is especially valuable for us because we have often called attention to the fact that an assessment of today's production relationships in agriculture, and particularly in the private farm sector, often has just such a character.

I will not go into the discussion on the place of the private farm economy in socialism which was so lively in the 1980's and which died down in the first quarter of 1985. I will only cite the main theme of Prof Klemens Ratajczak's article which appeared recently--i.e., after this discussion ended--in WIES I ROLNICTWO (No 41, 1985).

Ratajczak warns that in establishing public ownership it should not be forgotten first, that this ownership is not a goal unto itself but only a means of building a socialist system and that second, not all private ownership is capitalist ownership. He is referring also to private ownership of means of production in private family farming.

In describing the position of our authorities on the private farming sector, Ratajczak calls attention to the fact that it is not peasant farming which endangered socialism, but that an ill-conceived socialism almost ruined a large number of farms and indirectly impeded the development of the entire food economy. After all, it is no accident that it was precisely the family farms, despite all of the difficulties and troubles given them in the past, that turned out to be the most stable and safe for the socialist system. It is precisely these farms which fulfill the conditions put forth today by economic reform for the entire national economy, namely, they work on their own account and at their own risk. They best implement the principle of division according to amount and quality of work, and at the same time they cannot be called exploitative.

Now, after perhaps a lengthy introduction -- which, nevertheless, was necessary -- I will go on to the main theme of my statement.

We are witnesses to the appearance of two very significant documents, also on this subject. One of them is the paper delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev before the CPSU Central Committee in February of this year, and the second are the publications issued prior to the 10th PZPR Congress which is to take place in June.

In Mikhail Gorbachev's paper, the following paragraph is devoted to agriculture: "A true self-financing system, in which incomes of enterprises are dependent on final figures, should become the standard for all elements of the agricultural-industrial complex, and above all, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Agreements for accomplishment of work and contract-jobs on the brigade, cell and family level will be widely popularized, with means of production, including land, allocated them for an agreed-upon period."

I believe that this paragraph should be understood to mean that the CPSU Central Committee is of the opinion that the productivity of family work in agriculture is higher than that of other forms, and that in order for production and productivity to rise more rapidly, this form of work organization should be applied in Soviet agriculture. This should also be understood to mean that the Committee does not believe that a family form of land-use is a threat to socialism. Hence the call for the introduction of "family contracts."

I will now go on to the next important documents -- those published prior to the 10th PZPR Congress. This is a party congress, but in view of the role which the party plays in our political system, its resolutions will have a deciding influence on the future development of our country and its economy. Anyway, the Central Committee is appealing to all of us to speak out on the matters brought up in these documents. Therefore, I, too, shall express my opinion.

The matter which I am discussing in this article is raised both in the draft program and in the theses. And here we see some inconsistencies. In the theses, in the chapter outlining the tasks of farming and the countryside, it is said, among other things, that "agricultural policy envisages that all sectors of agriculture will be treated the same and that they will be given the same opportunities for development. In implementing this rule, farms should be rated according to production and economic results, giving a good rating to those which make the best use of what they have, which actively shape economic progress and the quality of life in the countryside. Improved economic mechanisms will help the good farms and hasten the elimination of the bad ones." Further on, it is said that: "The party will support the creation of material and social conditions for full utilization of all factors in agriculture and in the food economy, and especially farmer ingenuity, the land, and fixed assets. Particular concern will be given to the farmlands. They will be better protected against degradation, unwarranted use for nonfarming purposes, and poor utilization."

Everyone concerned about free development of our agriculture, greater production and improvement in the working and living conditions of the farm people, can subscribe to these theses.

But the farmers who have already had bitter experience may be disturbed about the paragraph in the draft program which speaks of the road to socialism under Polish conditions. It says that the process of socialist transformations is fruitful, since it proceeds in accordance with general rules. Among these are the elimination of capitalist ownership, socialization of basic means of production, and gradual transformation of production relationships in agriculture. One can conclude from this statement that if the private sector is not a sector of the socialist system, then in the light of this statement it will be gradually reduced until it disappears completely. After all, it is an open secret that this concern of the farmers had a clearly inhibiting effect on the full development of peasant farms, that it drove the most active young people out of farming, that it halted the expansion of small farms and reduced their investments, especially farm investments.

I wish that the 10th Party Congress would clear up these matters, taking into account the opinion that the economics of socialism is a young discipline and that undoubtedly dogmatism had an effect on it. And that its essential defect is that it does not clearly define economic relationships, which Professor Mieszczański writes about, and the importance of the changes which are occurring in the socialist countries, especially as regards agriculture. The 10th Congress should clear the air around the private farm sector, recognize that it fulfills all of the conditions that socialism envisages, and acknowledge it to be a permanent element of socialism.

I will finally add, which many do not remember, that to this day the Polish Committee of National Liberation decree on agricultural reform, dated 6 September 1944, which states: "...the farm system in Poland will be based on strong, healthy and productive farms which are privately owned," is still in force.

The nature of farm organizations is determined not by their individual form, but by the state system in which they function. The private sector in Poland functions in a public environment: socialized procurement and supply, socialized infrastructure: water pipes and other forms of water supply, land reclamation, the beginnings of sewage systems in the countryside, and roads. The very vital means of production which private farms make use of and which actually are very effective in a socialized form, are already, to a large degree, socialized.

Probably no one can prove that on a family farm, in which the basic means of production belong to the farmer -- or other members of the family -- man is being exploited by man. The logical conclusion is that there is no need to socialize private means of production on a family farm. On the other hand, there is general agreement that because these means of production belong to the family they are carefully maintained and that their life is considerably longer than in socialized enterprises. Until very recently, most tractors on family farms were tractors which had been withdrawn from use in the public sector.

I will now go on to a narrower subject which, nevertheless, I believe should be examined at the 10th Congress. I will treat it very briefly because of its very professional character and because of lack of space.

Generally, economic reform proved to be effective in the socialized agricultural sector. Production and economic results in most enterprises improved greatly. But in farming, as well as in other sectors of the national economy, there are a number of enterprises which are no longer creditworthy. A board of commissioners has been assigned to them. A large number of them, if reform were to be conducted consistently -- which is how it should be -- would be liquidated. What would happen? The assets would be sold and possibly new enterprises formed. But how would this be, for example, in the State Farms? Forcing other enterprises to take over lands may cause problems for those who obtain them or purchase them.

Often the reasons for bankruptcies are poor soil, hilly or low-lying terrain, or bad layout -- scattered, small strips. Lack of farm and social infrastructure. Finally, inadequate vocational skills or moral qualifications on the part of the workforce, or insufficient pay.

There is justified resistance to selling large amounts of state land to individual persons--private farmers. Anyway, who would want to buy the land under these conditions?

A State Farms enterprise which has become insolvent should be thoroughly examined and the causes of its bankruptcy sought. It seems to me that in most cases its territorial layout plays a part here. With no opposition from the enterprise or its individual plants, only those lands should be allowed to remain which can be effectively utilized. All of the remaining land should be transferred to the State Land Fund, and with the state retaining ownership, the land should be used to form--in an organized way, mainly with the state participating in the investment--tenant farms, leased to private farmers on a

long-term (50 years or more) basis. Farms based on the Dutch polder model would be created. We know what they are.

At one time the Food Management Council submitted a plan to the government for the creation of tenant farms in "desolate" areas. The preconditions were that the state set up a specific organization and provide investment assistance. The plan was approved but the preconditions which would make it a success were not fulfilled. A small number of such farms were created. Some of them were later liquidated. But the problem itself was not thoroughly examined. Today, along the "eastern wall," a few large new State Farm agricultural combines are arising. Do we now know all the reasons for State Farm failures and can the enterprises, if they are to function efficiently, take over all of the open lands that are there? I think not.

Therefore, I believe that the 10th Congress should definitively solve this problem which has been dragging on for over 40 years. But this will require a great deal of consideration and, above all, the setting-aside of all dogmatic restrictions and myths.

The execution of this or a similar plan will cost money. But it will also cost money, and probably even more, to continue with the present forms of land management, which have already cost large sums and are constantly bringing heavier and heavier losses.

In managing agricultural lands in such regions, more effective solutions should be sought, solutions which would be valid for many years without the need for new outlays of money. From the social standpoint, actions which would prevent the occurrence of these kinds of problems would be even more effective.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FIRST QUARTER 1986 ECONOMIC RESULTS SUMMARIZED

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 17, 1986 p 2

[Article by Engineer Vaclav Jezdik, Federal Statistical Office, under the "Information on Plan Fulfillment" rubric: "The First Quarter of 1986"]

[Text] Development of the Czechoslovak economy in January through March was characterized by faster-than-planned growth of the principal quantitative indicators. However, the increase over the same period of last year was influenced also by the fact that the first quarter of last year provides a low basis of comparison, due to bad weather.

The targets set by the economic plans for the quantitative indicators were met, but there were considerable differences in plan fulfillment between individual organizations. The problems in conjunction with comprehensive plan fulfillment, and with fulfilling the planned goals for the development of the qualitative indicators, continued. Especially profit and cost developed less favorably than in the same period of 1984, which had not been affected by bad weather. For the time being, the attained development of the qualitative indicators (according to the preliminary data) falls short of the 1986 plan's demanding tasks and of the 8th Five-Year Plan's goals, and it indicates that the factors of intensive growth are not asserting themselves effectively enough.

Industry's gross output increased by 2.9 percent; and average daily output (if we project the effect of continuous operations), by 4.1 percent. There was one workday fewer than in the first quarter last year. Fulfillment of the economic plans was 101.7 percent for gross output, 100.8 percent for commodity production, and 101.1 percent for adjusted value added.

Fulfillment of the annual targets for these indicators was nearly 25 percent, which is roughly the same as the proportion achieved in the first quarter last year. In view of the fact that the percentage ratio of the number of workdays during the first quarter to the total number of workdays this year is 24.3 percent, the nearly 25-percent fulfillment of the annual state plan is more favorable than in January-March last year.

Even though the targets of the economic plan were fulfilled overall, 24.8 percent of the enterprises fell short of their gross output plans, and 25 percent did not fulfill their adjusted value added plans. The shortfall at these enterprises amounts, respectively, to 1.439 billion korunas of gross output and

Basic Indicators of National Economy's Development in March 1986.
Increases Over Comparable 1985 Period (in percent)

	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Jan- Mar</u>	<u>State plan¹</u>
Centrally Administered Industries			
deliveries for:			
- investments, at wholesale prices	.	-0.5	.
- domestic trade			
at wholesale prices	.	3.5	.
at retail prices	.	4.1	.
- export to socialist countries			
at wholesale prices	.	5.0	.
at prices f.o.b.	.	4.6	.
- export to nonsocialist countries			
at wholesale prices	.	-6.4	.
at prices f.o.b.	.	-4.9	.
- other sales for productive consumption and operations, at wholesale prices	.	0.4	.
volume of gross industrial output ²	-0.6	2.9	2.6
average number of employees	0.7	0.6	0.6
labor productivity based on gross output	-1.2	2.2	2.1
Construction			
construction work performed with own personnel	-3.9	9.4	2.2
average number of employees	0.6	0.5	0.9
labor productivity on construction's basic output	-4.4	8.8	1.3
housing units delivered by contracting enterprises	-20.6	6.4	-28.1
Procurement			
slaughter animals (including poultry)	-3.2	-4.8	-0.5
milk	-0.2	2.0	-2.0
eggs	0.8	-2.4	0.1
Retail Turnover			
main trade systems	2.4	3.0	2.1
Foreign Trade			
export to socialist countries	.	0.6	2.2
export to nonsocialist countries	.	-12.0	0.2
import from socialist countries	.	0.4	1.4
import from nonsocialist countries	.	5.9	12.9

1. Relative to actual 1985 results; in industry and foreign trade, relative to expected actual results in 1985
2. At prices of 1 January 1984.

1.131 billion korunas of adjusted value added. Although overfulfillment of the economic plans at the other enterprises compensated for the value of the goods, the product mix of the shortfall was not replaced. Thus the shortfall in the planned assortment disrupts continuous supply of the demand.

Electric power generation increased by 3.2 percent over the first quarter of last year, and 27.7 percent of the annual target has already been fulfilled. Within this, the nuclear and the hydroelectric power plants increased their outputs sharply, while output at the thermal power plants declined. In view of this, the coal output dropped, although by less than what the plan had called for. In spite of the severe weather in February (the daily mean temperature was -5.8°C , in contrast with -3.9°C last year), the supply of electricity was continuous.

In construction, the output's growth rate was influenced especially strongly by the fact that the first quarter of 1985 provided a very low basis of comparison. Therefore the significance must not be overestimated of the growth rates attained for the volume of construction work the construction enterprises performed with their own personnel (its index was 109.4), and for adjusted value added (index 111.3).

Fulfillment of the economic plans for construction work during the first quarter was 100.3 percent, but only a fifth (20.3 percent) of the annual state plan was fulfilled. The construction enterprises fulfilled their plans for adjusted value added 101.2 percent. In construction, too, many enterprises fell short of the output anticipated in the economic plans: 33 percent of the enterprises failed to achieve their planned volume of construction work, and 21 percent fell short of their adjusted value added plans.

A total of 7,045 housing units was delivered; although this is 6.4 percent more than in the same period last year, it amounts to only 14.8-percent fulfillment of this year's state plan.

Agriculture was successful in coping with the plan for the procurement of livestock products. Fulfillment of the procurement schedules was 102.1 percent for slaughter animals, 103.9 percent for slaughter poultry, 101.3 percent for milk, and 101.9 percent for eggs.

Agriculture not only maintained its high livestock yields but even increased them. The average daily milk yield per cow rose, and the total milk output was 26 million liters more than during the same period last year. The average daily lay per hen likewise rose, and thus the targets planned for the first quarter were fulfilled, even though total egg production was down by 17 million eggs due to the decline in the number of hens.

The freight hauled by public freight transport in January-March increased by 4 percent. This includes increases of 4.9 percent for the CSD [Czechoslovak State Railways], 2.1 percent for the CSAD [Czechoslovak Motor Transportation], and as much as 58.2 percent for inland navigation. (The sharp rise for inland navigation is due to the fact that the first quarter of 1985 provides a very low basis of comparison.)

The economic plans were fulfilled, except in inland navigation. Of the freight volume targeted in the annual state plan, 22.7 percent has been fulfilled.

In rail freight service, the average number of cars loaded per day rose. But the decline in the total number of cars loaded with solid fuel is continuing.

In comparison with the actual results last year, there was a sharp rise in the number of cars loaded, respectively, with ore and building materials. The assumption in planning that the average turnaround time per freight car unit would be reduced to 4.04 days was met.

In domestic trade, the retail turnover of the main trade systems increased by 3 percent (the state plan anticipates a 2.1-percent rise during all of this year). Fulfillment of the economic plan for the first quarter was 100.6 percent. The Fruit and Vegetable Trade exceeded its planned targets (plan fulfillment 103 percent, 6-percent increase). Food Stores likewise increased its sales (plan fulfillment 100.7 percent, 3.7-percent increase), primarily as a result of the rise in retail sales (by 4.6 percent) in March, before the Easter holidays. Industrial Goods Stores, Department Stores, and Shoe Stores also increased their retail turnover by more than 4 percent (while fulfilling their planned targets). Textile Stores fell short of its planned targets (parallel with a decline in its retail turnover). Furniture Stores, too, had problems in fulfilling its plan.

The population's food supply was basically continuous, but there were problems with supplying the demand for certain types of industrial goods.

Aggregate personal income rose at a faster rate than what the plan called for. Personal expenditure rose at a somewhat slower rate than income. Therefore personal reserves rose, in the form of savings deposits with the state savings banks and also as cash in hand.

The results achieved in the first quarter of this year indicate that the trends in recent years are continuing, while the economy is showing considerable inertia. Economic development is based primarily on the growth rate of the extensive factors in the replacement process. The quantitative indicators are developing more favorably than the qualitative ones. There are reserves in the more efficient consumption of energy and of raw and processed materials; in reducing the cost per unit of output; in the more efficient utilization of fixed assets; and in improving the quality and raising the technological level of production. In view of the demanding tasks that the 17th CPCZ Congress set for stepping up the intensification and efficiency of the Czechoslovak economy under the 8th Five-Year Plan, the individual levels of management must begin to implement, immediately and at a significantly faster rate, the factors of intensive economic development.

1014

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT INTENSIFICATION ANALYZED

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 17, 1986 pp 8-9

[Article by Engineer Miroslav Toms, DrSc, and Dr Vladimir Nachtigal, CSc, Economics Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences: "Intensification the Only Way Ahead. The Mirror of Analysis"]

[Text] The 17th CPCZ Congress admonished that attainment of the objectives of social and economic development "requires that our further progress be based on implementing far more decisively and consistently the strategy of accelerating social and economic development, specifically through the national economy's intensification. Practice sets this requirement with the greatest timeliness and urgency." The purpose of this article is to analyze the process of intensification in the principal branches of the national economy, and the requirements for the economy's intensification in the immediate future.

The process of intensification manifests itself in two principal directions:

1. In a decline of the total expenditure of social labor per unit of the produced products' physical volume; and
2. In an increase of the produced products' use value.

Which means that the quality of the products improves, and basically new products appear (higher-order product innovations).

Sometimes the two principal directions of the intensification process are placed in contrast, unwarrantedly. Actually they are inseparably linked and mutually interdependent. They represent the result of implementing technological and product innovations in production. Their proper combination is a prerequisite for the successful realization of intensification.

Essence of Intensification Process

Orientation on efficient intensive development inevitably presupposes the realization of (macro-, mezzo- and microeconomic) structural changes, and the introduction of economically efficient product innovations, based on a mass flow of new products. Intensification and intensive development, then, cannot be associated solely with technological innovations, which lead exclusively to direct savings of resources per unit of output (while the products' utility

characteristics, and use value, remain unchanged). In this context we must emphasize that the classification of innovations into technological and product innovations is itself arbitrary, especially in the period of the scientific and technological revolution. (Footnote 1) (In the case of producer goods, moreover, there is also their conventional definition. Product innovation from the producer's viewpoint often constitutes technological innovation for the user of the improved producer goods.) In general and over a longer period, we cannot consider innovations in production without changes in the produced use values themselves. Thus both these areas to which the law of economizing labor time applies must be considered in their unity.

Hence it also follows that an essential relationship exist between the orders of innovations and the order of the total social labor saved (the zones of social production's intensification). The classical technological innovations, which do not lead to product changes, have limited room in the long run for reducing the social costs. This is due to the fact that, in most cases, such technological innovations manifest themselves primarily in a reduction of the labor input per product and have only a limited (or temporary) impact on the direct consumption of embodied labor. From the viewpoint of the value per unit of output, they mostly manifest themselves in an absolute decline of the total cost and labor cost, at a relative rise (or in some instances a stagnation or even decline) of the proportion of embodied labor. What we have here, in other words, is the classical effect of a rise in labor productivity.

On the other hand, high-order product innovations (new generations, for example) are accompanied also by savings of material inputs (and hence by "technological innovation" as well). This is due to the fact that the perfection of, respectively the pronounced changes in, the set of utility characteristics permit better utilization of the properties of the materials, and the benefit per unit of physical volume increases. In the case of innovations of the highest orders (new types and lines of products), the benefit-cost ratio may even become an inverse one, which the highest zone of intensification (absolutely intensive development) requires. In these cases the absolute decline of the material and labor inputs per product is a symptom of a new type of manifestation of the law of economizing labor time, typical of the scientific and technological revolution's innovative core.

The first direction manifests itself immediately in a rise of production's cost-effectiveness, i.e., in the ratio of output to the mass of inputs (total costs of social labor) entering the production process. When cost-effectiveness rises, the growth rate of output is faster than the growth rate of input costs. As a result, the degree of correlation between the growth rates of the output and that of the inputs gradually diminishes. The Marxist theory on severing the growth correlation places emphasis on economizing the entire mass, rather than merely some components, of the social labor that is associated with the replacement process as its inputs.

The traditional interpretation of intensification simply reduced the problem to economizing only direct labor. In a number of instances this led also to false conclusions about the high efficiency of certain measures that did save direct labor, but at a sharp rise in embodied labor. Such an approach to intensification is neither comprehensive nor adequate, because a rise of labor

productivity may be (and in practice often has been) accompanied by not the optimal rise of production's capital intensity, or by a rise of the material and energy intensity per unit of output.

Under the new conditions of the Czechoslovak economy's replacement process, then, every link in the system of managing the economy must be motivated to reduce total cost. The point is that these links must not focus from the outset on reducing certain types of costs (the costs of direct labor or energy per unit of output, for example) and disregard the development of the other costs. This is what the measures of economic management often lead to when they break down the tasks of reducing the intensity of some production resource linearly--without regard for the specific conditions and the development of the other costs--while the limits change constantly, so that fulfillment of the breakdown does not permit long-range economic costing, and thereby it allows neither efficient substitution of production resources nor the application of socially efficient innovations.

Essential from the viewpoint of pursuing the course of intensification is how overall cost-effectiveness of production develops, i.e., whether or not the implemented measures result in overall cost savings per unit of resources.

Hence it follows that a turnaround to development of the intensive type requires a thorough assessment of how all the partial indicators of cost-effectiveness--i.e., primarily labor productivity, material and energy intensity, and capital (or investment) intensity--are developing in their unity, and how their movement in its entirety contributes to the growth of production's overall cost-effectiveness, whose acceleration is a necessary condition for stepping up the process of intensification.

Movement of Cost-Effectiveness

Of key importance for a turnaround to economic development of the intensive type is the course of the intensification process within the national economy's principal branches belonging to the productive sphere.

Industry

Industry is the backbone of the Czechoslovak economy's productive sphere. It is the decisive branch of the national economy, having contributed nearly 66 percent of the produced social product in 1984. Table 1 presents a general picture of the course of the intensification process in industry.

It is evident from the table that the combined effect of the intensive factors slowed down at the turn of the decade, and this was reflected in the movement of overall cost-effectiveness. This development was closely connected with the general slowdown of economic growth in the first years of the 7th Five-Year Plan. A sharp rise in production's capital intensity and a slowdown of the rise in labor productivity were significant contributing factors. Simultaneously, from the macroeconomic viewpoint, we failed to achieve the desired acceleration of the reduction of production's material intensity. The rate of this reduction was much lower than what the microeconomic sphere reported.

Table 1. Growth Rates of Production, and of Extensive and Intensive Factors, in Industry¹ (Percent)

	<u>1976-80</u>	<u>1981-84</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Production ²	3.5	1.3	0.0	0.4	2.1	2.6
Extensive factors						
Work force	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4
Material consumption	3.3	1.0	-0.5	1.3	2.1	1.3
Fixed assets	6.1	5.4	6.7	5.2	4.6	5.2
Intensive factors						
Labor productivity	3.0	0.8	-0.6	0.0	1.5	2.2
Material intensity	-0.2	-0.2	-0.5	0.9	0.0	-1.3
Capital intensity	2.5	4.0	6.4	4.5	2.4	2.5
Overall cost-effectiveness	0.4	-0.2	-0.5	-1.2	0.0	1.0

1. Our own computations, based on the National Economy's Input-Output Table.

2. Gross output.

The growth rates of the work force and fixed assets were nearly stable (with the exception of two years). Beginning with 1983, a turnaround was achieved in the movement of overall cost-effectiveness, particularly through a sharp decline of material intensity.

Agriculture, Forestry

The relatively stable growth rates of production, exceeding 3 percent a year on average, may be regarded as a favorable feature in the development of these branches. Due to the shrinking work force, however, this trend did not carry over into the development of labor productivity whose average annual growth rates declined, although more slowly than in industry.

Embodied labor--as fixed assets operating in the production process, and also as productive consumption of materials--rose in the long run faster in agriculture and forestry than the production volume. Consequently, both production's capital intensity and its material intensity rose, at rates perceptibly slower in the first four years of the 7th Five-Year Plan as compared with the 6th Five-Year Plan. In its weighted total, however, the movement of production's embodied-labor intensity did not prevail over the rates of direct labor's productivity. Thanks to this substitution effect, the average growth rates of overall cost-effectiveness in agriculture and forestry were positive in the 1970's and early 1980's, exceeding the growth rates of this same indicator in industry (see Table 2).

A glance at the year-to-year development under the 7th Five-Year Plan shows that, after an unfavorable year in 1981, the growth rates of production and of labor productivity were relatively high, and there was a distinct improvement also in the development of the efficiency of embodied labor. In 1982-1984, this was also projected into the growth rates of overall cost-effectiveness, which are unusually high in relation to the same growth rates for industry and the entire sphere of production.

Agriculture and forestry contribute far less than industry to Czechoslovakia's social product. (In 1984, their share was about 12 percent.) Their influence

on the parameters of the entire productive sphere's development was understandably less. As evident from Table 3, however, this effect was by no means negligible.

Table 2. Annual Growth Rates of Production, and of Extensive and Intensive Factors, in Agriculture and Forestry (Percent)

	<u>1976-80</u>	<u>1981-84</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Production	3.5	3.5	-2.1	5.9	5.2	5.2
Extensive factors						
Average work force	-1.3	-0.3	-0.1	-0.7	-1.3	0.9
Material consumption	4.5	4.1	1.7	3.9	7.1	3.8
Fixed assets	6.0	5.2	5.5	4.8	5.1	5.2
Intensive factors						
Labor productivity	4.9	3.8	-2.0	6.6	6.7	4.3
Material intensity	1.0	0.6	3.8	-1.9	1.8	-1.3
Capital intensity	2.4	1.6	7.2	-1.0	-0.1	0.0
Overall cost-effectiveness	0.8	0.7	-3.7	3.2	1.2	2.0

Table 3. Annual Growth Rates of Production, and of Extensive and Intensive Factors, in Industry, Agriculture and Forestry Jointly (Percent)

	<u>1976-80</u>	<u>1981-84</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Production	3.5	1.6	-0.3	1.2	2.5	3.0
Extensive factors						
Average work force	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.5
Material consumption	3.5	1.5	-0.2	1.7	2.9	1.7
Fixed assets	6.1	5.4	6.5	5.1	4.7	5.2
Intensive factors						
Labor productivity	3.5	1.3	-0.7	1.1	2.5	2.5
Material intensity	0.0	-0.1	0.2	0.5	0.3	-1.3
Capital intensity	2.4	3.6	6.4	3.7	2.1	2.1
Overall cost-effectiveness	0.5	-0.1	-1.0	-0.6	0.0	1.1

First of all, the aggregation of industry with agriculture and forestry--as compared with industry alone--moderated the slowdown of the growth of production and material consumption, and also altered the trend of the work force's size, while the movement of fixed assets remained the same.

In the movement of the intensive factors, the effect attributed to production in agriculture and forestry manifested itself in a nearly linear increase of the growth rates of direct labor's productivity, with a similar lowering of the rates of decline in production's material intensity and with a moderation of the steepness of the rise in production's capital intensity. With the addition of farm and forestry production to industrial production, the average annual growth rates of overall cost-effectiveness rose by 0.1 percentage point for the 6th Five-Year Plan and for the average of the 7th Five-Year Plan's first four years.

Construction

The development of inputs and outputs in construction was influenced by the fact that the Czechoslovak economy's development parameters in the 1970's and early 1980's tended in the opposite direction from the development in agriculture and forestry.

In the comparison of average growth rates for the 6th and 7th Five-Year Plans, construction shows an altogether decelerating trend. This holds true for the construction work in place and the input-output characteristics as well, although within different limits of the relative changes' magnitude. Deceleration of the output volume's growth goes over into a decline under the 7th Five-Year Plan and is the most intensive. Consequently, it is also projected into the slowdown of the growth of direct labor's productivity, the rising growth rates of capital intensity, and the decline of construction's overall cost-effectiveness as well (see Table 4).

Table 4. Annual Growth Rates of Production, and of Extensive and Intensive Factors, in Construction (Percent)

	<u>1976-80</u>	<u>1981-84</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Production	3.0	-0.6	-0.4	-2.8	2.4	-1.4
Extensive factors						
Average work force	1.1	-0.3	-1.5	-0.7	0.3	0.8
Material consumption	3.7	-0.9	-3.0	-3.0	2.3	0.3
Fixed assets	8.1	4.5	4.5	4.5	5.2	3.9
Intensive factors						
Labor productivity	1.9	-0.3	1.1	-2.1	2.1	-2.2
Material intensity	0.7	-0.3	-2.7	-0.2	-0.1	1.7
Capital intensity	4.8	4.9	4.7	7.0	2.6	5.1
Overall cost-effectiveness	0.0	-0.2	1.6	-1.1	0.6	-2.1

The development in construction under the 7th Five-Year Plan has been rather wavering. The odd years, 1981 and 1983, show positive growth rates of labor productivity accompanied by a decline of material intensity. Despite the rise of capital intensity, these growth rates led to positive growth rates for overall cost-effectiveness in construction. This was achieved the first year parallel with a decline of production, accompanied by an even faster decline of the corresponding extensive factors. But the positive growth rate of overall cost-effectiveness the third year resulted from the increase of production and the slower rise of the corresponding inputs. On the whole, however, the unfavorable effects of 1982 and 1984 prevailed under the 7th Five-Year Plan in the efficiencies of direct labor, fixed assets, and total social labor.

If we continue our gradual aggregation of branches and model a hypothetical economy that includes also construction in addition to industry, agriculture and forestry--in other words, all the branches of material production in the true sense of the term--then its development parameters would undergo further change, as evident from Table 5.

In comparison with the aggregation mentioned earlier (industry, agriculture and forestry jointly), in this aggregation the decelerating trends of production and the productive consumption of materials are again pronounced, their slopes are steeper, and the average growth rates of the the work force are stabilized at 0.2 percent a year. But the average growth rates, respectively, of fixed assets and material consumption would undergo only minor changes as compared with the aggregation of branches presented in Table 3.

In the movement of the intensive factors, the addition of construction to industry, agriculture and forestry produced a certain lowering of the average

Table 5. Annual Growth Rates of Production, and of Extensive and Intensive Factors, in Industry, Agriculture, Forestry and Construction Jointly (Percent)

	<u>1976-80</u>	<u>1981-84</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Production	3.4	1.4	-0.4	0.7	2.5	2.5
Extensive factors						
Average work force	0.2	0.2	0.1	-0.1	0.2	0.0
Material consumption	3.5	1.3	-0.5	1.3	2.8	1.6
Fixed assets	6.2	5.3	6.3	5.1	4.8	5.2
Intensive factors						
Labor productivity	3.3	1.2	-0.4	0.8	2.5	1.9
Material intensity	0.1	0.1	-0.1	0.5	0.3	-1.0
Capital intensity	2.6	3.8	6.3	4.1	2.1	2.5
Overall cost-effectiveness	0.4	-0.1	-0.7	-0.7	0.1	0.8

growth rates of direct labor's productivity, more pronounced under the 6th Five-Year Plan, and a deceleration of production's capital intensity as well. The average growth rate of material intensity rose 0.1 percentage point under the 6th Five-Year Plan alone. In the same way, the aggregate indicator of overall cost-effectiveness fell under the 6th Five-Year Plan.

Communication, Circulation and Other Productive Branches

This fairly diverse group of the productive sphere's remaining branches contributed about an eighth of Czechoslovakia's social product in 1984. This share of the social product comprises the performances of freight transportation, communications services for the productive sphere, the markup of the circulation branches, and the outputs of publishing and other activities included in the productive sphere. It developed under the 6th and 7th Five-Year Plans at roughly twice the average growth rates of the actual production volume of material resources characterized in Table 5.

Likewise the movement of material consumption under the 6th and 7th Five-Year Plans was greater in the circulation and particularly the communications branches, although in a smaller ratio than in the case of production. In comparison with the preceding aggregation that includes the productive branches in a narrower sense, the work force increased at several times higher growth rates in the communications and especially the circulation branches. On the other hand, the growth rates of fixed assets were lower and more even here than in the aggregation of the branches producing material resources (see Table 6).

In this last group of branches, the intensive factors' average growth rates are conspicuously higher than in the group comprising the productive branches in a narrower sense. Noteworthy are especially the stability of the rates at which material intensity declined, and the unusually high growth rates of overall cost-effectiveness. As a result of these favorable development parameters, the addition of the communications, circulation and other productive branches to the aggregation comprising industry, agriculture, forestry and construction improves the average development parameters of the productive sphere as a whole (see Table 7).

Table 6. Annual Growth Rates of Production, and of Extensive and Intensive Factors, in the Communications, Circulation and Other Productive Branches (Percent)

	<u>1976-80</u>	<u>1981-84</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Production	6.3	3.1	5.2	2.4	3.4	1.6
Extensive factors						
Average work force	1.4	1.2	1.5	0.1	2.1	1.0
Material consumption	5.0	1.7	7.2	0.3	0.1	-0.5
Fixed assets	5.6	4.9	6.4	4.3	4.2	4.8
Intensive factors						
Labor productivity	4.9	1.9	3.6	2.3	1.3	0.6
Material intensity	-1.3	-1.3	1.9	-2.0	-3.3	-2.0
Capital intensity	-0.7	1.7	1.2	1.8	0.8	3.0
Overall cost-effectiveness	2.7	0.9	0.5	1.3	1.5	0.3

Table 7. Annual Growth Rates of Production, and of Extensive and Intensive Factors, in the Productive Sphere as a Whole (Percent)

	<u>1976-80</u>	<u>1981-84</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Production	3.7	1.6	0.3	0.9	2.6	2.4
Extensive factors						
Average work force	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.7
Material consumption	3.6	1.3	-0.1	1.2	2.7	1.4
Fixed assets	6.1	5.3	6.4	4.9	4.7	5.1
Intensive factors						
Labor productivity	3.4	1.2	0.0	0.9	2.2	1.7
Material intensity	-0.2	-0.3	-0.4	0.3	0.0	-0.9
Capital intensity	2.2	3.2	5.7	3.8	1.9	1.4
Overall cost-effectiveness	0.7	0.0	-0.4	-0.4	0.3	0.8

Improvement of Quality

Up to now we have been analyzing primarily the first direction of intensification: the improvement of cost-effectiveness. We have not examined directly the changes in the quality of the produced use values, changes which are an essential part of the intensification process. Under intensive development, as already mentioned, specifically these directions of research and development (leading to product innovations) assume ever-greater importance, from the viewpoint of the national economy's greater efficiency and of national income as well.

For the time being, it is extremely difficult to express these effects directly. But indirectly they are included to some extent in most production indicators or, generally speaking, in the indicators of the financial results (adjusted value added, profit, etc.). The effects are projected into these indicators through the mechanism of pricing new products. The role of this specific "growth factor" has been clearly increasing also in Czechoslovakia in recent years. Table 8 shows that the proportion of new products has begun to rise fairly rapidly (especially in some industries).

Hence it may be inferred that, even with the standard elimination of price movements, the introduction of new products has begun to make itself felt as

an independent factor of the aggregate production indicators' growth. On average, this effect may be estimated at between 0.5 and 0.7 percent a year.

Table 8. Proportion of New Products in Commodity Production (Percent)

	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Industry jointly	12.1	10.7	15.8	15.9	17.9	18.5
Of which (industries):						
Ferrous metallurgy	1.0	8.1	7.0	7.3	8.9	9.5
Chemical, rubber-asbestos	11.6	10.9	8.9	10.2	11.2	12.5
Engineering	16.2	21.9	35.7	33.1	38.2	40.5
Electrotechnical, metalworking	.	15.7	19.2	23.0	25.6	26.5
Woodworking	3.3	9.7	14.5	15.1	15.6	13.2
Pulp and paper	.	2.9	4.7	9.6	9.0	9.5
Glass, ceramics and porcelain	2.6	8.2	12.4	12.3	11.7	13.3
Textile	.	15.2	22.1	18.0	23.9	25.2
Clothing	.	14.0	35.5	33.7	34.9	34.8
Leather	.	14.5	33.2	41.9	38.1	36.3

Sources: For 1975-1983, "Historicka rocenka FSU" [Historical Yearbook of the Federal Statistical Office]; for 1984, STATISTICKE INFORMACE, RADA TECHNICKA; and "Inovace a kvalita prumyslovych vyrobku" [Innovation and the Quality of Industrial Products], Federal Statistical Office, 1984.

Despite this reported rise in the volume and share of new products, and their impact on the movement of the aggregate financial indicators, however, this process does not necessarily mean that there is also a corresponding improvement of product quality. New products are not always products of greater use value. It can be established that, on average, the new products' technology and cost-effectiveness fall short of intensification's exacting requirements. Even though the proportion of products that meet high standards of technology and cost-effectiveness (i.e., products of quality grade I, and high-tech products) has increased gradually, products of quality grade II or average quality are maintaining their decisive share. This assessment is based solely on domestic criteria. But the results achieved in foreign markets provide a more demanding measure of product quality. Here we have in mind the well-known results of analyses of the efficiency of our export (the prices per kilogram, export-to-wholesale price ratios, etc.), which do not have to be repeated on this occasion.

Moreover, we know from practice that the first direction of intensification --i.e., the increase of production's cost-effectiveness--often occurs at the expense of the products' use-value parameters. This kind of "intensification" leads to a decline of the output's social usefulness, because it reduces the resulting supply of society's needs. What makes such an approach possible is often the system of indicators to which the incentives are linked. This system one-sidedly stimulates the increase of production's cost-effectiveness (the reduction of unit costs), but is not oriented sufficiently on the products' use value.

Turnaround the Most Important

Utilization of the intensification factors, and the rate of their application in economic practice to date have been inadequate and slow. Research and development, the main and decisive factor of intensification, is still not being implemented comprehensively, with due consideration for all the economic and social interrelations.

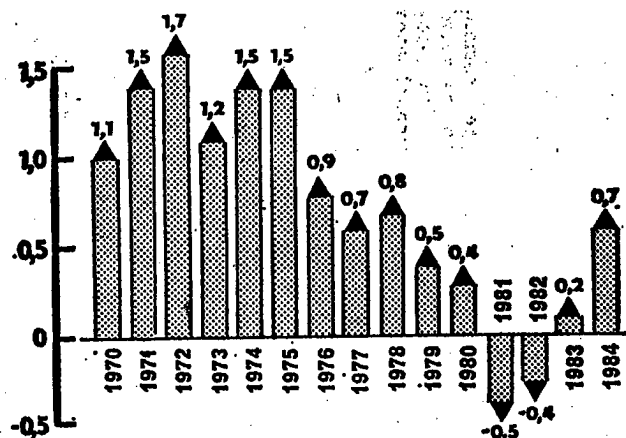


Figure 1. Movement of the productive sphere's overall cost-effectiveness in 1970-1984 (percent).

The principal directions of the CSSR's economic and social development in the 1986-1990 period, and the long-range outlook through the year 2000 have set challenging tasks for the Czechoslovak economy and present a realistic program. Their main objective is to raise the standard of living, to supply the population's material and spiritual needs on a qualitatively higher level. This is a long-term strategy that bases the acceleration of social and economic development on the national economy's comprehensive acceleration. The realization of this strategy requires a substantial increase in the role of research and development as the decisive factor of intensification.

A necessary condition for the realization of these goals is to ensure a more conspicuous acceleration of the growth of overall cost-effectiveness, on the basis of stepping up the innovation process, gradually implementing progressive structural changes, and participating more consistently in the international division of labor.

Acceleration of the process of intensification requires that we continue consistently the favorable results achieved in the final years of the 7th Five-Year Plan and clearly intensify further the course on which we have embarked. Computations show that overall cost-effectiveness will have to grow by at least 0.8 percent a year if we are to achieve a 3.5-percent growth rate of national income. Our achieving this growth of overall cost-effectiveness will represent a return to the growth path in the second half of the 1970's. The ensuring of this growth under the present conditions places exceptional emphasis primarily

on the conspicuously faster lowering of production's material intensity, because the greatest reserves of intensification are still to be found there.

The acceleration of research and development must start out from the Czechoslovak economy's full participation in implementing the CEMA Comprehensive Program for Progress in Research and Development Through the Year 2000, and also the state R&D programs and target programs as the vehicles of key innovations in our economy. On this basis, gradual structural changes must be made in production. Simultaneously, a turnaround to development of the intensive type requires more lower-order innovations from the mass flow of innovations originating from the creative activity and initiative at every level. Fulfillment of the objectives of our social and economic development, and success in pursuing our economic strategy therefore presuppose a pronounced improvement in the quality of planning, the workers' wider participation in management, and more authority and responsibility for the economic sphere, within the framework of a gradually rebuilt economic mechanism.

As the 17th CPCZ Congress emphasized: "The mechanism of management and planning, and entire investment policy must be subordinated to the long-term strategy of the national economy's intensification, based on progress in research and development. The struggle for intensification, research and development, implementation of structural changes, and for a substantial improvement of management and planning, must become the main concern of the party, state and economic organs."

1014

CSO: 2400/257

ECONOMY

HUNGARY

PAPER EXAMINES TRADE WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian No 10, 6 Mar 86 p 9

[Article by Dr. Peter Lanyi: "Enlarged Foreign Trade"]

[Text] The United States, Japan, and Western Europe play definitive roles in the market relationships of the southeastern Asian countries belonging to the ASEAN organization, as well as the rest of the states in the area. The protectionist measures frequently experienced at the placement markets stimulated the countries of the region to reevaluate the system of economic relations even by the end of the last decade, and this was also the start of the mitigation of political opposition against socialist countries. Trade relations between the two economic groups however are still insignificant, they remain well below their possibilities.

This also characterizes the foreign trade of Hungary and the far-eastern industrializing countries. We could not compete either with those countries that have built their position in this area of world economy that has shown the most growth for the past decade. It is true that in the light of central and company aspirations toward Arab oil countries, far-eastern business possibilities seemed extremely distant and vague. All this is reflected well in statistical data. Although a few companies have created relationships and even established business with Taiwanese or South Korean companies, for the past several years data only exist on the traffic between Hungary and Hong Kong, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Philippines (the last 5 make up the ASEAN).

Through mediators

Hungarian imports originating from the area substantially and significantly exceed the exports directed there. The significantly large amount of import could not be successfully used to increase the export. Since a large proportion of the export reaches the countries of the area through mediators, the import-export claw is in reality wider than that publicized in official statistics.

The role of the mediating trade is unusually large in both imports and exports. In 1982 we bought 12 percent, in 1983 32 percent, and in 1984 25 percent of the imports originating from the area through other countries; at the same time in 1982 50 percent, in 1983 35 percent, and in 1984 20 percent of the export arrived in the area through other countries. These data occasionally

summarize contradictory trends, so it is worthwhile to examine the situation by countries.

The role of the mediating trade in Hungarian imports can only be considered normal in the case of Indonesia and Malaysia. In the case of the Philippines the low traffic data are distorting. It is thought provoking that Hungarian companies bought the following amount of Thai goods from other countries: in 1983 74 percent, 1984 75 percent, and of Hong Kong goods 39 percent in 1983 and 57 percent in 1984.

The role of mediators is even greater in exports, and only remains within the acceptable 20-30 percentile quota in the case of Hong Kong and Indonesia. Hungarian products regularly arrive in Malaysia through mediators, as well as 40 percent and occasionally more than 60-70 percent of the total export intended for Thailand arrives there through mediators. A significant portion of the Hungarian export to Singapore is further exorted by the buyers, in keeping with the role that the city state fulfills in the area.

All these data refer only to the declared mediation, in reality we are certainly speaking of greater proportions, since a significant part of the traffic of the mediating trade is usually not declared officially. On one hand these facts praise those companies that pursue successful third market operations, and are able to penetrate new territories in this manner.

Below one percent

Keeping in mind that for years the import from the area has been more than twice the export, we must conclude that the Hungarian export positions in the area are insignificant.

Compared with the total Hungarian foreign trade, trade traffic with the area is neglectfully small: it does not even reach one percent. After the 1980 peak in traffic (which was primarily due to the purchase of a large lot of Indonesian coffee) first of all a decline, then since 1982 a regular increase has been experienced. The regular increase in exports is something to be rejoiced at in its totality; the main cause of this however is the shipment of artificial fertilizer to Thailand.

Regarding the composition of traffic, three-quarters of the Hungarian import is made up of different materials: 11-12 percent machinery and equipment, 12-13 percent different consumer goods. Significant concentrations may be noted according to countries: from Hong Kong clothing articles make up two-thirds of the total Hungarian import, from Malaysia we import predominantly raw rubber. In the case of Indonesia there is great fluctuation in coffee buying, while the spice import is a stable and significant factor.

Imported coffee is of similar significance to exported artificial fertilizer. Only companies having offices located in the country (possibly several countries) are capable of dealing with lasting and more significant amounts of exports. There are so few of them that they deserve to be listed: Medimpex (Thailand, Indonesia), Tungsram (Indonesia), Medicor (Indonesia), Technoimpex (Indonesia). Discounting artificial fertilizer, these companies supply two-thirds of the Hungarian import intended for the area.

We must also mention the electrical instrument-, tool-, as well as the bolt- and lock export intended for Indonesia. In Malaysia 10 Hungarian companies maintain a common export office. A local trade office operates in Jakarta and Bangkok, and the representative of the Hungarian Trade Chamber works in Singapore.

Joining possibilities

Sizeable differences exist among the countries of the area in development, developmental goals, and methods of trade. In no way can these countries be approached with respect to marketing on the basis of similar methods. Only a few groups of Hungarian products can count on success in more than 3 countries, and diverse methods of trade are required even in these. (Naturally, we are only talking about products that meet strict quality requirements.)

Considering the large scale influx of capital, the local companies are accustomed to their partners moving into the market with manufacturing and assembly, but they are expected to at least open a trade or technical branch office with their own delegate. In its own territory a serious local company with appropriate influence does not even usually accept a representative commission otherwise; however without this one cannot count on sales.

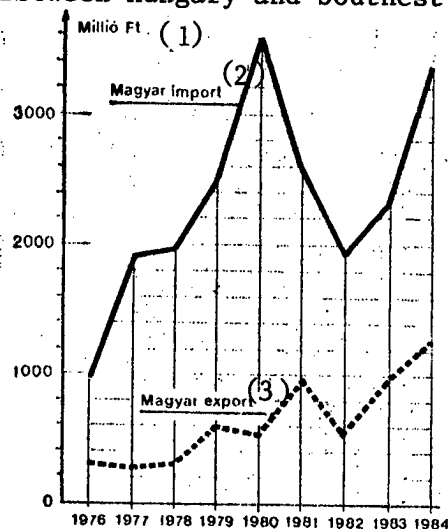
We must mention the demand for machinery and industrial products following experimental delivery of 1 or 2 pieces as a market initiation. Because of keen competition we cannot imagine a delivery time limit longer than 3-4 months, except in 1 or 2 unusual instances. However, those companies that are willing to fulfill these requirements can count on rather large markets in case of success.

Imports to the area are continuously expanding, in 1984 it exceeded 160 billion dollars. Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia are among the Vilagbank's (World Bank) largest borrowers: primarily they receive credit to accomplish energetic, traffic, and infrastructural establishments. With the exception of Hong Kong and Singapore, every country has huge programs of agricultural development. Besides the state investments, private companies have great significance as well.

In Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, and in the Malaysia provinces of Sarawak and Sabah, the provincial developmental programs direct the electrification of villages, the establishment of small factories for the processing of agricultural products, and the development of education. Hungarian companies have the possibility of joining in on the basis of accumulated intellectual capital and the average technical level of available products. However, the possibilities can only be discovered on the spot and exploited only through careful, tenacious, and most of all conscientious work.

Naturally, the financial possibilities of the companies define the limits of settlement on the spot. However with the joining of given import and export possibilities and interests, the combining of several companies, the necessary capital can be raised for the establishment of a common office or enterprise. The area could mean important, extensive market expansion for the recently formed and future Hungarian trading houses, which will not be ignored by the world's only respectable international big enterprise.

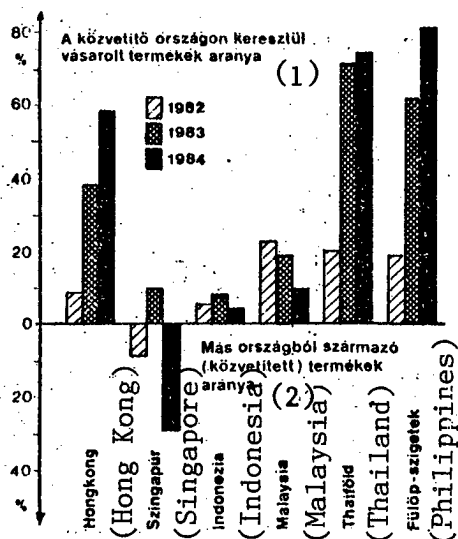
Trade Between Hungary and Southeast-Asian Countries



* Hong Kong, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines

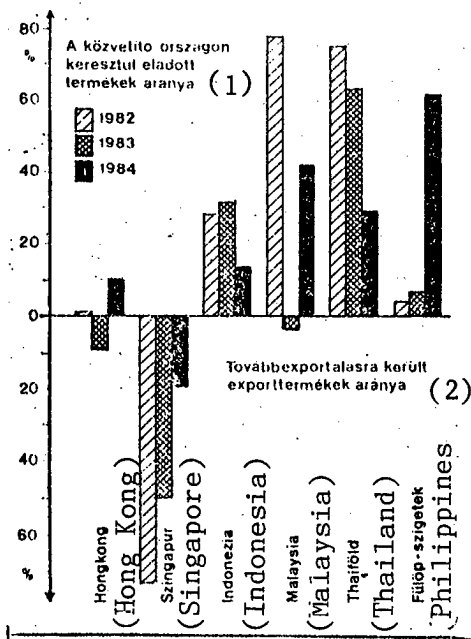
Key: (1) million forints
(2) Hungarian imports
(3) Hungarian exports

The Role of the Mediating Trade in Hungarian Imports Originating from Southeast Asia



Key:
(1) Proportion of products purchased through mediating countries
(2) Proportion of (mediated) products originating from other countries

The Role of the Mediating Trade in Hungarian Exports Directed to Southeast Asia



Key:
(1) Proportion of products sold through mediating countries
(2) Proportion of export products intended for further export

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CSO: 2500/221

ECONOMY

POLAND

POLISH SHIPYARD PRODUCTION IN 1985 CHARTED

Gdansk BUDOWNICTWO OKRETOWE in Polish No 3, Mar 86 pp 121-123

Table 1. Sea-Going Ships With a Gross Capacity of Over 100 RT Put Into Operation							[Text]	
Construction symbol and number	Type of ship	Gross capacity	Carrying capacity	Classification	Date of completion	Name of ship	Owner (country)	
[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7]								
STOCZNIA GDANSKA IM. LENINA - GDANSK								
B 92/57	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	2 737	1 329	RZSRR	85.08.21	NEFTEGAZ-31	(ZSRR)	
B 92/58	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	2 737	1 329	RZSRR	85.10.25	NEFTEGAZ-32	(ZSRR)	
B 92/59	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	2 737	1 329	RZSRR	85.12.10	GEPAED	(ZSRR)	
B 97/1	Statek naukowo-badawczy (zeglowny)	370	136	PRS	85.11.30	OCEANIA	Polska Akademia Nauk (Polska)	
B 99/1	Statek montazowy	1 384	337	RZSRR	85.03.30	ATLET-1	(ZSRR)	
B 99/2	Statek montazowy	1 384	338	RZSRR	85.05.23	ATLET-2	(ZSRR)	
B 99/3	Statek montazowy	1 384	338	RZSRR	85.06.29	ATLET-3	(ZSRR)	
B 99/4	Statek montazowy	1 384	338	RZSRR	85.12.29	ATLET-4	(ZSRR)	
B 365/3	Chlodniowiec	8 960	7 496	RZSRR	85.04.30	CAMILO	(ZSRR)	
B 365/4	Chlodniowiec	8 960	7 496	RZSRR	85.09.30	CIENFUEGOS	(ZSRR)	
B 408/29	Trawler przetworcza	3 816	1 706	RZSRR	85.01.08	BOCHVAR	(ZSRR)	
B 481/9	Pojazdowiec	22 211	17 773	RZSRR	85.12.30	KOKAND	(ZSRR)	
B 539/1	Masowiec drewnowiec	21 305	30 975	NV	85.12.31	YURIY	(Finlandia)	
B 552/5	Zbiornikowiec	27 001	46 823	NV	85.06.30	MASKARJEV	(Liberia)	
B 552/27	Zbiornikowiec	26 959	46 830	NV	85.10.23	FINNTRADER	(Cypr)	
STOCZNIA POŁNOČNA IM. BOHATERÓW WESTERPLATTE - GDANSK								
B 98/6	Statek poźarniczy	2 008	425	RZSRR	85.02.28	MUKALE	(ZSRR)	
B 98/7	Statek poźarniczy	2 008	425	RZSRR	85.04.24	SUCCESS	(ZSRR)	
B 98/8	Statek poźarniczy	2 008	425	RZSRR	85.05.31	VIKHR-8	(ZSRR)	
STOCZNIA IM. KOMUNY PARYSKIEJ - GDYNIA								
B 361/II/1	Chlodniowiec	3 226	2 397	PRS	85.01.14	SOLANO	PPURM TRANSOCEAN (Polska)	
B 361/II/2	Chlodniowiec	3 226	2 349	PRS	85.10.27	TORNADO	PPURM TRANSOCEAN (Polska)	
B 538/2	Masowiec	26 130	39 151	BV	85.02.14	MONIQUE L.D.	(Francja)	
STOCZNIA SZCZECIŃSKA IM. A. WARSKIEGO - SZCZECIN								
B 92/15	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	2 737	1 323	RZSRR	85.03.31	NEFTEGAZ-15	(ZSRR)	
B 92/16	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	2 737	1 329	RZSRR	85.06.04	NEFTEGAZ-16	(ZSRR)	
B 92/17	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	2 737	1 329	RZSRR	85.08.15	NIKOLAEV	(ZSRR)	
B 92/18	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	2 737	1 329	RZSRR	85.07.30	NEFTEGAZ-18	(ZSRR)	
B 92/19	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	2 737	1 329	RZSRR	85.09.20	NEFTEGAZ-19	(ZSRR)	
B 92/20	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	2 737	1 329	RZSRR	85.12.30	YASNYY	(ZSRR)	
B 92/22	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	2 737	1 323	RZSRR	85.11.08	NEFTEGAZ-22	(ZSRR)	

[continued]

[Continuation of Table 1]

[0]	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
B 181/8	Kontenerowiec	16 910	22 200	GL	85.07.19	LAMON BAY	(RFN)
B 181/11	Kontenerowiec	16 553	20 200	GL	85.10.15	AQUITANIA	(RFN)
B 490/4	Prom pasażersko-samo- chodowy	10 583	1 783	NV	85.06.05	SAMSUN	(Turcja)
B 537/2	Masowiec	21 625	32 813	LR	85.01.14	FINNWHALE	(Finlandia)
B 542/1	Masowiec	21 531	33 725	PRS	85.05.11	MAJOR HUBAL	Żegluga Polska S.A. (Polska)
B 542/2	Masowiec	21 531	33 750	PRS	85.06.14	MACIEJ RATAJ	Żegluga Polska S.A. (Polska)
B 542/3	Masowiec	21 531	33 742	PRS	85.10.30	RODŁO	Żegluga Polska S.A. (Polska)
B 542/4	Masowiec	21 531	33 745	PRS	85.12.31	POWSTANIEC LISTOPADOWY	Żegluga Polska S.A. (Polska)
STOCZNIA „USTKA” — USTKA							
B 275/8	Trawler krewetkowiec	249	89	RZSRR	85.03.31	BATELLA	(ZSRR)
B 275/9	Trawler krewetkowiec	249	89	RZSRR	85.06.29	GLIFUS	(ZSRR)
B 275/10	Trawler krewetkowiec	249	89	RZSRR	85.09.06	PASIFEYA	(ZSRR)
B 275/11	Trawler krewetkowiec	249	89	RZSRR	85.09.30	SITSIONIYA	(ZSRR)
B 275/12	Trawler krewetkowiec	249	89	RZSRR	85.12.05	TIPTON	(ZSRR)
B 275/13	Trawler krewetkowiec	249	89	RZSRR	85.12.27	DROMIYA	(ZSRR)
B 275/14	Trawler krewetkowiec	249	89	RZSRR	85.12.31	ATLANTA	(ZSRR)
STOCZNIA „WISŁA” — GDAŃSK							
KP-2/6	Statek pasażerski (katamaran)	654	81	PRS	85.06.24	HADJIBEI	(ZSRR)
STOCZNIA REMONTOWA „NAUTA” — GDYNIA							
TRNL-36,8/ /416	Trawler rybacki	442	300		85.12.31	WIRON V	(Holandia)

Table 2. Overview of the Production of Sea-Going Ships With a Gross Capacity of Over 100 RT

Construc- tion symbol	Type of ship	Shipyard	Number of ships		Actual com- bined tonnage		Total power of main engines	
			For domes- tic use	For export	Gross capac- ity	Carry- ing ca- pacity	[kW]	[kW] = HP
2.1 Production Breakdown by Ship Type								
B 92	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	Stocznia Gdańska	—	3	8 111	3 987	15 900	21 600
B 92	Statek zaopatrzeniowy	Stocznia Szczecińska	—	7	19 159	9 303	37 100	50 400
B 97	Statek naukowo-badawczy (żaglowy)	Stocznia Gdańska	1	—	370	106	228	310
B 98	Statek pożarniczy	Stocznia Północna	—	3	6 024	1 275	12 960	17 640
B 99	Statek montażowy	Stocznia Gdańska	—	4	5 536	1 592	4 472	6 080
B 181	Kontenerowiec	Stocznia Szczecińska	—	2	33 469	40 400	22 400	30 400
B 275	Trawler krewetkowiec	Stocznia USTKA	—	7	1 743	623	3 864	5 250
B 361	Chłodniowiec	St. Komuny Paryskiej	2	—	6 452	4 746	5 300	7 200
B 365	Chłodniowiec	Stocznia Gdańska	—	2	17 920	14 992	24 730	33 600
B 408	Trawler przetwórczy	Stocznia Gdańska	—	1	3 816	1 796	3 825	5 200
B 481	Pojazdowiec	Stocznia Gdańska	—	1	22 211	17 773	15 308	20 800
B 490	Prom pasażersko-samocho- dowy	Stocznia Szczecińska	—	1	10 583	1 788	12 364	16 800
B 537	Masowiec	Stocznia Szczecińska	—	1	21 625	32 813	8 160	11 098
B 538	Masowiec	St. Komuny Paryskiej	—	1	26 130	39 151	8 243	11 200
B 539	Masowiec drewnowiec	Stocznia Gdańska	—	1	21 305	30 975	7 080	9 630
B 542	Masowiec	Stocznia Szczecińska	4	—	86 124	134 962	32 640	44 392
B 552	Zbiornikowiec	Stocznia Gdańska	—	2	53 960	93 655	20 580	28 000
KP-2	Statek pasażerski (katamaran)	Stocznia WISŁA	—	1	654	81	840	1 140
TRNL-36,8	Trawler rybacki	St. Remontowa NAUTA	—	1	442	300	883	1 200
	Razem		7	38	345 734	430 318	236 877	321 940
2.2 Production Breakdown by Shipyard								
	Stocznia Szczecińska im. A. Warskiego — Szczecin		4	11	170 960	219 266	112 664	153 090
	Stocznia Gdańska im. Lenina — Gdańsk		1	14	133 329	164 876	92 123	125 220
	Stocznia im. Komuny Paryskiej — Gdynia		2	1	32 582	43 897	13 543	18 400
	Stocznia Północna im. Bohaterów Westerplatte — Gdańsk		—	3	6 024	1 275	12 960	17 640
	Stocznia USTKA — Ustka		—	7	1 743	623	3 864	5 250
	Stocznia WISŁA — Gdańsk		—	1	654	81	840	1 140
	Stocznia Remontowa NAUTA — Gdynia		—	1	442	300	883	1 200
2.3 Production Breakdown by Buyer								
	Polska		7	—	92 946	139 814	38 168	51 902
	Związek Radziecki		—	27	67 354	36 430	94 269	128 110
	Finlandia		—	2	42 930	63 788	15 240	20 728
	Republika Federalna Niemiec		—	2	33 469	40 400	22 400	30 400
	Liberia		—	1	27 001	46 825	10 290	14 000
	Cypr		—	1	26 959	46 380	10 290	14 000
	Francja		—	1	26 130	39 151	8 243	11 200
	Turcja		—	1	10 583	1 788	12 364	16 800
	Holandia		—	1	442	300	883	1 200

Table 3. Technical Features of Sea-Going Ship Types Built in 1985

Con- struc- tion sym- bol	Type of ship/ Name of first ship built in 1985	Regis- try dimen- sions LBHT [m]	Gross capacity/ Net ca- pacity/ Carrying capacity [t]	Main engine		Generators			Shipyard	Nation of regis- try/ Velocity/ knots
				Manufac- turer/ Designer/ Type	Power [kW] [(KM)] =HP. Rev/min	Number and power [kW]	Vol- tage [V]	Type of current		
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
B 92	Statek zaopatrze- niowy	81,16	2 737	ZUT Zgoda	2X2650	3X 380	400	przem.*	Stocznia Szczecińska i Stocznia Gdańska	ZSRR
		16,30	821	Sulzer	(2X3600)	1X 90	400	przem.		
		7,20	1 329	6ZL 40/48	500					
NEFTEGAZ-15										
B 97	Statek żaglowy badawczy	42,46	370	ZM Nowotki	228	2X 48	400	przem.	Stocznia Gdańska im. Lenina	polska
		8,99	111	Henschel	(310)	1X 36	400	przem.		
		5,60	106	75 H 12	1600					
OCEANIA										
B 98	Statek pożarniczy	72,34	2 008	ZPM H. Ce-	2X2160	3X 400	400	przem.	Stocznia Północna im. Bohaterów Westerplatte	ZSRR
		14,00	602	giełski	(2X2940)	1X 100	400	przem.		
		6,40	425	Sulzer	750					
VIKHR-6										
B 99	Statek montażowy	64,20	1 384	ZPM H. Ce-	2X559	2X 320	400	przem.	Stocznia Gdańska im. Lenina	ZSRR
		15,26	415	giełski	(2X760)	1X 48	400	przem.		
		4,00	397	Sulzer	750					
ATLET-1										
B 181	Kontenerowiec	171,20	16 910	ZPM H. Ce-	11 200	1X1136	400	przem.	Stocznia Szczecińska im. A. Warskiego	RFN
		25,30	10 455	giełski	(15 200)	2X 800	400	przem.		
		13,40	20 486	Sulzer	150	1X 320	400	przem.		
3RND 68M										
B 275	Trawler krewetko- wiec	26,46	249	ZPM H. Ce-	552	2X 100	400	przem.	Stocznia USTKA	ZSRR
		8,00	74	giełski	(750)					
		4,00	89	Sulzer	900					
BATELLA										
B 361	Chłodniowiec	87,52	3 226	ZUT Zgoda	2650	3X 400	400	przem.	Stocznia im. Komuny Paryskiej	polska
		15,00	1 178	Sulzer	(3600)					
		7,82	2 397	6ZL 40/48	500					
SOLANO										
5,60										
14,5										

*industrial

[continued]

[Continuation of Table 3]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
B 365	Chłodniowiec	136,80	8 980	Stocznia Gdańska	12 365 (16 800)	4× 800 1× 100	400 400	przem. przem.	Stocznia Gdańska im. Lenina	ZSRR
	CAMILO	21,76	3 339	Gdańska						
	CIENTUEGOS	12,40	7 496	B&W	145					22
		8,15		9K67GFC						
B 408	Trawler przetwór- nia	85,75	3 816	ZUT Zgoda	3825 (5200)	1×1200	400	przem.	Stocznia Gdańska im. Lenina	ZSRR
	KOKAND	15,92	1 144	Sulzer	530	2× 800 1× 100	400 400	przem. przem.		15,7
		10,00	1 796	8ZL 40/48						
		5,67								
B 481	Pojazdowiec	166,06	22 211	ZUT Zgoda	2×7654 (2×10 400)	3× 760	400	przem.	Stocznia Gdańska im. Lenina	ZSRR
	YURIY	28,18	6 663	Sulzer	500					
	MAKSARYEV	18,00	17 773	16ZV 40/48						20,6
		9,64								
B 490	Prom pasażersko- -samoходowy	122,97	10 583	ZUT Zgoda	4×3091 (4×4200)	3×1000	400	przem.	Stocznia Szczecińska	turecka
		19,41	3 872	Sulzer	530	2× 880 1× 280	400 400	przem. przem.	im. A. Warskiego	
	SAMSUN	12,36	1 788	6ZL 40/48		1× 152	400	przem.		21,2
		5,42								
B 537	Masowiec	185,00	21 625	ZPM H. Ce-	8160 (11 098)	3× 800	400	przem.	Stocznia Szczecińska	fińska
	FINNWHALE	25,30	11 107	gielski	124	1× 320	400	przem.	im. A. Warskiego	
		15,10	32 813	Sulzer						14,5
		10,65		6RLB 66						
B 538	Masowiec	175,84	26 130	ZPM H. Ce-	8243 (11 200)	3× 720	450	przem.	Stocznia im. Komuny Paryskiej	francuska
	MONIQUE L.D.	29,00	11 763	gielski	119	1× 96	450	przem.		14
		16,40	39 151	B&W						
		11,80		6L67GFC						
B 539	Masowiec	175,50	21 305	Sulzer	7080 (9630)	3× 832	400	przem.	Stocznia Gdańska im. Lenina	fińska
	drewnowiec	27,50	10 412		116	1× 80	400	przem.		
	FINNTRADER	14,50	30 975	6RTA 58-R2						14,4
		10,33								
B 542	Masowiec	185,47	21 531	ZPM H. Ce-	8160 (11 098)	1× 640	400	przem.	Stocznia Szczecińska	polska
	MAJOR HUBAL	25,32	12 316	gielski	124	3× 400	400	przem.	im. A. Warskiego	
		15,10	33 725	Sulzer		1× 100	400	przem.		16
		10,68		6RLB 66						
B 552	Zbiornikowiec	184,34	27 001	ZPM H. Ce-	10 290 (14 000)	3×1120	450	przem.	Stocznia Gdańska im. Lenina	liberyjska
	MUKALE	30,83	16 108	gielski	122	1× 130	450	przem.		
		15,90	46 825	Sulzer						15,7
		12,20		7RND76						
KP-2	Statek pasażerski (katamaran)	35,78	654	ZPM H. Ce-	2×420 (2×570)	2× 100	400	przem.	Stocznia WISŁA	ZSRR
	HADJIBEI	11,85	373	gielski	750					13
		4,40	81	Sulzer						
		2,70		6AL 20/24						
TRNL-Trawler rybacki -36,8		32,95	442	Stork-	883 (1200)	1× 400	400	przem.	Stocznia Remonto- wa NAUTA	holenderska
		8,48	225	-Verkspoor	900	1× 200	400	przem.		
		4,63	300	6FHD 240		1× 80	400	przem.		12
	WIRON V	3,50								

Glossary of Ship Types

Chłodniowiec: Refrigeration vessel
Kontenerowiec: Container vessel
Masowiec: Bulk cargo ship
Masowiec drenowiec: Timber carrier
Pojazdowiec: Ro-ro carrier
Prom pasazersko-samochodowy: Passenger and car ferry
Statek montazowy: Crane ship
 naukowo-badawczy (zagłowy): Scientific research (sailing) vessel
 pasazerski (katamaran): Passenger ship (catamaran)
 pożarniczy: Fire-fighting vessel
 zaopatrzeniowy: Tender
Trawler krewtkowiec: Shrimp trawler
 przetwornia: (fish) factory trawler
 rybacki: (fishing) trawler
Zbiornikowiec: Tanker

Glossary of Shipyards

St. Gdanska im. Lenina: Lenin Shipyard
St. im. Komuny Paryskiej: Paris Commune Shipyard
St. Polnocna im. Bohaterow Westerplatte: Heroes of Westerplatte North Shipyard
St. Remontowa "Nauta": Repair Shipyard "Nauta"
St. Szczecińska im. A. Warskiego: A. Warski Szczecin Shipyard
St. "Ustka"
St. "Wisła"

Glossary of Countries/Owners

Cypr: Cyprus
Finlandia (finska): Finland (Finnish)
Francja (francuska): France (French)
Holandia (holenderska): Holland (Dutch)
Liberia (liberyjska): Liberia (Liberian)
Polska (polska): Poland (Polish)
Polska Akademia Nauk: Polish Academy of Science
Republika Federalna Niemiec (RFN): Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)
Turcja (turecka): Turkey (Turkish)
Związek Radziecki (ZSRR): Soviet Union (USSR)

/9365

CSO: 2600/447

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

ECONOMIST DISCUSSES TRADE OUTLOOK, OIL IMPORTS

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 17-19 May 86 p 3

[Interview with Dr Mladen Kovacevic, professor at the School of Economics of Belgrade University, by Andja Petrovic: "Export Plans Are Like Believing in Miracles"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] According to the figures of the Federal Bureau of Statistics, visible exports over the first 3 months of 1986 were up 9.9 percent over the same time last year, and exports to the convertible area were up 11.5 percent. Four months later exports increased only 2 percent, and those to the convertible area 5 percent. Imports are up 4.3 percent over last year. Can you explain to our readers why there was such a pronounced drop in the growth rate of exports?

[Answer] In large part this was the result of different statistical bases. In the first 3 months of last year exports were smaller each month than in the respective month of 1984, and in cumulative terms there was a drop of about 7 percent. In April, however, a considerable growth of exports was achieved, and it was the largest monthly growth except for December. Thus after 4 months exports were 1 percent larger than in 1984. So, even the modest growth of exports in the first 3 months of this year appeared satisfactory, while after the 4th month, because of the higher statistical base, the growth rate dropped off suddenly.

[Question] What are the possibilities of offsetting this lag behind the planning targets by the end of the year and achieving the projected 9-percent growth of exports?

[Answer] Our resolutions represent wish lists and belief on the part of some that great miracles can take place in our economy. That also applies to the export plans in those resolutions. For years now I have been talking about this and arguing that this kind of plan makes no sense, but nothing has come of that. I also argued that the planning of the growth of exports done toward the end of last year for the purpose of the resolution was completely unrealistic. Now that has become clear to many people--the export plan for this year cannot be achieved. I will give first the statistical (less important) reasons, and then the essential reasons.

Over the period May-December 1985 our exports increased all of 18 percent, so that the statistical base for this year's comparison will be very high, and under such conditions it is not easy to achieve any very considerable growth. Moreover, in order to achieve the growth of exports for the entire year, exports in the remainder of the year must increase 12-13 percent, and there is no basis whatsoever for that. It will be good if it is no less than in the same period of last year, and we do have a number of arguments in favor of that kind of expectation.

The Constructive Impact of Prices and Exchange Rates Could Be Watered Down

[Question] What are the external and internal circumstances under which Yugoslavia's foreign trade relations must be conducted this year?

[Answer] It can immediately be said that because of the drop in petroleum prices, the value of the dollar, and interest rates on the international financial market, Yugoslavia will have smaller outlays of foreign exchange this year than was planned. But unfortunately one must also conclude that because steps were not taken in good time to encourage exports and because of the operation of a number of external and internal factors, visible exports could be appreciably smaller than was planned and indeed even smaller than last year. Thus the favorable impact of the drop in petroleum prices, the exchange rate of the dollar, and interest rates could be completely watered down. It is therefore probable that in 1986 Yugoslavia will not reduce the size of its debt and in coming months will have to restrict imports of raw materials, production supplies, and equipment still more rigorously because of the lack of foreign exchange. This must have an adverse effect on production, exports, inflation, and the standard of living. If radical measures are not taken as soon as possible to promote and speed up exports in the remainder of the year, there is a real danger of falling into still greater economic difficulties in spite of the favorable external conditions, and that would bring on still more serious economic and noneconomic consequences.

[Question] We have just been talking about elements which do favor our country. Please explain these factors to us which are favorably affecting Yugoslavia's economic relations with foreign countries.

[Answer] Petroleum is our most important import, and its price this year is considerably lower than last year on the average. The value of the American dollar has fallen considerably, there are prospects for it to fall still further, and on the whole interest rates on the international financial market will be lower than last year. A major portion of the Yugoslav debt is denominated in dollars, and exports are up to countries with other currencies, and for that reason--assuming that other conditions remain unchanged--there ought to be a decrease in the size of our debt by roughly \$150 million. To be sure, because of the unpredictability of relations between currencies, it is difficult to obtain a reliable estimate of how much Yugoslavia will gain on that basis.

Most of the petroleum, 5.5 million tons, is being purchased in the Soviet Union, and this year the price will probably be in line with the commitment

that it should by and large correspond to the world price. The foreign exchange benefit from that would be rather sizable, but it must be borne in mind that last year a certain surplus in our favor was already recorded in exchange between the two countries, which in principle is not good in barter trade. This year's trade will depend on how much imports of other products from the USSR can be increased and on whether Yugoslav exports have to be cut back because of the decrease in the billed value of the petroleum which will be imported. The essential thing is to make a study in Yugoslavia of what it is in the country's interest to export and then to negotiate with the Soviet Union along those lines. A possible reduction of trade with that trading partner ought not to be bad in and of itself insofar as the goods would go to other markets or to the domestic market. But at this point the prospects are not good for either alternative.

Refusal To Accept Fate

The remainder of the 5.3 million tons of petroleum will be purchased in the developing countries which are petroleum exporters, but those imports will also be tied by and large to capital investment projects in those countries. It is well known that some of them are not always able to meet their obligations to Yugoslavia even at the high price of \$28. Since most of the capital investment projects of our construction organizations are located in the petroleum-exporting countries, it is clear that their value will be reduced in corresponding proportion. This is a serious problem for our country, since contracts to work on capital investment projects cannot be obtained easily and quickly in other countries, and the greatly diminished investment activity in Yugoslavia is not favorable in that situation either.

For all the reasons mentioned and also because of the likelihood that the price of petroleum will be rising next year, and since reserves are at a very low level, I feel that there is good reason for Yugoslavia to commit itself to increasing petroleum imports and purchasing several million tons more than was planned. This would cover visible exports and work on capital investment projects in the countries exporting that petroleum. This is also necessary because of rapid reorientation toward larger exports to the markets of other countries, above all the more advanced countries. Another question is whether Yugoslavia should reconcile itself to the drop in the share of its products and work on capital investment projects in the petroleum-exporting countries when a rise in the price of that raw material is reliably anticipated in about 1990.

[Question] Aside from the situation with petroleum, what are the other pluses and minuses for Yugoslavia on the world market for 1986?

[Answer] In order to offset the possible drop of exports of goods and services to the countries from which we import petroleum deliveries ought to be increased to other countries, that is, to the advanced countries of the West and to the developing countries which are not petroleum exporters. Unfortunately, this is difficult to do because of several limiting factors. Here are the most important ones.

Aside from the external and other factors which I have mentioned, there are some others I would refer to. According to the results of a survey conducted by the Foreign Trade Institute, even at the end of last year exporters had income 14 percent smaller, and in the case of the convertible area all of 23 percent smaller, than in the case of sales on the domestic market, which is a consequence of the reduced export prices and delays in adjusting the exchange rate. There was also a drop in the preferences given to exporters, and domestic prices rose considerably. All of this has been constantly diminishing the motivation to export, since some producers could obtain prices on the domestic market 30 to 40 percent higher than export prices. This gap in prices was larger than the change of the exchange rate of the dinar on the basis of the "market basket of currencies," so that even the motivation to export is dropping steadily, especially when it comes to exports to the dollar area. Over the last 3-4 months the value of the dollar has been slightly adjusted against the dinar, but the cumulative growth of prices within the country has exceeded 30 percent over that time. Also, from the time an export transaction is concluded until collection of the foreign exchange so much time passes that the exporter assumes that inflation within the country will detract from the benefits of the export, and it is not certain that the exchange rate will keep up with the rise of prices. Finally, he is never certain either what sort of preferences and incentives for export will be available, and all in all this acts upon him as a disincentive concerning exports, and it encourages him to sell on the domestic market.

Intolerable Passivity of the Government Administrations Has Made the Position of Exporters More Difficult

[Question] Is it still possible somehow to help the economy and thereby promote a fattening of the country's holdings of foreign exchange?

[Answer] In the first 3 months the federal and republic administrations remained intolerably passive, showing extreme irresponsibility, and they did almost nothing to undertake anything in the possible arsenal of incentives. Only at the beginning of April was something planned and initiated, but the question is whether anything will be adopted by the end of the year and what that might be. It is very likely that a positive impact cannot be anticipated in the next several months. Interest rates on everything, including credits for preparation of export transactions, have risen once again and are at a level which does not augment in the least the interest of producers, and this has to have an impact on exports.

[Question] And the new laws regulating foreign economic relations, the foreign exchange law first of all, what have they brought, to whom, and how?

[Answer] The foreign exchange law eliminated the exports which caused losses which earlier were offset by "scalping." The possibility of replacing that source of income by the purchase of foreign currencies on the market and the stimulation of exporters who do not lose has not been realized because there was not enough foreign exchange on the foreign exchange market, but only enough for the most necessary needs related to obligations arising out of the debts. We have heard in the statement made by the governor of the National

Bank that in the first 3 months of this year Yugoslavia paid \$1.7 billion of debt abroad. The question is whether the government could do anything to postpone a portion of those obligations so that more foreign exchange would be left on the market to import equipment and production supplies. Only thanks to letters of credit from the end of last year has there been a tolerable amount of raw materials and supplies in production, but the situation is deteriorating in this regard. Under those conditions how is production for the domestic market and for export to be maintained?

Incidentally, from the conceptual standpoint our foreign exchange law is superior to the previous one, but because exporters have become accustomed to dispose of a portion of foreign exchange, the impression has been created in a portion of the economy that foreign exchange has been "taken away," since it has not been available on the market. Which accounts for the belief and assertions heard in some places that the previous law was better than the new one. All of this is working against more strenuous efforts to export. In addition, the actual implementation of the new laws was done in a race against time, so that all the best solutions were not found. For example, the regulations give the same treatment to exports to the East European countries with which we have convertible settlement as to other countries with convertible currency, and so on.

In the second half of the year we can also anticipate an adverse impact from application of the criteria as to who can engage in exporting and importing.

The Competitiveness of the Offering Depends on Several Factors

[Question] You often speak about the competitiveness of Yugoslav exports on international markets. Where are we now in this regard?

[Answer] For years Yugoslavia has been stimulating exports exclusively with adjustments of the exchange rate and certain ever smaller export premiums, but nothing has been undertaken to increase competitiveness on economically sound foundations. Much the same is also true of the measures which are being taken now. It should, however, be said that the depreciation of the national currency is a kind of doping which only temporarily increases the power of the economic organization, and if nothing else is undertaken, the lasting effects become unfavorable. It seems to me that our economy is already in a phase of attempting to offset the rise of prices in the country through depreciation of the national currency in order to increase competitiveness on foreign markets. In other countries that is by and large not the way it is done.

In recent years a relatively high growth of production has been achieved in all three groupings of countries in the world, and especially in the newly industrialized countries of which Yugoslavia is one, while in our own country there has been almost no growth. The gap has widened between Yugoslavia, the advanced countries of the West, and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, while the level of development has dropped relative to the developing countries. There are a number of reasons why this places the Yugoslav economy in an unfavorable position with respect to competitiveness. Likewise, in many countries the productivity of labor has been rising for years, while in

Yugoslavia it has been dropping, and this has an inevitable impact on the costs of labor and competitiveness on the market.

Over the last 6 years our country has considerably reduced imports of equipment and know-how, and this has affected product quality and the level of productivity relative to the advanced and the newly industrialized countries. This makes prospects more difficult for reducing the gap in productivity quality and competitiveness in coming years. Product quality depends on the level of development, and competitiveness depends both on the richness of the offering of products and services, design, delivery dates, sales terms, credit financing, and a number of other nonprice factors. All of this has an impact on exports, especially exports to the industrially advanced countries. This will also continue this year, when, as I have said, after a number of unfavorable circumstances, some external circumstances have emerged which have been rather favorable, as we said at the beginning. What advantage Yugoslavia will take of them in order to prevent our situation from deteriorating further depends on the kind of economic measures that are adopted and the kind of conditions for exports that are created in the country. Unfortunately, everything possible and necessary has not so far been done in this area, and there is a real danger that exports would even drop off, which would bring about a still greater crisis.

[Box, left]

To speak about petroleum, we planned imports of 10.8 million tons. Last year we paid an average of \$227.50 per ton, and if we assume that this year the average price will be \$10-15 less per barrel, the reduction of our outlays could be between \$700 and \$1,050 million. At first this seems very favorable, since the foreign exchange saved in that way could be used to import equipment, production supplies, know-how, consumer goods, above all those things that fall under what is referred to as intervention imports. However, the way in which Yugoslavia purchases petroleum means that the benefits will be considerably more modest.

[Box, right]

Last year output dropped off 7 percent in Yugoslav agriculture, while world production increased. Domestic prices of agricultural products, however, rose considerably, though in the rest of the world there was a stagnation at a low level. It is therefore not very likely that exports of these products will remain at last year's level, and we must anticipate even adverse results because of the barriers we are already aware of following the radiation resulting from the accident at the Soviet power plant. It should also be borne in mind that most of the exports in the first months of this year were based on last year's contracts and that the conclusion of contracts this year has been unsatisfactory. It is realistic to anticipate, then, that the level of exports in coming months will be less than over the same time of last year.

7045

CSO: 2800/253

17 June 1986

MILITARY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PENETRATION INCREASE BY HE ANTITANK SHELLS SOUGHT

Prague ATOM in Czech No 4, 1986 pp 10-11

[Article by Major Eng Jan Komenda, CSc and Major Eng Stanislav Beer, CSc:
"Increasing the Effects of Shaped-charge Shells"]

[Text] From the moment that the first tank appeared on the battlefield, the historical duel began between armor and the shell intended to destroy it. This dialectic combat, which takes place on an entirely distinct qualitative and quantitative level, is also characteristic for the current stage of development of military equipment.

As a result of improvements in the passive defense properties of the tanks, the demands on the anti-tank artillery shells designed to destroy them also grew. In the group of anti-tank shells, since World War II shaped-charge (incorrectly called burn-penetrating) shells have occupied an important place, having the following advantages over impact-penetrating shells:

--penetrating effects independent of the speed at which the shell strikes the target,

--an ability to penetrate armor even when striking the target at very oblique angles, at which the common types of impact-penetrating shells bounce off,

--greater penetrating effects on homogeneous armor.

A disadvantage of shaped-charge shells is the relatively easy protection gained against their effects by setting up barriers and the marked dependence of the penetrating effect on the angular speed of rotational movement of the shaped charge.

The effect of a shaped-charge shell on the target cannot be evaluated simply by the depth of penetration of the armor by the shaped charge jet. A no less important point is also the destructive effect of the shell beyond the armor in the combat area of the armored environment. From this standpoint, modern shaped-charged shells are considered somewhat worse in comparison with impact-penetrating shells in regard to their lower secondary fragmentation effect. On the other hand, they have a better incendiary effect and a considerable overpressure effect.

The increased effect of shaped-charge shells is in practice achieved principally by an improved shape to the shaped charge, the selection of suitable materials and shape for the shaping insert, the use of more effective explosives and detonators, and improved design of the shell as a whole.

Modern technical means of measuring rapidly occurring events make it possible to study more closely the phenomena associated with the formation of a shaped-charge jet and its effect on armor. The shape of the cavity in the charge has considerable influence on the formation of the shaped-charge jet. The most diffuse are shaped-charge shells with a conical-shaped cavity with an apex angle of about 40° (Fig. 1). From extensive testing, it has further been demonstrated that the thickness of the walls of the shaped-charge insert also has an influence on the penetration effect, with the best being an arrangement with varying wall thickness. Another possibility for increasing the shaped-charge effect is brought about by other geometrical shapes of the inserts, for example, various rotational paraboloids and hyperboloids which can be broken along the perimeter. From the production standpoint, such inserts are demanding in the maintenance of very small production deviations and maintenance of the geometric shape, that is, the parameters which determine the dispersion of the penetration values.

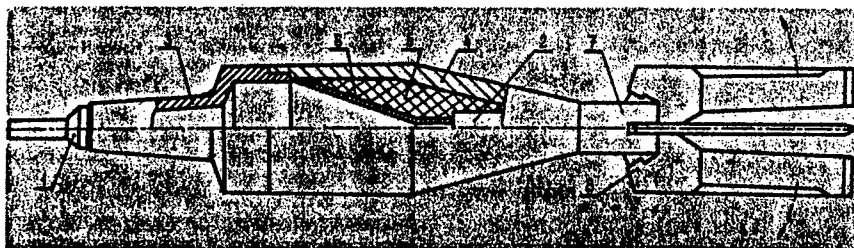


Figure 1. Pointed shaped-charge for smoothbore cannon. 1. Fuse head, 2. Base portion of fuse, 3. Spacer, 4. Body of shell, 5. Shaped charge, 6. Shaped-charge insert, 7. Stabilizer mount, 8. Fold-out fins

The penetration effect is substantially dependent on the material of the insert of the shaped-charge cavity. The first models of shaped-charge shells had inserts of copper, zinc, or steel. Currently there has been a change over to alloys of copper and arsenides, copper and titanium, and low-carbon steel and titanium. These special alloys are also used as the insert material for shaped-charge shells designed to defeat layered armors.

The speed of the shaped-charge jet is likewise affected by the properties of the explosive used, especially its detonation speed. For these reasons, to produce shaped-charges, highly explosive substances such as hexogen, pentrit, and octogen, whose detonation speed ranges from 7,000 to 9,000 meters per second⁻¹, are used.

A separate question in increasing the shaped-charge effect is also a suitable formation of the front of the detonation wave by the use of so-called shadow inserts. With shaped charges without shadowing, the detonation wave expands in spherical wave surfaces from the point of initiation in the direction of the shaped-charge insert. Thus the wave created hits the insert at less than a certain relatively small angle and warps it. From the standpoint of collapsing the insert and accelerating its particles, it is better if the detonation wave strikes it perpendicularly. This can be accomplished by the use of shadow inserts of an inert material which are located between the detonator and the apex of the shaped-charge insert. With this arrangement, the detonation wave expands through the explosive along the perimeter of the shadow insert and hits the shaped-charge insert at a greater and, from the standpoint of its effect on the target, more favorable angle (Fig. 2).

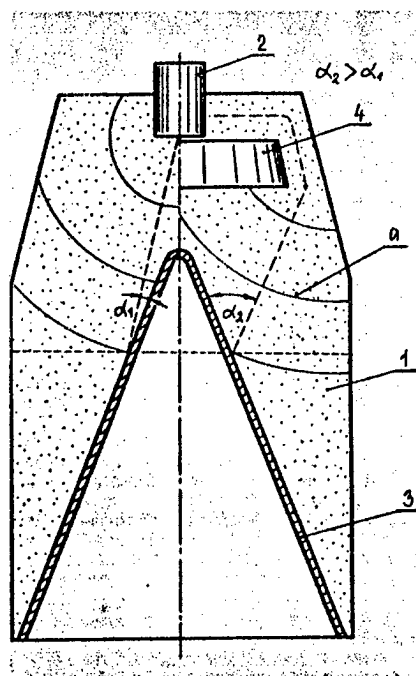


Figure 2. Expansion of the front of the detonation wave through the explosive in a shaped charge without modification (at left) and with a shadow insert (at right). 1. Explosive, 2. Detonator, 3. Shaped-charge insert, 4. Shadow insert, a. Spherical wave surface

Considerable attention is given to increasing the level of technology and the precision of production and finishing shells, since every nonhomogeneity in the crystallization structure of the materials of the inserts and the explosive, deviation from the geometric dimensions, or violation of the axial symmetry of the components in assembling the shell leads to a great reduction in the penetration capabilities. The shaped-charge effect can also be increased by creating a subpressure in the space of the shaped-charge cavity, since the air found in the cavity presents considerable resistance to the movement of the shaped-charge jet and thus reduces its speed.

The penetration capability of a shaped-charge shell is determined also by the type of fuse used, principally the instantaneous nature of it. For this reason, the mechanical fuses used previously have been replaced by piezoelectric fuses, which have the further advantage of reliable functioning even when the shell strikes the armor at an oblique angle. These fuses are designed as combination ones with the head portion containing a piezoceramic cell (Fig. 3) and the base portion have an electric detonator and safety elements. The electrical circuit is made up of the metal parts of the construction of the shell itself. When it strikes the armor, the electrical charge created by the piezo cell is passed to the detonator which forms the pyrotechnic impulse, which after reinforcement is used to set off the explosive charge of the shell.

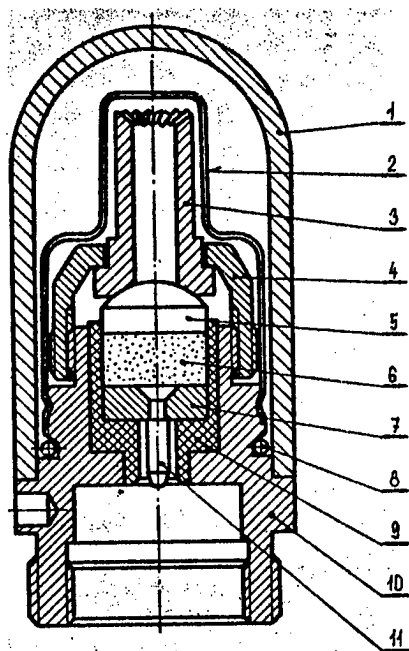


Figure 3. Fuse head of a shaped-charge shell with a piezo cell.

1. Protective cover, 2. Cover, 3. Striker, 4. Holder, 5. Segment with spherical head, 6. Piezo cell, 7. Guiding base, 8. Ring, 9. Insulating insert, 10. Body of fuse, 11. Pin for connecting fuse head with the internal electrical circuit of the shell

As was already stated at the beginning, the penetration effect is greatly dependent on the angular speed of rotation of the shaped charge at the

moment of detonation. When the charge is rotated about its transverse axis, the influence of centrifugal forces result in an increase in the cross-section of the shaped-charge jet and thus also to a reduction in its density. The affect of shell rotation on its penetration capabilities is apparent in Figure 4. With shaped-charge shells, therefore, the use of gyroscopic stabilization in the flight path is limited, since the angular speed necessary for stabilization of the shell reduces the penetration effect by up to 60 percent. For these reasons, shaped-charge shells are predominately designed as nonrotational with fin stabilization. This type of stabilization is used to advantage in smoothbore weapons and likewise for antitank guided missiles and handheld antitank weapons. In the case of firing from rifled barrels, which predominate at this time in artillery, the rotation is avoided by special design modifications.

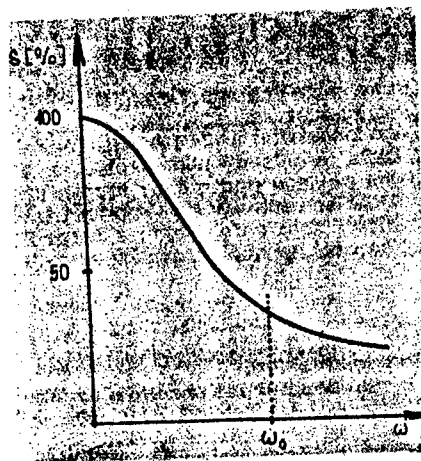


Figure 4. Dependence of the penetration effect S on the angular rotation of the shaped charge ω , ω_0 —minimal angular speed which ensures stability of the shell

One of the possibilities is avoiding the rotation of the entire shaped-charge shell by the use of so-called "floating" guide rings located in a ring which rotates freely in the body of the shell and substantially acts as a bearing (Fig. 5).

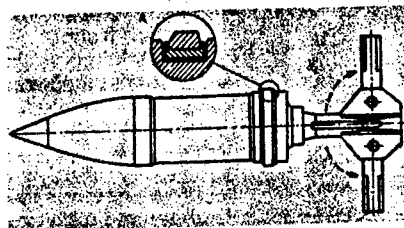


Figure 5. Fin-stabilized shaped-charge shell with floating guide ring fired from a smoothbore barrel. A. Detail of the floating ring

An unusual design solution is used in the shaped-charge shell in Figure 6, which is gyroscopically stabilized in its flight path.

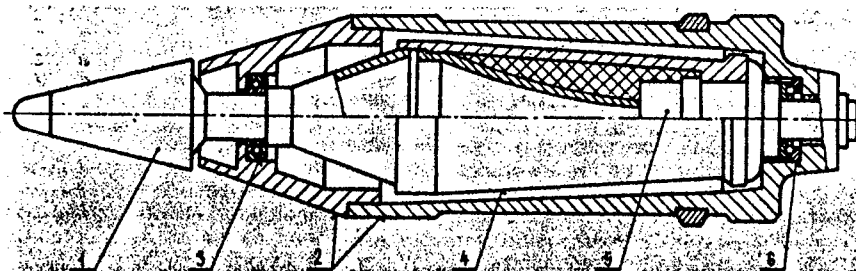


Figure 6. Rotation stabilized shaped-charge shell. 1. Fuse head, 2. Rotating shell body, 3. Radial ring bearing, 4. Nonrotating part of the shell with shaped charge, 5. Base portion of fuse, 6. Axial ring bearing

The actual shaped charge is rotationally placed in the ring bearings in the rotating cover of the shell. In firing, the movement in the rifling causes rotation only in the heavy external cover of the shell, which provides stabilization of the shell on its flight path. The light internal portion of the shell with the shaped charge and the fuse rotates with only a low angular speed which does not affect the effect on the target. A disadvantage of this design is the somewhat lower effect resulting from the smaller diameter of the shaped charge in comparison with the shell caliber (the penetration capability of homogeneous steel armor does not exceed 3.5 calibers).

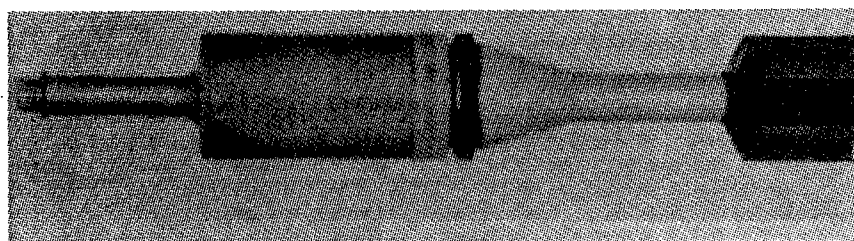


Figure 7. A fin-stabilized shaped-charge fragmentation shell for a tank cannon

The requirement for fulfilling various types of fire missions with the smallest possible assortment of ammunition was the impetus for the development of the shaped-charge fragmentation shells. An increase in the splinter

effect of these shells is achieved by the creation of special grooves in the shell body or locating shaped splinters on the perimeter of the shaped charge. The splinter effect of this shell is comparable with the effect of a fragmentation shell of the same caliber of conventional design, which makes it possible to reduce the number of types of ammunition for the weapons.

The introduction of new, more resistant types of armor in any case does not mean the decline of shaped-charge shells. For weapons of higher ballistic performance designed to destroy heavily armored targets by direct fire, we can expect a gradual transition over to more effective types, such as sub-caliber shells, whose advantage is not only a higher destructive effect on the target, especially against layered armor, but also a higher effective range and a more favorable probability of hitting the target.

In combatting heavily armored targets, shaped-charge shells will continue to have an irreplaceable role in the design of handheld antitank weapons (rocket launchers) and antitank guided missiles. Shaped-charge shells will have a new, broad application in the destruction of armored targets by indirect fire as well through the use of cannister munitions and terminally guided shells.

6285/12859

CSO: 2400/266

MILITARY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW AV-15 SPECIAL VEHICLE TRUCK PROFILED

Prague ATOM in Czech No 4, 1986 p 25

[Article by Maj Eng Pavel Braun and Maj Eng Miroslav Vala: "The New AV-15 Recovery Vehicle"]

[Text] In the pages of the magazine ATOM you have been able to get acquainted with the design of this new type series of trucks in the series "Getting to Know the T-815 Truck." In the initial article we stated that the chassis of this high-quality type will be used for a whole series of special configurations. One of these is the variant which, together with the T-815 chassis, makes up the AV-15 special vehicle. In future articles we will familiarize you with the basic data on this vehicle, its mission, and the entire configuration, including the basic data on differences in the chassis and superstructure of this AV-15 truck. The AV-15 recovery vehicle with its crane and winch is a special vehicle for recovering and towing equipment and for special work in difficult conditions. It replaces and supplements the AV-8 vehicle used up until now. However, the AV-15 greatly exceeds the capabilities of the previous type in its quality, design, and capabilities.

The vehicle is capable of operating on all types of roads and off roads and is equipped with a whole series of accessories and special-purpose equipment which include the winch with an auxiliary winch and supplemental equipment, welding and cutting equipment, towing and securing means, means of communications, sets of reserve parts, protective material reducing radioactive radiation, and general-purpose and special equipment for recovery and removal of vehicles. Electric heating and ventilation of the crane cabin, a bulldozer blade, a level for indicating the vehicle tilt, and other accessories and special-purpose equipment are included along with those features found on the T-815 VT 8 x 8 model, that is, hoisting equipment for towing, a system of centralized tire inflation, tip-up equipment for the driver's cab, equipment for driving with suspended semi-axles, equipment for connecting in an over-pressure brake system, oil heating, deactivation equipment, ventilation filter equipment, equipment facilitating starting the engine in the winter, and night vision instruments.

The AV-15 crew consists of two persons, a commander and a driver. The AV-15 vehicle is assigned (including its equipment, accessories, and special-purpose equipment) to recovering stuck and wrecked vehicles, lifting and moving loads, assembly and disassembly work, transporting loads hung on the end of the boom (including tank turrets), welding and cutting using an electric arc,

necessary terrain modification, and removal of damaged vehicles, that is, by towing on bars (or cables) or suspending the front (or rear) part of the damaged vehicle on the boom.

Basic Tactical-Technical Data

a) Basic dimensions

Length	12,300 mm
Height	3,360 mm
Width (including bulldozer blade)	2,570 mm
Clearance	320 mm
Permissible angle of driving:	
forward (with blade)	18°
backward	29°
Wheelbase of axles	1650-2 870-1 450 mm
Separation of wheels:	
front	1,996 mm
rear	1,940 mm

b) Weight and capacity

Ready weight	30,000 kg
Greatest attached weight:	
on the road	65,000 kg
off the road	15,000 kg

c) Further information on the vehicle

Lowest speed	1.7 kmh ⁻¹
Greatest speed of independent vehicle	70 kmh ⁻¹
Allowable tilt of vehicle to the side	20°
Internal track diameter of turning	24 ± 0.5 m
Climbing ability	360 mm
Trench crossing ability	1,600 mm
Fording ability	1,300 mm
Greatest speed while towing equipment with an articulating rod along roads with a connected weight of:	
up to 16,000 kg	60 kmh ⁻¹
up to 22,000 kg	30 kmh ⁻¹
Greatest speed while towing equipment with a solid rod along roads up to a connected weight of 30,000 kg and a vehicle with trailer up to a weight of 65,000 kg	50 kmh ⁻¹
Greatest weight when removing a vehicle using the crane boom	6,500 kg
and greatest speed with this load:	
on the road	10 kmh ⁻¹
off the road	5 kmh ⁻¹
Least extension of the crane	2 m
Greatest extension of the crane with:	
basic boom	7.7 m
rotating extension piece	11.4 m

Clear extension of the crane with rotating extension piece beyond the bulldozer blade	3.8 m
Allowable tilt of chassis when working with the crane on support jacks and tires	5°
on basic boom, on support jacks, extended 3 m	15,000 kg
with extension piece, on support jacks, at the greatest extension	4,000 kg
Greatest pulling power of winch in first gear speed: with direct pulling:	
to the rear	147 kN
to the front	139 kN
using one pulley:	
to the rear	290 kN
to the front	270 kN
using two pulleys:	
to the rear	422 kN
to the front	394 kN
Length of winch cable	150 m
Pulling power of auxiliary winch	6.85 kN
Length of cable on auxiliary winch	320 m
Tire pressure:	
independent vehicle, front and rear	500 kPa
in working with crane and towing hoisted vehicles: front	500 kPa
rear	700 kPa
Fuel tank capacity	480 l
Range	800-1000 km
Electrical equipment voltage	24 V
Live pole	negative



The AV-15 recovery truck

6285/12859
CSO: 2400/266

POLITICS

HUNGARY

NEW TV NEWS CHIEF INTERVIEWED ON FORMAT, CONTENT CHANGES

Budapest RADIO ES TELEVIZIO UJSAG in Hungarian No 13 31 Mar-6 Apr 86 p 2

[Interview with Endre Aczel, manager of the editorial offices of TV-HIRADO
By Laszlo Parkany: "News About the Newsman"]

[Text] Endre Aczel has been managing the editorial offices of TV-HIRADO [TV-Newsreel] for barely 3 months. Earlier he was MTI's [Hungarian Telegraph Agency] London correspondent but he also often "appeared" on our television screens, since no foreign policy Forum took place without an analyst's collaboration and during the course of the daily events he stood out with his calm newscasts when something suitable for camera or microphone happened in the island kingdom. Significant changes can already be noted in this country's highly respected "daily"; this has been observed not only by the professionals but also by the everyday TV viewers. The dynamism, the decrease in the number of protocol-presentations, and a whole series of more concise but at the same time also more enjoyable, livelier reports are sure signs of this rejuvenation. And the special edition reporting on and interpreting of the SZKP's [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] 17th congress was a surprise even in the diversified history of television to date; through its attractive presentation it lifted the significant political event to a matter of national interest.

We talked with the managing editor about the additional tasks of the changeover.

[Question] Compared with the newsreels of the neighboring countries, what grade can be given to the newsreels of the Hungarian Television? Does their rank or the stories about them increase their fame?

[Answer] In my opinion it is difficult if not impossible to compare the "national" newsreels. Further: the comparison does not produce a ranking. The newsreel must be liked in the national cultural circle into which it is broadcast. That is where it has to function as a mirror. If it fulfills this calling, fine. If not, it must be improved. But to replace it with another national newsreel--this is not possible. Never--I am convinced: never--will a Hungarian viewer face the alternative of watching "his own" newsreel or choosing one from the neighboring countries. This may happen on specific days, but not as general practice.

[Question] Does our newsreel have a national character? Do we know something which is characteristic only to us, Hungarians?

[Answer] I guess just as much as most of the others, that is, in the sense that the word refers to content. As far as format is concerned I favor the internationalism of newsreels, meaning that if something is good somewhere else--no matter where--if something has already been invented once, it must be adopted without a second thought.

[Question] Are you satisfied with the characteristics of the three editions? Are there any telltale signs which differentiate from each other the editions aired at various times?

[Answer] I am not satisfied at all. The second and third editions in terms of time run exactly as long, consume exactly the same number of minutes of broadcasting as the first one, but their combined viewership is less than one-tenth of the latter. This is not justified from the point of view of lifestyle and timing. Consequently these two editions require basic reforms. We are working on it. For example, I would like to see instead of the second edition on the second station a newscast of, let's say 15 minutes, to start the day's program, and late in the evening instead of the third edition a feature of, let's say 35-40 minutes, with more analysis.

[Question] The richness and quality of the foreign political reports offered is much more convincing than that of the domestic reports. Can the level of domestic political reporting catch up to the foreign political level?

[Answer] Actually our foreign political reports are not reports but film presentations; we do not produce them ourselves--we take them from the offerings of the international news exchange. What follows from this? Generally, that their quality today as well as in the future is and will be independent of us--at most, we can reshape their texts. We cannot even influence the selection of topics, since here again we are at the mercy of the large news exchange organizations and of the (film) news services. Therefore the domestic political reporting cannot be compared in quality with the worldwide political film reporting. Even so I understand and this is not the first time I've heard the concerns and even grumblings concerning the presentation and interpretation of domestic matters. I agree with some of them--especially with those which mention the "frog's perspective" view of our domestic matters. But I will state one thing: the Newsreel is an informative program and as such it has inherent limitations. It is unable to get deeply into topics of public interest; rather, it just indicates their existence and also indicates the abilities and capabilities--or perhaps the lack of these--to answer the questions unequivocally. Further, it is unable--and will remain so--to dispense justice from its own podium; if you'll allow me, I will emphasize especially that I do not favor this type of behavior.

[Question] How can well-founded criticism serving a good cause be accommodated within the time and artistic format limitations of the TV-Newsreel?

[Answer] It is a basic principle of information policy that criticism serving a good cause must be given space. But there are also footnotes to this. The Newsreel should show as well as it can--primarily by pictorial means--the problematic topics and contradictions and if possible, should let all interested parties speak up; it must never forget to hear the "other party". And last but not least: the informational programs are not podiums for criticism, because this is not what our "license" is issued for.

[Question] The Newsreel's cultural information seems tentative.

[Answer] There is practically a total absence of cultural policy--establishing one can not wait much longer. Here we have ideas about both organization and content. But everything can not be done at the same time... Anyway, it is easier to create than to eliminate. If the viewers find that it was right to eliminate certain things I am glad of it, but this is still not a resounding accomplishment.

[Question] The viewer is still dissatisfied with the ratio between reports from the capital city and those from the districts. Can a change be expected?

[Answer] Its point of origin does not determine the quality of the report, interview, etc. But it follows from the anomalies of Hungarian settlement developments that one-fifth of the country's population lives in Budapest, all national affairs are handled here, and public opinion and the atmosphere are basically shaped here. In other words the capital city is really big; Budapest-centeredness does not need to be invented, it exists even without that. At the same time--at least as far as I am concerned--it is completely immaterial whether a study or lecture on national economics, on economic policy or on culture is presented in the format of the capital city or in that of the provinces--both are equally Hungary. And finally I agree that we must pay attention to the achievements, virtues and interesting aspects of the provinces, otherwise we cannot be representative and, of course, we also cannot provide the service whose source is the requirement of being the "country's newsreel". Actually, there is also boorishness in Budapest...

[Question] What is your opinion of the newsreel's editors and reporters? Does their preparedness and the accuracy, authenticity and sincerity of their words improve the quality of the institution itself and within this, of the narrower place of work?

[Answer] I don't think it is proper for me to give an opinion about by fellow workers after [only] three months have passed. It may be that I will not find this proper after a year and a half, either.

[Question] Many people feel that the television--due to its effect and popularity--is not always suitable to openly saying certain truths. Therefore talking beside the point covers up the essence. It is also seen at times that the person giving the interview very often "makes a statement,"

and what is even worse, "makes a declaration." The TV-Newsreel's reporters meet with this kind of thing daily. What guarantees do you see that such behavior can be overcome?

[Answer] I am in the fortunate situation that I could supply good examples for "talking back". We have reporters--even if not all of them are like that--who quickly sense the traps: they ask more questions or have the obviously "deaf-eared" replies re-told, and thus the subjects may even become ridiculous--without us expressing any kind of an opinion.

[Question] The ethics of the newsreel's questioning was often disputed. The reporters--sensing the weight and respect of the institution behind them--are often overbearing, their questions have an edge of inquisition. It appears from the reports that certain reporters want to score a victory over their debate partners rather than convince them.

[Answer] There are some like that. What is my opinion about it? The same as what the question suggests with its negative edge. By the way, the reporter has no license to convince his partner in a discussion. Under no circumstances in a broadcast. If he can do it prior to the shooting, we note it as a virtue of his.

[Question] Questioning has not only its ethical but also its aesthetic aspects. This includes the tone of voice, the elegant, sensible, goal-oriented wording, choosing the tools which impact on the feelings or the intellect, the use of pauses, "deployment" of the proper humor and irony.

[Answer] Elegant and sensible wording, aesthetic questioning are virtues that not everyone has. Actually I am sorry that they are not being taught. I certainly do not reserve for myself the right to perform this type of training. Perhaps I could organize it in time. But I do not consider the problem a serious one.

[Question] The newsreel can do very much to improve the quality of people. Examples, good and bad deeds abound before its cameras and microphones. The dilemmas of selection are at the same time daily lessons of the conscience.

[Answer] I would like it if the Newsreel could contribute to what I would gladly call our great national cause: encouraging the individual acceptance of responsibility. In this slightly wicked world one can not get anywhere without the willingness to act, to improve.

[Question] Artistic diversity is one of the tools that helps process the flood of information. The newsreel moves on a very rich scale, but I feel it still has some reserves.

[Answer] It feels good to hear appreciation. And it is easy to agree that the Newsreel still has reserves. It will always have some. This is not a system that can be exhausted. By the way, I would like it if the rejuvenating momentum of my fellow workers did not die down in a few

weeks or months. However, I don't know it, in addition giving them moral support, we will also be able to financially encourage this passion in them.

[Question] Presumably renewal of the content--in which, among other things, changing the entire system of managing the program will have a big role--will be followed by changes in form. For example, the musical signal with its insistent character will be replaced by an inviting sign-on with a softer tone. Perhaps the graphic solutions will also become richer, and certainly the letter types of the subtitles will orient one better, and errors in names and misspellings will become less frequent.

[Answer] We are working on very many new graphic solutions. By the time this interview is published, it is possible that the viewer will already have seen some of them. The reader has probably noticed that I have consistently been talking about the Newsreel. This indicates a change in title. The TV-Newsreel appeared on the scene at a time when it still had to be distinguished from the movie newsreel.

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POLITICS

POLAND

NEW RELIGIOUS EDUCATION PROGRAM PROVOKES DISCUSSION

Catholic Paper Describes Program

Czestochowa NIEDZIELA in Polish No 14, 6 Apr 86 p 8

[Article by Julisz Jan Braun: "The Next Stage of the Experiment"]

[Text] My 15 year old son Marcin has for eight years served the department of education as a guinea pig; his class is the first included in the reform of school curriculums, associated for years with an already abandoned concept--the 10-year course. The next school year begins a new stage of experiments; curriculum reform will enter the secondary school. We already know that its first measurable effect will be an increase in the number of class hours, which in many cases will lead in practice to the elimination of free Saturdays. The greater number of classes is in part the result of introducing new subjects. Particular interest, understandably, is being aroused by a total novelty in the curriculum, "Issues in religious studies." The extensive, complex and difficult program (by its own authors' definition) includes 22 topics which will be dealt with over 60 class hours.

Among the instructional objectives specified in the program there are some that one can only applaud (i.e., improving culture and the level of humanistic education or shaping a humanistic, broadminded and sympathetic attitude in relation to people who had different philosophical convictions) and there is also completely inexplicable wording (i.e., shaping civic awareness in comprehension of the religious policy of the socialist state). There are also objectives that smack of bias (here an example might be interpreting the consistency of the emergence, development and "decay" of religion as a social and historical phenomenon). The distrust that this kind of statement must arouse intensifies when in the Comments on the Execution of the Program we find the statement that frequent treatment of religion as "sacred" can cause difficulties for the teacher. In connection with which there exists a reluctance to adopt material that undermines its credibility. This would be a very dangerous tendency for many reasons. For the school itself it would mean deepening the conflict between "the school" and "the home."

The program content of Issues in Religious Studies is classified into four headings: Religion as a social phenomenon; religions of the modern world; religious feeling, churches and religious policy in the PRL and philosophical

questions. In the most extensive heading, comprising 34 class hours, the presentation of the major religions of the modern world includes, in order, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Shintoism and trical-ancestral religions. A survey of this kind is undoubtedly valuable and broadens one's intellectual horizons. But the sequence evokes doubts of a methodological nature. For why is Christianity, along with the characteristics of the New Testament, discussed first and Judaism and the Old Testament (the program identifies the Bible only with the Old Testament) afterwards?

It is difficult to analyze the program's individual parts or even its overall concept. A program of classes in religious studies, as one containing issues that acutely interest a major part of society, should be a subject for public discussion by specialists, parents and teachers. But at the very start it is necessary to note that besides the parts stated in an "objective" or "neutral" tone, there are others that are flagrantly biased. The designers of the program seems, at certain times, to abandon reference to a variety of views on behalf of promulgating atheism. An example of such a framework could be the union on "religious" needs as a distortion of man's natural needs, discussed within the framework of individual religious feeling. In another place, in the context of the question on the subject of secularization, which in the program is treated as an objective process, there is the entry, elements of social life conducive to stimulating religious feeling and various forms of irrationalism. Can one really place an equal sign between religious feeling and various forms of irrationalism. Probably not, and this is confirmed if only by reading the secular press which, in maintaining its reserve and critical judgment toward religion, propagates with boundless enthusiasm information about "restorative cosmic rays" that one can capture in one's palm, etc.

Many reservations arise in reading the topics from the realm of the history of Christianity. Can one, for example, really call the communities in Qumran pre-Christian Christianity? And moving into more recent times, is defining the encyclicals "Rerum Novarum" and "Quadragesimo Anno" as attempts to adapt Catholicism to capitalist social conditions objective and honest? Relations between the state and Catholic church in Poland are treated extensively. The program distinguishes several periods here. The first, from 1944 to 1949, involves initial religious reforms of a general democratic nature and the struggle against political clericalism. Could that be all? The second period, from 1949 to 1956, according to the program designers, was striving for secularization of public life and political neutralization of the church. Here there is not point in protesting because these were the times when primate Wyszynski was imprisoned, when the trial of Bishop Kaczmarek was staged and many bishops were removed from their dioceses.

Philosophical issues are such a delicate that they are impossible to resolve authoritatively. The program takes note of this, proposing the unit on disputes surrounding philosophical studies. Such an expression is acceptable by anyone. But what of it, if in the next sentence we read the next topic--Marxists philosophy, the basis of scientific philosophy. Five classroom hours are set aside for discussion of major plains of philosophical confrontations. Issues such as philosophical interpretations of the achievements of modern cosmology can be the subject of interesting discussion (provided its

participants have an appropriate store of knowledge). But the reality in the school depends on practical execution of these units, and this is determined by the entire structure of the program, which leaves no room for discussion and doubt, by emphasizing in several places the scientific nature of just one, the Marxist, philosophy.

The lack of objectivity and the bias in presenting the program contents can sometimes turn up in minor but telling differences in expressions. When the topic is the Catholic church in Poland, the program uses the words the propriety of Polish Catholicism and its role in public life. But in another place we find the phrase fundamental values of Marxist philosophy.

For the time being there is no textbook for students in religious studies classes, nor any analysis for teachers. Thus the weight of the program's proposed reading list is remarkable. The 36 books named in the reading list are entries meant above for teachers, but the program also notes the need for reading of appropriate material and working out opinions based on it by students. Especially striking is what is not on the reading list. Although there is talk about the Old and New Testaments in the program, the designers saw no need to include the Bible, either in whole or in part, on the list. But Kosidowski's notorious "Bible Stories" and "Evangelists' Stories" are there. The program mentions several papal encyclicals devoted to social issues, but none of them is on the list. Perhaps it is feared that the presence of such entries in the school library will undermine the school's secular nature?

The student can become acquainted with the position of the Catholic church or Catholic authors only on the basis of "second-hand" discussions. In the reading materials there is not one entry that sheds light on issues discussed in the program from the Catholic point of view. In recommending E. Ciupak's book, "Popular Catholicism in Poland," the program overlooks more recent treatments of the sociology of religion from the pen of Rev W. Piwowarski. Of several entries devoted to the issue of "science and religion," there are none of Rev Michal Heller's books. The program sidesteps not only Catholic writers. For example, all the books of Hoimar von Ditfurth published in Poland could make for useful and interesting reading--"Children of the Universe, In the Beginning was Hydrogen," "The Spirit did not Fall from Heaven" and "We are not of this World Alone."

These are just some observations noted after a cursory review of the program for Issues in Religious Studies. It seems that at many times, instead of broadening general knowledge about man and society, it carries the danger of fixing in students' minds the notion of the existence of a "double cycle" in all aspects of life. It is difficult to accept it as the proper situation when one thing constitutes the basis of a value system in private life, in the family, and something else in school in order to get a good grade.

Conference on Religious Education Held

Czestochowa NIEDZIELA in Polish No 15, 13 Apr 86 pp 7,8

[Article by Krzysztof Gladkowski: "Religious Education in the Schools"]

[Excerpts] An academic session on religious studies in the schools took place at Lublin Catholic University [KUL] on 18 May, 1986. It was organized by the newly established specialty in religious studies of the Fundamental Theology Section of KUL's Theology Department. Its participants were mainly invited representatives of diocesan and monastic seminaries and a large number of religion teachers. Also present at the new auditorium at KUL, which was filled to capacity, was a large group of people from throughout Poland who are interested in that issue. KUL rector, Bishop Piotr Hempterek, opened the session. The director of the Fundamental Theology Section, Rev Stanislaw Nagy, chaired the proceedings. Three lecturers presented the session topics. Rev Henryk Zimon spoke of religious studies in secondary and higher schools. Rev. Marian Rusecki addressed the problem of theological interpretation of non-Christian religions in religious education and Rev Jerzy J. Koper spoke on family religious ritual in the face of the tendency toward secularization of life in Poland.

In opening the session, the rector said that KUL is meeting growing requirements and wants to educate professorial personnel for the seminaries and religion instructors for the diocesan ministry. To that end a specialty in religious studies has been established at KUL and the session is its beginning.

Rev H. Zimon discussed two basic issues--the program of religious studies in higher schools [. . .] [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and presentations, art 2, par 1,2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. There are two programs of religious studies entitled Issues in Religious Studies. The first is a 60-hour program for trade high schools and technical schools. The second is a 32-hour program for general high school seniors. These programs were prepared at the School Curriculum Institute of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing and ratified by the Minister of Education and Upbringing on 3 May 1984. The program designated for trade and technical schools includes 22 topics; the introduction discusses the subject, fields and historical outline of religious studies; part one, religion as a social phenomenon; part two, religions of the modern world; part three, religious feeling, churches and religious policy in the PRL and part four, philosophical issues. A detailed religious studies curriculum for these schools was published in WYCHOWANIE OBYWATELSKIE, 1984 pp 572-580. The curriculum for general high schools is an abridged version. Execution of this undertaking is in progress. Reissue of many publications is expected, especially textbook and popularized scientific kinds, scholarly papers and textbooks on religious studies for young people, consistent with the goals of the program. The Polish Religious Studies Association is preparing a double edition of EUHEMER (Nos 3 and 4, 1986), which will be a draft of the textbook dealing with 24 topics. Religious studies research has been published in this periodical since No 2, 1985. The Academy of Social Sciences of the PZPR's Central Committee is preparing another textbook; the

main board of the Society for the Propagation of Secular Culture a third and the National Method Center for Political Science of Warsaw University a fourth.

In discussing religious studies in higher schools, the lecturer called attention to existing academic-research institutions. A large group of religious studies specialists works in Marxist centers. These institutions, for almost 30 years, have conducted regular scientific research, preparing young scholars in the field of religious studies and similar disciplines and have also carried on didactic activity in higher schools in Poland. In this way an army of teachers is being prepared to conduct religious studies classes in the high schools. The speaker named and described the following academic-research and didactic institutions for Marxist religious studies: The Polish Religious Studies Association, the Religious Studies Workshop of the Institute for Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Institute for Religious Studies of the Academy of Social Sciences of the PZPR's Central Committee, the Institute for Religious Studies at Jagiellonian University in Krakow and its affiliate, the Post-graduate Philosophy-Religious Studies department in Tarnow, religious studies workshops and groups in the universities (Wroclaw, Warsaw, Gdansk and Torun), in teacher education schools, the Warsaw Polytechnic, the Agricultural Academy in Wroclaw and in military schools. Post-graduate religious education studies are conducted at Jagiellonian, Wroclaw, Gdansk, Warsaw and Lublin's Marie Curie-Sklodowska universities, as well as teacher education schools in Slupsk, Zielona Gora, Kielce, Szczecin, Rzeszow, Olsztyn and Opole and the Agricultural Education school in Siedlce. Rev H. Zimon also named many other academic-research institutions in which academic personnel specialize in the field of various religious studies and individual non-Christian religions.

Two centers play a leading role in Catholic religious studies--Lublin Catholic University and the Academy of Catholic Theology [ATK] in Warsaw. The speaker described the work of KUL's chair of the History and Ethnology of Religion, of which he is director. KUL's Fundamental Theology Section's specialization in religious studies began its work with the 1985-86 academic year. Its goal is to conduct academic-research activity and educate a much needed professorial and catechetical staff in the field of various religious studies disciplines for seminaries and ministerial work in the dioceses.

At ATK in Warsaw, classes in religious studies are conducted within the framework of the mission specialization.

Rev H. Zimon noted the urgent need to introduce religious studies into the curriculum of diocesan and monastic seminaries, the need to organize symposiums on religious studies topics. He also pointed to the importance of the Catholic press in publications for the general public in religious studies and Christian philosophy. He announced publishing initiatives by KUL's Fundamental Theology Section and the Committee on Religious Research of KUL's Academic Association.

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POLAND

'NOMENKLATURA' PRACTICES WEAKEN PUBLIC FAITH IN SYSTEM

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 17, 27 Apr 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Andrzej W. Malachowski: "Appointments Policy: Choose the Best"]

[Text] Candidates to slightly more than 250,000 managerial positions have to be politically endorsed by party authorities of various levels. The top authorities, i.e., the Central Committee, the Politburo and the CC Secretariat, endorse appointments to 4,500 posts, of which about 3 percent (e.g., the posts of Chairman of the Council of State, Premier, ministers, voivods, etc.) are subject to joint decisions of the PZPR, the United Peasants Alliance [ZSL] and the Democratic Alliance [SD]. In the 1970s, a thousand more posts were covered by the decision-making powers of the top party authorities.

Voivodship committees exercise political supervision over appointments to 40,000 positions (42,000 in the 1970s), while appointments to 210,000 positions require the endorsement of party branches, especially those operating at factories.

It has been roughly estimated that the 250,000 positions over which the party has political supervision are 20 percent of all jobs which give their holders some measure of (even theoretical) power. But these estimates are to some extent based on intuition. The Polish custom of vertical promotion, which has been established for some years now, has resulted, automatically as it were, in a proliferation of managerial posts. It is not often the case that a good charge-hand is promoted at the same level in the hierarchy to the post of charge-hand in another gang, only with higher pay and, naturally, a broader range of rights and duties. A good charge-hand is most likely to be promoted to foreman, i.e., one notch up in the hierarchy.

Vertical promotions have made us a nation of managers. Many years of inefficient appointments policies and, most important, rigid pay regulations, have multiplied pseudo-managerial posts of all kinds of chief and regular specialists. In some institutions there are more bosses than subordinates.

It is difficult to get a good grasp of all these managerial levels. However, it may be assumed that this group of about 250,000 people, which includes both the Premier and the foreman, has a greater or lesser degree of influence--

depending on their place in the hierarchy--on the functioning of the economy and the state. Naturally, although these posts are subject to political endorsement, are part of the so-called nomenklatura, they are not reserved for PZPR members. The party only has the decisive word with regard to these appointments--it gives its recommendation to candidates. This policy line is to ensure it a big share in the co-government of the country. A document setting out the party's appointments policy stresses that the best people, not only party members, should be promoted.

But since we are on statistics, it should be noted that a considerable percentage of these 250,000 positions are held by PZPR members. The structure of party membership in this group resembles a reversed pyramid--PZPR members account for about 90 percent; and in some cases even 100 percent--of people in top positions and the percentage of party members diminishes as we proceed down the hierarchy.

For instance, PZPR members account for 37 percent of all employees in ministries and central offices (with the exclusion of the Defense and Internal Affairs Ministries, which were not covered by the latest survey); those who are not members of any party constitute over 60 percent of all employees of these institutions and the members of the ZSL and the SD constitute 1 percent each. The Foreign Affairs Ministry employs the highest proportion of PZPR members--62 percent of all employees; next comes the Ministry of Education--52 percent, the Office of the Council of Ministers and the War Veterans Office--51 percent each, and the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering--50 percent.

The percentage of non-party members is highest at the Patents Office--86 percent, the Central Statistical Office [GUS]--84 percent, and the National Insurance Board [ZUS]--83 percent.

The ratio of those who are and are not in the PZPR, SD or ZSL is different in these ministries and central offices at the level of directors and deputy directors of departments, offices and secretariats. Eighty-three percent of them are PZPR members, 2 percent are ZSL members and 1 percent are members of the SD. Fourteen percent of directors are not members of any party.

In various offices directly subordinated to ministers and heads of central offices, 44 percent of the managerial personnel are PZPR members and 51 percent are not members of any party (3 percent are in the ZSL and 2 percent in the SD). In the staff reserve pool of these offices, 32 percent are PZPR members and 64 percent are not members of any party.

Almost 80 percent of city presidents, administrative officers of towns and gminas, their deputies and secretaries of administrative offices are members of the PZPR; 6 percent of these administrative workers are not members of any party.

People do not want their efforts to be wasted; they want their work places to be well-organized. It is said that the difficult economic situation disorganizes work and that certain mechanisms have developed which hinder work. But mechanisms are created by people and, so-called objective difficulties aside, a lot depends on the people who work at the different levels on the power ladder.

The new appointments policy launched by the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress is currently at the stage of, as some people put it, "the maturing of the system." The policy was expounded by the 13th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee in October 1983. The meeting endorsed a fundamental document entitled "Main Lines of the PZPR Appointments Policy," to which implementing regulations were added.

In keeping with the new policy line, not a single central-level appointment has been made since the 9th Congress without consulting the candidate's mother party branch. In the case of candidates--members of the ZSL, SD and various other organizations, the branches of these organizations have been consulted; the candidacies of non-party members have been consulted with the PZPR leadership bodies of the areas where they live.

Wladyslaw Honkisz, the Head of the PZPR CC Personnel Policy Department, says that the persistent appointments policy errors should be attributed to party branches' failure to adhere to the principles laid down in the documents. As one speaker put it during the latest, 25th Plenary Meeting of the CC, which was held in March, "the practical implementation of the main appointments policy lines is not encountering major obstacles. The problem is rather how to implement these policy lines consistently."

About 40 percent of the people surveyed by the Public Opinion Surveying Center [OBOS] have noted changes for the better in managerial appointments during the past two years. However, in private some top-level party activists have expressed the opinion that the situation is not at all satisfactory.

The personnel reviews which have been carried out have provided an almost ideal image of the managerial personnel. Given such excellent managers, every day about 2 million people are absent from work in Poland and another 2 million change jobs every year, half of them for reasons which are not precisely known and half for good reasons; last year the State Price Commission [PKC] questioned 10,000 prices, which someone had earlier endorsed; shoddy goods are being produced; and 300 large firms are on the verge of bankruptcy. There are almost 3,000 people in managerial positions at these firms; all have been recommended by party organizations.

So the picture is rather complicated. Although one can hardly blame all the scourges which have fallen on us on individual bosses, the group as a whole seems to be largely inefficient in our socioeconomic situation.

This has been proved by the reviews which have been conducted from other positions and have not been confined to small talk. Following the twenty-seven comprehensive and repeat inspections conducted over the past three years, the Local Government Inspectorate [GIT] has requested that 530 people should be punished for failure to exercise proper supervision and for blatant dereliction. The group includes deputy voivods, thirteen city presidents, thirty-four directors of large firms and thirteen chairmen and deputy chairmen of cooperatives. Economic abuses were detected at one in every ten firms inspected last year.

As Wladyslaw Honkisz said during the 25th Plenary Meeting, "We have examples of many wrong appointments and examples of unbecoming behavior on the part of the managerial personnel. Names of many--for too many--managers who are members of the PZPR are mentioned in documents of prosecuting bodies, courts and the Workers and Peasants Inspectorate [IRCh], in the press and during meetings of party branches and leadership bodies. These people have been charged with mismanagement, waste of public property, dereliction, drunkenness and preoccupation with personal interests."

Of the 726 people dismissed from the party in 1984 and 1985, 314 held managerial positions. In 1985, party organizations withdrew their recommendations from 516 people and local control commissions proposed that this should also happen in another 276 cases. The managers had lost the party's trust for various reasons. In 256 cases recommendations were withdrawn on account of mismanagement and dereliction, in 202 cases--because of unethical behavior and graft, in 27 cases--drunkenness, in 16 cases--the failure to establish rapport, autocratic behavior and intolerance of criticism, in 6 cases--inefficient cooperation with party branches and violating party discipline, and in 9 cases--various other offenses and taking up illegal residence abroad. In 1983 recommendations were withdrawn from 750 people and in 1984--from 807. The most common reasons were mismanagement and dereliction--416 cases in 1983 and 454 in 1984--and a lack of appropriate ethical standards--208 and 228 cases, respectively.

Naturally, one can hardly generalize about these statistical figures, especially as they constitute only a small percentage of the 250,000 people employed in managerial posts, even if one also takes into account the 1,500 party disciplinary measures for minor offenses and the 10,000 warnings, 6,000 of which were to managers.

However, even this small percentage of wrong appointments often undermines the effectiveness of the appointment policy in the eyes of the public. It should be remembered that behind those who have had to be dismissed with great uproar, there is a much larger group of people who have not caused any major or minor scandals, but are literally doing nothing--or at least not what they should be.

As a result, as the above mentioned OBOS surveys have indicated, along with those who have noted changes for the better in appointments policy, 27 percent of the respondents expect improvements of appointments policies at the level of party branches. Workers believe that an employee's promotion primarily results from an evaluation of his professional and political loyalty, then an evaluation of his formal qualifications, i.e., his education or abilities confirmed by some documents and lastly an evaluation of his efficiency at work. Other surveys conducted among workers in Opole and Elblag have shown that one in four or five managers is not respected.

One of the surveys conducted by the OBOS in 1985 among various groups of industrial workers was devoted to the correctness of appointments. The higher the respondent's position the more favorably he viewed these appointments. Some 70.8 percent of administrative managers said that the best people were

promoted to managerial posts. This opinion was shared by 57.6 percent of production managers, 25.3 percent of foremen and 16.2 percent of workers.

The view that the decisions to recall incompetent managers are correct is professed by about 43 percent of administrative and production managers, 3.6 percent of foremen and 7.7 percent of workers. Only 5 percent of those surveyed perceived the influence of the party, trade unions and self-management bodies on appointing managers of the lowest level. The majority thought that these appointments were decided primarily by the administration of the enterprise.

The surveys have shown that employees in industry think that the promotions machinery operates efficiently where a simple criterion, such as education, is applied. On the other hand, they believe that it often breaks down when a thorough, individual analysis has to be performed and the person deciding the promotion has to make a subjective evaluation and therefore bear responsibility for his choice. Yet decisions of this kind should be the moving force of the appointments policy.

We should now reflect on whether wrong appointments and the general belief that the appointments system is not working too well should be ascribed solely to the fact that the system is still being "perfected" or, perhaps, there is some deeper cause.

Many party members believe that errors in appointments policy are the price we now must pay for the 1970s. It should also be remembered that it is the managers at various levels that have--rightly or wrongly--borne the brunt of devastating criticism and that, because of the excessive arrogance of power characteristic of the past, party activists have often lost all influence in this field.

Wladyslaw Honkisz says that it is often very difficult to induce the best people to assume managerial positions. One reason is that the legal system often almost incapacitates the managerial personnel, e.g., enterprise directors, imposing a great responsibility for the firm's performance on them yet, at the same time, restricting their initiative. Jozef Brozek, First Secretary of the Nowy Sacz Voivodship PZPR Committee, gave the following illustration of this problem during the 25th Plenum: "It was the eighteenth candidate approached who finally agreed to assume the post of hospital director; the twelfth candidate agreed to become gmina administrative officer and the sixteenth candidate agreed to assume the post of headmaster of a school."

The "Main Lines of the PZPR Appointments Policy" state that competitive selection should be one of the procedures for selecting managerial personnel. "Moreover," the document says, "we should not hesitate to appoint non-party members to managerial posts. We should also promote more workers who have appropriate qualifications, are active in socio-occupational organizations and enjoy prestige and trust among fellow workers."

The draft Politburo resolution which is currently an object of extensive consultations emphasizes that a correct appointments policy is a "fundamental duty of the authorities." The draft resolution also refers to the Program Declaration which the 1st PRON Congress adopted in May 1983, which stressed the need to "expand the social base of government and management."

So the lines of appointments policy have been very precisely defined; the only problem is to pursue them in practice.

Naturally, the efficiency of the entire system of management largely depends on the 4,500 people in top positions. Nevertheless, the daily functioning of the country, production and the quality of goods are the domain of the more than 200,000 managers, foremen, etc. The selection of these lower-level managers is primarily influenced by party branches, so the quality of this personnel depends on the initiative of factory party branches and their ability to choose the right people.

Yet only an estimated 10 percent of party branches have actively involved themselves in the selection of managerial personnel. Many are not availing themselves of their rights as set out in Point 33 of the PZPR Statutes, which concerns recommendations. Occasionally managers are appointed without consulting party branches and in other cases party branches provide testimonials emphasizing exclusively the good sides of candidates. Not infrequently, testimonials are prepared by just one person, for instance the secretary of the party branch, without consultation with the executive or at a party meeting. The testimonials are treated as some kind of assignment to a given post which may be issued and withdrawn at any time without consultation and without the knowledge of the leadership body which has the right to endorse candidacies to managerial positions.

Naturally, this does not mean that party branches are to take over the personnel affairs which are dealt with primarily by enterprise managing bodies.

Wladyslaw Borowik of the CC Personnel Policy Department is of the opinion that party branches should first of all create conditions for pursuing proper appointments policies at enterprises. The most important thing is that promotions should not be accidental and that the branches themselves should be able to resist all forms of pressure and connections.

Competition is undoubtedly one of the ways of selecting the right people for more responsible positions. In 1981-84, a total of 548 managing directors were selected in this manner (out of 3,219 enterprises where competitions could be held). By the end of 1984, around 20 of these directors had lost their positions due to poor economic performance in the enterprise, a lack of concepts for developing it, inability to cooperate with organizations, retirement or resignation.

During the same period, in 29 cases the competitions had to be repeated, as they could not be held in the first instance due to a lack of candidates, their inadequate qualifications or failure to obtain political recommendations. In occasional cases where the formal obligation of management selection by competition applied, but only one candidate enjoying the support of the organization involved applied for the position, the competition was organized to avoid formal barriers.

Practice also confirms that the criteria of candidate selection were not always adapted to the genuine needs of the company involved. Often the issue was to give preference to a chosen candidate and block the path for his competitors. Not many commissions resorted to expert assistance or applied special tests to check knowledge of the economic reform, for instance.

A vote was the dominating method of assessing candidates, and it was applied in 68 percent of competitions held in 1981-84. Grading on the basis of points scored was rare and applied in only a few competitions. Multi-stage competitions were also a rarity (22.5 percent of the cases); in most cases, the commission would meet only once in the presence of the candidates, and not once has a competition been held to select a candidate for a post other than that of director.

The candidates selected by competition in 1981-84 were PZPR members in 87.7 percent of the cases, with less than 10 percent of persons not belonging to any political party or alliance. Most of the selected candidates held college or university degrees (98.2 percent) and had earlier been employed at the enterprise involved (64.9 percent). Their ages ranged from 41 to 50 years (57.2 percent).

Currently, there are 1,260 managing directors selected by competition and most are considered to be good professionals.

The guidelines of PZPR's appointments policy place party branches under an obligation to promote competitions, while the above-mentioned Politburo draft resolution talks of "consolidating competitive selection of candidates and expanding this method to other positions in enterprises and to chosen posts in the state administration."

Previous practice indicates that competitions differ greatly, but this method of management selection nonetheless seems to be the best, making it possible to test the candidate's intellectual potential. But it also requires the overcoming of certain stereotypes. Until now, such an ostentatious way of competing for a management position was considered improper. Promotion was usually quiet, preceded by gossip at the most; it came from some office higher up. Many PZPR activists now think it dishonorable to participate in a competition, and tend to perceive their potential failure as harmful to themselves and shame for the party as a whole.

Proper personnel selection is the most important, although not the only, problem. A system of reviewing personnel and inspecting their daily work is also necessary. In accordance with the guidelines of appointments policy, periodic personnel reviews should play this role. These have, for some time past, been organized in the military, and since 1982 also in the internal affairs sector and the state administration. In the party apparatus, such a review was first organized in 1983. Last year, the review was universal, embracing both the administration and the economy. It was obligatory in all state enterprises, and cooperatives joined in. Apart from defense, internal affairs and the PZPR apparatus, the review included over 1.1 million people, including 930,000 employed in state enterprises and cooperatives.

Reviews--the last one as well as those preceding it--provide those in the center with a picture of personnel, but breed mixed emotions elsewhere. Some people threat them as symptoms of a future purge, while others as yet another troublesome obligation imposed by the authorities.[sentence as printed]

The last review, right from the start, brought protests from some workers' and employees' councils who thought that it was an intervention in the autonomy of enterprises. Some councils questioned the legality of ministerial instructions on organizing reviews. On May 29, 1985, the Warsaw Voivodship Court refused to accept litigation brought by the workers' council at the Huta Warszawa steelmill. The Court justified its decision by pointing out that under the regulations, a parent body not only has the right, but also an obligation to inspect and evaluate the performance of an enterprise and the work of its director.

Common sense dictates that periodical inspections and evaluation make employees more interested in their work and stimulate their intellectual efforts, so we can say that this was what the designers of personnel reviews were hoping for. They wanted to stimulate management and put a "mirror" before them, so they could have a critical look at themselves. Such reinvigorating activities should also provide a stimulus for examining the appointments policy as currently employed, for personnel rotation, for a search for the most talented people, for the creation of personnel reserves, etc.

In practice, it increased their own self esteem.

Documents of the PZPR CC appointments policy department indicate that even the 1983 review revealed the following tendency: the higher the position, the higher the assessment and indices for persons in the personnel reserve and those proposed for promotion to higher posts. The lower the position, the more good or only satisfactory grades that were awarded to candidates.

Last year's review followed the rule: excellent management, but rather poor performance in the relevant enterprise.

The Commissions responsible for the review in ministries and central offices registered objections and recommendations with regard to 19 percent of all employees. These pertained to the employees' sociopolitical stand (1 percent of the cases), performance (8 percent) or recommendations for professional training or courses (10 percent). In some economic units, however, not one objection or recommendation was formulated, while at the former Ministry of Administration and Local Affairs and the Ministry of Engineering concrete objections were presented about only 2 percent of the employees reviewed.

The Commissions were just as liberal at other than high levels. The review provided equally positive results in municipal services and housing companies, which every citizen deals with and often end with nothing to show for their trouble but a headache. No objections were formulated with regard to 98 percent of all employees.

At some ministries, the same criteria of assessment was applied to the management and other employees, although it is only logical that those higher up should be evaluated more thoroughly. Department heads in some ministries were not reviewed, while elsewhere the review was extremely liberal with regard to lower-rank personnel due to labor shortages arising from an improper pay system.

It also turned out that in some units inspected, the personnel reserve was fictitious, while in others inclusion in the reserve was consciously treated as a reward of sorts for employees who for some reason could not be promoted (e.g., due to their lack of qualifications).

It also turned out that some personnel maneuvers are in many cases impossible. A clerk can be fired, for instance, (with special exceptions) only because of insufficient or below standard professional qualifications. What should be done, however, with a clerk who has the qualifications required, but is no good for the job?

It would, of course, be wrong to insist that the review has brought no specific results. In addition to a precise statistical picture (sex, age, membership in political organizations, etc.), it also gives an idea as to what the commissions had not done because they did not know how to or did not want to, and what they did not talk about (they did not, for example, talk about the management's attitude to the economic reform). The things left undone, by contrast, gives a picture of the economic units and people inspected and reviewed.

At the last PZPR CC Plenum, Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "The public to a large extent evaluates the party on the basis of its moves in the sector of appointments, so the appointments policy must be credible, clear and approved socially." This is unquestionably a prerequisite for progress.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU ROLE IN THEORY OF CONTRADICTIONS ASSESSED

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[Article by Univ Reader Dr Georgeta Florea for the political-ideological course on "Historical and Dialectical Materialism, the Deep Foundation of Communist Convictions and Militant Revolutionary Thought and Action. Active Dissemination of the RCP's Revolutionary View, and the Approach to All Existing Social Problems from Its Positions" (First Year)]

[Text] The Theory of Contradictions as the Nucleus of Dialectical Materialism

The theory of contradiction reflects the contrast between dialectics and metaphysics. While the latter regards the world as composed of isolated objects composed in their turn of mere entities in noncontradictory relationships and at absolute rest, and motion, as an accidental state originating outside them, is regarded as mere growth, addition or repetition of stages already passed, dialectics presents the connections, interdependences and whole systemic character of the realities in constant evolution and development owing to the division of the single into two opposed aspects that merge and bring about the general self-dynamism of existence. Lenin said, "Division of the single and knowledge of its two contradictory parts... are the basis, one of the essences, and one of the fundamental characteristics or features if not the only fundamental one of dialectics." In other words the theory of contradictions, with the principle of unity and conflict of opposites, is the nucleus of dialectical materialism because it alone can explain how the opposites can be, are or become identical, how they change into each other and why they are not to be regarded as dead or petrified but as vital general sources of evolution and development.

In the Marxist view contradiction, as an objective, universal and inherent determination of existence, lies in the fact that every system or process consists of a whole series of contrasting aspects, qualities and trends that differ but are nevertheless in a unity, presuppose each other, cannot exist without each other and are inseparable. Any contradiction, as a system of opposite aspects, is characterized by both unity and conflict. As the result of the contrast of opposites, the contradiction also presupposes coexistence and the possibility of change one into the other within the unity of the opposites. In other words, the coexistence of the opposites in one and the same system is essential to the

appearance of the contradiction. The unity of the opposites results from their interdependence. Since each of them is the basis of the other's existence, they presuppose each other and are interdependent, and the disappearance or change of either of them entails the disappearance or change in the nature and role of its opposite. The dialectical contradictions, as unities of opposite aspects, are to be found both in nature and in the material and cultural aspects of society.

The unity of the opposites and the changing relationships between them determine the structures, functions, qualities and states of the systems. They form the basis of the synchronism, the relative qualitative stability and the temporary identity of the systems, as well as their diachronism and variability, resulting from the tendency of each opposite to change into its counterpart.

The conflict of opposites stems from their asymmetry and divergence and the tendency of each to counteract the effect of the other. Within their unity, one tends to maintain the state of the system while the other tends to change it according to its own nature. Growth of the tension and conflict leads to predominance of an opposite over its counterpart and ultimately to the exclusion of the latter. At that point the transition and change to another quality take place. The unity and conflict of opposites, as complementary trends characterizing any contradiction, are the source of the self-dynamism of existence and the well-spring and motive force of change, of constant evolution, and of the transition of a system from a lower to a higher stage. The simultaneous tendency of opposites to be in unity as well as in conflict determines the dynamic balance, inherent in any system, that causes and maintains the system's constant change.

Pointing out the contradictory character of any phenomenon is basic to consistent scientific-materialist explanation of the universe, substantiating the idea of the eternal, infinite character of motion and the inseparable unity of matter and motion as well as the dependence of mental activity upon the structures and contradictory evolution of objective existence. It makes it possible to understand the evolution of the entirety of the world as an objective process taking place without the intervention of any spirit or of any personal or impersonal awareness or will and independently of knowledge. The explanation of universal self-dynamism as a result of the universality of the unity and conflict of opposites is indicative of the clear advantage of historical and dialectical materialism over both the metaphysical-materialist solutions and the dialectical-idealist, spiritualistic ones.

Due to the dynamic nature of the opposition and the degree of compatibility or incompatibility of the opposite aspects with the whole, any contradiction is of a processual nature. It appears as a "difference" when the opposite aspects are relatively balanced and do not affect the integration of the system, and it becomes an "opposition" when one of the opposites gains a pronounced ascendancy over the other that restructures all the other connections of the respective system in an overwhelmingly functional or dysfunctional direction. And when the respective opposite aspects become incompatible, the "conflict" appears as a harbinger of the qualitative change in the system, which cannot preserve itself and can no longer regulate its internal mechanisms or external reactions itself.

The most accurate knowledge and evaluation of the unity-conflict relationship are vital to human activity because it is relatively easier to restore the

balance of the opposites in the "difference" stage than in that of "opposition" and far more difficult in the "conflict" stage, when many chain reactions develop and the structure and functions of the respective system have been radically changed, disrupting the condition and functions of the other systems with which it is connected. Comprehension of the processual nature of the contradictions is the reason for Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's repeated requests to abandon speculative abstract treatments, to study the evolution of contradictions regularly and specifically, and to take prompt and firm action to resolve them and to eliminate any discrepancies and disparities.

On the basis of social-historical experience and the scientific evidence, Marxist dialectics brings out the twofold significance of the universality of contradictions, namely the nonexistence of noncontradictory systems, since contradictions are inherent in any existence, and their eternity, since contradictions accompany the systems throughout their existence as permanent sources of change and evolution.

The universality of contradictions gives rise to their specific character and their dependence on the particular nature of the various areas of existence, on the level of organization reached because of previous evolution, on the stage and point reached by the respective system's evolution, by the context of all the connections in which the system is involved, etc. Since they are differentiated according to the areas of existence, the contradictions of nature differ from those of society and of the mind. For example dependence on the level of organization determines the specific character of the contradictions of the physical microcosm compared with those of the macrocosm, or of those of the organic world as contrasted with those of the inorganic realm. Each point or stage in a system's evolution is also determined by particular contradictions. For instance the contradictions of a society based on exploitation and oppression are entirely different from those of a society based on collaboration and mutual aid, just as the oppositions in the developing stage of an order differ from those in its mature or declining stage. On the level of knowledge, comprehension of the specific character of the contradictions requires specific analysis of them and avoidance of simplistic or reductionist extrapolations, while on the practical level it requires development of methods suited to their particular nature and functions in each individual case.

The problems of contradictions as nuclei of the dialectics and sources of the self-dynamism of the whole natural, social and mental universe are foremost among the contemporary ideological confrontations. The impact of the dialectical materialist conception upon human and scientific progress has oriented a number of scientific disciplines toward formulation of hypotheses, theories or models capable of describing, explaining and regularizing knowledge and action in various areas or on various levels of the natural and social world according to their particular dialectics. Meanwhile the dialectical-materialist conception is still being confronted with a number of theories that absolutize the order and harmony of the universe and interpret contradiction either as a "temporary and immaterial accident" or as an "artificial product" of human subjectivity. The latter are espoused by a number of phenomenologists who maintain that contradictions and especially social ones originate in the activity of the knowledgeable subject and accordingly have no effect upon the real evolution of the world. Such interpretations distract attention from the serious

contradictions characteristic of the present period and minimize the importance of perceiving them. From other positions, neo-Thomism accepts contradiction only as a relationship between the possible and the real, maintaining the noncontradictory character of the natural and social world supposedly created by a supernatural power in a predetermined harmony. Both these schools are in total opposition to science and human experience, they cannot provide any plausible or rational alternative to the Marxist theory of development, and their conclusions favor passive acceptance of the existing negative phenomena and encourage mystical, obscurantist ideas.

Some representatives of the Frankfurt School acknowledge the existence of contradictions in society but see no source of development in the conflict of opposites, wrongly identifying it with an inevitable and unsurmountable "disharmony."

A number of ideologists representing the most reactionary sectors of the contemporary bourgeoisie, committed to the alignments of a rabid theoretical anti-Marxism and an openly professed political anticommunism, refer to development in a particularly harmful way. Ignoring the hard facts of the increasingly serious social contradictions and conflicts in the western countries, "neorevolutionism," as a biologizing theory of social development, ultimately maintains the "revolutionary stability of capitalism" and its "infinite potential" for survival. In its "sociobiological" form, "neorevolutionism" resorts to a classic reductionist device, deducing the social, economic, political and moral foundations of human society from the animal kingdom and thereby legitimizing contemporary capitalism, burdened as it is by a worldwide and increasingly acute crisis and such extremely anachronistic phenomena as exploitation, inequality, unemployment, elitism etc.

The "New Right" for example presents the existence of bourgeois economic and political domination as an "inevitable natural necessity" or a reflection of an abstract "moral imperative" calling for "subjection of the weak by the strong." In this view, implementation of the principles of socioeconomic equality that are proposed by scientific communism is supposed to be against "human nature" and the "natural evolution" of the social functions, "inevitably" leading, the New Right promoters say, to inequality, hierarchy and domination. Such contentions constitute an open and cynical apology for contemporary capitalist society, reflecting the reactionary, imperialist circles' futile attempts to stop the fulfillment of the masses' and the peoples' legitimate aspirations to social and national freedom and equality, to a new, just and equitable social system, to a new international economic and political order, and to a world freed of the danger of war and destruction.

Types of Contradictions

A detailed description of the contradictions indicates a variety of types and forms of them. When the unity and conflict of opposites are among the aspects, qualities, trends and processes of one and the same system, they are internal contradictions. Against the background of the latter the respective system enters into particular contradictory relations with other systems, giving rise to external contradictions. The logical distinction between the two is relative, in view of the general interaction and interrelations of the systems, but consideration of the two types is important both to knowledge and to human behavior because they play different parts in the appearance and disappearance and the evolution of the systems.

The internal contradictions are the basis of the nature, structure and functions of the system, as well as the sources of its evolution. Because of their primary and controlling role, the external contradictions are generated and evolve in accordance with them and cannot disappear or be resolved without restoring their balance or overcoming them. Ignorance of the particulars of the two types of contradictions makes it impossible to understand the origin and evolution of any systems or processes, leads to misinterpretations of the origin of their quality, and diverts human action in ineffective directions. The effect of acting upon external contradictions will never be the expected one. The respective differences will continue to exist and cause uncontrollable dysfunctions maintained by the conflict and unity of the internal opposites, whose product they are.

The type and role of the contradictions in a system, whether it is natural, social or mental, also vary with their formation as relationships among qualities, trends or processes that flow or do not flow from the nature of the system. Accordingly we distinguish fundamental contradictions from nonfundamental ones. A fundamental contradiction accompanies the system as long as its quality lasts, and it is definitive for the nature of the way it acts upon the systems with which it is associated and reacts to them. All the other contradictory relationships among the elements of the respective system develop against the background of and in accordance with the evolution of the fundamental contradiction, and on the whole the extent of their involvement keeps changing and is not in a relationship of equivalence with their primary cause. When in a given stage one of the nonfundamental contradictions causes a retroactive aggravation or attenuation of the fundamental contradiction it becomes a major one and plays a decisive part in the system's evolution (for example, the contradiction between the masses and monopolies, or that between the rich and poor countries).

The distinctive character of the social contradictions results from the dialectical interrelations and interaction between the objective and subjective and the haphazard and the purposeful. Ultimately a social contradiction is generated, as in nature as well, by objective interactions but such a contradiction becomes active and is changed from a possibility to a reality in and by human activity alone.

All social contradictions are determined by the objective relationships between man and nature and between man and other men (established in the course of producing the necessities of life, independently of their awareness or will and depending on the nature and developmental level of the production means), communities, classes and groups are in back of them, and they take the form of antagonism or nonantagonism between interests and aspirations.

Role of Social Contradictions in Social Development

The form of antagonism is taken by the contradictions due to essential incompatibility of the form of ownership of the main production means and the nature of the work for society, in association with perception of the incompatibility of the vital interests of the classes and groups involved in this relationship. Their understanding of the nature of the antagonism enabled Marx, Engels and Lenin to establish the inevitability of such contradictions in societies based on private ownership and exploitation, that of their degeneration into "conflicts," and that of the need of socialist revolution as the only way to eliminate them permanently from society. Under the conditions of societies based on private

ownership of the production means, antagonism is the regular and objective result of the complete opposition of situations and vital interests and of the fact that the conditions, including the needs and interests, of one side of the contradiction are met to the detriment of the evolving functions of the opposite side and of the needs and interests of the groups associated with it. Therefore very different relationships arise among the social classes and categories of the respective society, from unity, alliance and collaboration to division, opposition and conflict, depending on their identical, similar or fundamentally different stands on ownership of the production means. The antagonisms in such societies may be latent or acute, and they differ in extent and depth according as they involve fundamentally opposed structures or classes (labor and capital or proletariat and bourgeoisie) or opposed components or groups of the same class (the contradiction between different national monopolies or that between the finance and banking oligarchy and other sectors of the bourgeoisie, etc.). Under some circumstances the antagonisms can be temporarily allayed, but their evolution inevitably leads to a revolutionary change in the social-political system.

Nonantagonistic contradictions are characteristic of the social systems based on common social ownership and relations of cooperation and collaboration stemming from essential compatibility of the form of ownership with work for society, in association with the community of vital interests of all members of society. Thanks to the identical or similar position of all the social classes and categories in regard to the production means, such contradictions are constructive and provide endless possibilities for progressive evolution if they are promptly determined and effectively resolved.

The RCP and its secretary general do not think socialist society should be defined or presented idyllically, as a society perfect from the start. Some older, residual contradictions still persist in it (city and village, physical and intellectual work, etc.) and its new contradictions arise. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The dialectical law of the conflict of opposites and the contradictions also operate in socialism and will undoubtedly operate in one form or another in communist society as well. Contradictions exist and will continue to arise in any society. They cannot be resolved by an attitude of denial, but by studying and understanding their causes and taking purposeful action accordingly to eliminate the old situations and boldly promote the new."

Such a progressive relationship between unity and conflict is brought about by construction of socialist society, a uniform socioeconomic base, and an institutional and ideological superstructure operating uniformly in the vital interests of all social classes and categories. The party general secretary accordingly points out, in the course of creatively enriching the Marxist theory of development, that the existence of contradictions in socialism is not abnormal, they are not insoluble, and they do not become antagonistic by the very nature of the social system but have destructive or disruptive effects only where and when the principles of socialism are violated, its laws are ignored, and the evolution of the objective and subjective facts as well as the specific social and national conditions are disregarded in preparing and implementing the revolutionary strategy and tactics.

Upon analyzing the distinctive nature, evolution and role of the contradictions in the present stage of Romanian society's development, Nicolae Ceausescu

formulated a number of principles of great theoretical and practical value, such as the continuity of the revolutionary process, which does not cease once power is taken and the new social and production relations are instituted; the relativity of the antagonism-nonantagonism distinction and the possibility under some circumstances that contradictions will degenerate into antagonistic conflicts even in socialism; the Communist Party's essential duty to make an intensive theoretical and political-educational effort to determine and resolve contradictions; the need of developing the roles of the state and the revolutionary workers democratic bodies in devising scientific strategies to meet the objective requirements of the law of unity and conflict of opposites in each stage; the urgency of combatting subjectivism and voluntarism, which may cause disturbances and hold up development; the need of encouraging the purposesful commitment of the human element to the effort to determine all the resources for progress characteristic of socialist society as well as the limitations and difficulties to be overcome; the danger in ignoring and hushing up contradictions, giving rise to passive defeatism, etc.

A great many original principles formulated by the party general secretary are notable contributions to the revolutionary theory based on comprehensive analysis of the present period and the connections between a given country's contradictions and the international context. We note in this connection the need of a global perspective and comprehension of the fact that the varied contradictions of the contemporary world form a system and follow from the systemic nature of existing societies; the need of considering both class relations and national-state ones as well as both socioeconomic determinations and political, military and ideological ones and the resulting need of overcoming the tendency to reduce the contradictions and revolutionary processes to the transition from capitalism to socialism or to absolutize the opposition of class interests by regarding them as the sole source of the antagonisms of the present period; the vital conclusion, based on analysis of the diametrically opposed trends in current international affairs, that the chief problems of this period are stopping the armaments race and starting disarmament, especially nuclear, and safeguarding the supreme right of men and peoples to peace and life; the necessity of realizing that any antagonistic or nonantagonistic contradiction may turn into a conflict or war, while pointing out the inconsistency and danger in any tendencies toward fatalistic identification of antagonism with war as well as the need of taking any measures to settle international disputes solely by political means through peaceful negotiations, etc.

The RCP and its general secretary regard the ideological component as a major part of the structure of the present-day world's contradictions. The necessity of political settlement of international conflicts and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems should not and cannot mean disregard of ideological contrasts or abatement of the militant, aggressive spirit in the struggle with bourgeois ideology.

Meanwhile Nicolae Ceausescu is stressing the need of realizing that contradictions may arise between socialist countries because socialism cannot automatically resolve either differences in development or the national-state ones, or because the principles of the new kind of relations among those countries have been violated. Under these circumstances the communist and workers parties have a considerably greater responsibility for determining and resolving such

contradictions peacefully through discussions, for settling the socialist countries' disputes and consolidating their unity, and for promoting the new principles of relations on behalf of socialism's greater power and prestige in the world.

In applying Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical contributions to the enrichment of the Marxist theory of contradictions with new principles and conclusions, the RCP documents point out that the present stage of Romanian socialist society's development harbors some contradictions, gaps and discrepancies among various components of the productive forces and production relations; between the two subsystems of the production method; between industrial and agricultural development; between the processing sectors and the raw materials and energy base; between the consumer demands and the volume and quality of production; between the development of the productive forces and of the technical-material base of society and the levels of the masses' socialist awareness and occupational and technical training; between scientific and technological progress and the current production requirements, etc.

In the light of the party general secretary's theoretical clarifications of these questions the 13th RCP Congress as well as the subsequent documents (particularly those of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in November 1985 and of the Plenum of the National Council of Workers in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Circulation of Goods and Finance in December 1985) have guided the effort to resolve the contradictions by setting a number of specific goals and measures for further intensive development of the productive forces; intensive qualitative development of all economic sectors; modernization of the production structures, higher technical standards, and greater labor productivity, effectiveness and profitability; conservation and better use of raw materials, fuels and energy; development of the energy base; an optimal ratio between industry and agriculture; greatly intensified scientific and technological research; growth of the national income; increased production of goods and services; better management, planning and socioeconomic organization of all social and production relations; more intensive ideological and political-educational work, etc.

The documents of the First Congress on Science and Education are also highly important, having analyzed the work in these vital sectors of Romanian society and their contribution to the resolution of some of the foregoing contradictions and to implementation of the RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism and the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress. To that end the Congress on Science and Education discussed and approved specific programs for scientific and technological research and for training personnel and the labor force in the Eighth Five-Year Plan and on to the year 2000. This qualified as an event of the greatest importance and as a new and brilliant proof of the unremitting efforts of the RCP and its general secretary to find the ways and means to eliminate any gaps or lags and to provide favorable conditions for enhancing the socioeconomic development of Romanian society progressively on that basis.

Change and especially progress do not follow from the existence of contradictions in itself, but from the conflicts that inevitably arise between the elements representing the new that make for restructuring or improvement of the system and those representing the old that serve to conserve it. When the viable element meets with favorable conditions it rises above the one whose role

is outmoded and finally eliminates it, thereby accomplishing an improvement in the previous quality, the progress of the respective system and its rise from lower to higher.

The Conflict Between the New and the Old

The conflict between the new and the old is generally characteristic of any contradiction in the dynamic composite systems (biological and social). After the division of the single into contradictory aspects the relationships in such systems evolve, and a kind of tension or conflict regularly arises that culminates in the victory of the new. The maturing of any particular contradictions on these organizational levels is accompanied by a gradual obsolescence of the originally positive aspect, by exhaustion of its constructive, functional role, and by the emergence of the opposite trend representing the new. In society, for example, coordination through a social-political revolution of the nature of the productive forces with the type of production relations, which produces social progress, means only the end of a cycle. For a while the new social relations represent the new and stimulate development of the productive forces, but gradually the quantitative accumulations and qualitative changes so produced generate gaps between the two components of the production method and the original coordination is changed.

Better understanding of the law of conflict between the new and the old as well as advancement of the idea that its requirements must be met are original contributions of great theoretical and practical significance of the party general secretary's to the enrichment of the Marxist theory of contradiction. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "The constant struggle between old and new will go on in communism too and will be the motive force for man's progress... Of course it will be a conflict based on uniform production relations and on development of science, culture and man's knowledge as well, constantly revealing more and more new ways of improving social existence and relations." Accordingly discovering the new, noting the obsolescence of some phenomena, processes, practices, attitudes and ideas, creating favorable conditions for advancement of the innovating, constructive and progressive trends, and overcoming the lags are vital requirements for the progress of Romanian socialist society.

Dogmatic purposeful or chance adherence to theories or realities that have outlived their usefulness and legitimacy plays an important part in aggravating the objective tensions between the new and the old. Inability to understand the new and to consider and implement the factors and conditions that will promote what is advanced fully and without restriction, as well as isolation of theory and practice in old stereotypes and patterns, routine, inertia and lack of creative courage are subjective causes of damage to social development. Historical experience proves that sooner or later, easier or harder, the new will always win out. And while there are mature social forces in society that understand and exploit the real meaning of evolution and take effective, committed action in that direction, the appearance and establishment of the new are quicker and make it possible to eliminate some objective or some artificial defects more readily.

Of course commitment of the subjective factor and all human factors in the direction of the new requires scientific and not arbitrary evaluations through prudent philosophical, political or moral options, for not all that is chronologically old must be done away with, nor must any kind of innovation be espoused.

Accordingly, as the party general secretary pointed out at the 13th RCP Congress, progressive development and advancement of the party's leadership call for greater revolutionary spirit in all its theoretical and practical activity and in the thought and actions of all its members "in order to eliminate all that is old and no longer suited to the present stage of Romanian society's development and to promote the new."

The political-ideological and cultural-educational activists have a highly responsible task in this connection, being called upon to form and develop the revolutionary spirit, to fully assert criticism and self-criticism, to enhance every worker's sense of responsibility, and to encourage creative initiative and collective thought and action.

As a regular stage in the revolutionary process of the Romanian people's socio-economic progress, the Ninth Party Congress inaugurated a new era in the history of the party and Romania. The congress critically analyzed the work in socialist construction and set the long-range goals according to the need of eliminating all distortions and abuses, all that was old and outmoded, dogmatism, routine and some antiscientific ideas, opening the way to further development of the revolutionary spirit and promotion of all that is new in all fields. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, "This has unchained the creative energies of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all workers regardless of nationality, and the entire people. It may be said it has blazed a new and free trail for revolutionary thought and action."

In the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress promotion of the new was inseparable from Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical and practical activity and became a purposeful, considered and continuous strategy for eliminating the old situations and boldly advancing the new, which was constantly enriched with original principles based on investigation of the changing realities that determine Romanian society's development in each of its stages. As Nicolae Ceausescu recently pointed out, "There are many things we have given up in the meantime. There are also some that still restrict us and prevent our better understanding of the new prospects. We must view all the facts in the light of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception and understand that we must eliminate all that is old and outmoded and resolutely open the way to the new in all activities."

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6. "From the Philosophical Thought of Nicolae Ceausescu, President of Romania," in "Dialectics of Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society," PPH, Bucharest, 1982, pp 41-68.
7. F. Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of German Classic Philosophy," in K. Marx and F. Engels, "works," Vol 21, PPH, Bucharest, 1967, pp 296-301.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Philosophical Notebooks," in "Complete Works," Vol 29, PPH, Bucharest 1966, pp 296-302.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

TEXT OF STATEMENTS BY KOSOVO RESIDENTS TO ASSEMBLY LEADERS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 30 Mar 86, 6 Apr 86,
13 Apr 86

[30 Mar 86 pp 53-55]

[Text] Motivated by their own dissatisfaction and perhaps also by the attempt of certain delegates from Kosovo to soften the conclusions of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, a group of representatives of 42 Kosovo villages came to Belgrade. Their frank statements in the SFRY Assembly indicate their dissatisfaction, but also their constructiveness. They also contain unacceptable viewpoints, but the dominant tone is given by sentences expressing the sentiment: "We are not against the Albanians, but against injustice." We are publishing fragments from these statements taken from the transcript recorded on magnetic tape and have not violated their authenticity.

Djordje Bogosavljevic:

I speak on behalf of Gornji Petric, Klina Opstina.

The vandalism to cemeteries extends over about 3 hectares in area. Gravestone inscriptions were destroyed. The land was taken over, usurped, only 4,200 m² were left. The church grounds, which together with the graveyard covered an area of 7 hectares, 6,000 m², were also usurped by the Albanians and are held even today. In 1972 we filed a private suit signed by 300 citizens, that is, 300 households, with the District Court in Pec, since we had no other way out. That is what the lawyer instructed us, and he wrote the complaint. However, even today it has not been settled, it is lying there in the district court, it has not been taken up, nor has any decision been made. We went and asked why no trial was scheduled, the judge answered: We are unable to call a case with so many principals. We objected, we said we had given the lawyer the power of attorney to represent us, and why shouldn't the case be scheduled. The answer was: It is not the place of private individuals to file a private suit, that should be done by the local community. However, it was not the business of the local community to engage in litigation over this. Even today the plea is in the District Court in Pec.

Second, on 14 December three brothers came to me in the woods. Iso Rama kept watch with the gun he uses to hunt with while his two brothers used a saw and

cut a tractor load of wood. When I came and found them, I said to the one who was keeping watch--Why are you cutting down my woods? He pointed the gun at me and said get back. Fine, I said, I will get back. I reported that to the police, the police came out for an inquiry, they examined the damage, and what did they do, they fined the one who was keeping watch 2,000, but the other two did not even receive warnings.

To go on, there was an attempt to rape my niece. Again it was an Albanian who was about to take her away from the bus station. However, he was sentenced to 15 days. So, I ask you, is that justice? Is that freedom, for a schoolgirl to be treated like that? I ask you, are we living in a free country or not?

That is all I had to say, thank you.

Cedomir Marinkovic:

My name is Cedomir Marinkovic; I am from Kosovo Polje.

I come from a poor family, a peasant family in Dobro Selo, Pristina Opstina. The opstina took away my land to make a storage reservoir. While Pristina is drinking cool water, I have spent 9 years knocking on the doors of the assembly in Kosovo, in the republic, and in the Federation. The terror, persecution, and pressure which even the government has acknowledged in Kosovo brought together this unfortunate group and brought it here to the highest level of government in our country. The injustice, terror, and jurisprudence of Kosovo are the most pronounced form of pressure in Kosovo, as the public has also been informed. I have had a disagreeable case which I have been pursuing for 9 years now. Nine years which would have been long even if I had been praised, loved, and petted, not to mention what it has been like knocking on doors in vain and losing my patience.

I have filed grievances with all the progressive forces in Kosovo and outside Kosovo against this posture on the part of the Kosovo court. I even made appeals to individual figures. I sent a petition to Comrade Kolj Siroka, former chairman of the Presidency of SAP Kosovo. Finally, in the petition which I addressed to this assembly I clearly said that it was not a question of a mistake, but of organized pressure in Kosovo. I cannot give in to that kind of pressure in Kosovo, there is no way that I can let it pass, but I demand that I be allowed to pursue my grievance further.

I received an injury on the job 9 years ago, and they sent me in the ambulance to the health care center in Pristina. The injury report was promptly sent in the next day. Because of the human relations between me and the physician who was treating me I went to the industrial medicine clinic in Pristina. I did not want to go to Kosovo Polje, although the outpatient clinic is close to my home, I did not want to be treated in the health care center, but rather I chose the industrial medicine clinic in order to prevent exactly what the people with power have nevertheless managed to do with this case of mine. For 9 years I have been knocking on doors in vain for the 6 days, for the certificates which I need.

So, that is how the Kosovo Assembly operates, and the Assembly of Yugoslavia has not been a bit better. I will document this for the public, and anyone who likes can freely come and take photographs and see for himself. Ilija Djukic, president of the SAP Kosovo Assembly, said in a meeting of the Club of Delegates of the SFRY Assembly: "No one has yet applied to move out of Kosovo under pressure." He said that on 15 January 1984. But I can prove that I filed three applications: to change the place of residence for myself and my family to the opstina police, which did not respond; to the provincial police, which did not respond; and to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs (here it is, I am showing you the return receipt), which did not respond to me. However, was Ilija Djukic right in what he said here, when he deceived the public and the government? Comrades, here is the newspaper in which he said that, and I can prove that a year ago I had written three applications, and nothing had come of that. Twice I complained to the Federal Secretariat for Jurisprudence of Yugoslavia, and both times they sent me back to Kosovo, back to those who were the subject of my grievance. I filed a complaint with the Yugoslav Assembly, I personally submitted a petition here when on 27 September 1984 one item on the agenda was the people moving out under pressure.

This Assembly sent that petition back to the Kosovo Assembly. The Kosovo Assembly sent it to the Pristina Assembly, and today that petition is sitting in Pristina in Room 19 waiting for better times, waiting for me to move out and for all the progressive forces to successfully complete their work.

The decision I am referring to, which was issued by Comrade Ali Djosja, presiding judge of the Kosovo Appeals Court, reads as follows: "What is most essential, the participant in the proceedings refused to receive the agreement on termination of employment," since instead of firing me, they prepared an agreement on termination of the employment relation and sent it to me at home to sign. I refused to sign it. Today I am losing the employment dispute before the Court of Associated Labor in Pristina because I did not sign the agreement on termination of the employment relation. The decision which was made by Comrade Ali Djosja, the lawyer who writes the legal advice column in RILIND'JA: "What is most essential, the participant in the proceedings refused to receive the agreement on termination of employment," so that there was no basis, and so on, and so forth. That sentence, just by itself, represents in its content documented pressure of the Kosovo legal system both from the standpoint of logic and also from the legal standpoint, as well as from the grammatical standpoint in whatever language, it has nothing to do with the truth or with justice, and that is what led me to join this unfortunate group.

However, 3 months ago, since no one answered my grievances, appeals, and petitions, or I receive some kind of answer which even I an illiterate cannot recognize, much less someone else, I set out to present my troubles and intentions in public and verbally.

I was received before the Commission for Petitions and Grievances of the Yugoslav Assembly, and I informed them of my intentions. I also made my intentions known to the Constitutional Court. I have been received in the Central Committee of Yugoslavia as I have also in the Central Committee of Serbia.

Comrades, here again I wish to make it known to all, including the comrades who have received us, that if I do not obtain justice in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia, I am prepared with my wife and three grown children who are unemployed to seek assistance abroad in the most desperate and unscrupulous way. That is the stance taken by the Irredenta in Kosovo. The comrades who make decisions like this--I am referring to Enver Jusufi who made the final decision on re-opening the case--get higher positions, better jobs, and more prestige, while I am already prepared to leave Yugoslavia because of the terror, the persecution, the pressures, and the injustice, which even the government has acknowledged.

Bosko Budimirovic:

My name is Bosko Budimirovic from Kosovo Polje.

Comrades, I have been called upon by my fellow citizens in Kosovo Polje to come here today with this group of people from all over Kosovo. The counter-revolution in 1981 was in Kosovo....

However, 1.5 years were enough for us to see that we had to defend ourselves in some way on our own. We have taken this most democratic road, by holding meetings of the largest sociopolitical organization--the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia. In 1983 and 1984 we held four or five large meetings. The comrade politicians and newspapermen in Pristina Opstina referred to them as marathon meetings. To be sure, they were that, although it gave us no satisfaction for the meetings to be referred to as such, since as I see it they bore no fruit: To make matters worse, the supreme bodies of the Federation were always and regularly furnished a report from those meetings. We always sent one copy of the minutes of those meetings to them. What happened--only that the people where I was at the time and I as an activist, president of one of the local chapters of the Socialist Alliance, could hardly wait for my term of office to be over. During the next term they merged two chapters into one and between the two of us, the one who was, how shall I put it, more restrained, and who did not attack the Irredenta, he inherited the term of office for both chapters and headed them....

All the sociopolitical structures from the local community to the province were invited to those meetings, and usually, on several occasions, we requested, that is, the citizens requested that some comrades from the level of the republic and Federation also be invited to the meeting of citizens. However, that never could have happened in our situation, not only did they not come from the republic and the Federation, even the comrades from the province did not wish to come. Usually when we invite them to attend our meetings in the chapter, they are at least interested in what the citizens have to say. Those were usually items on the agenda like the security situation in the local area and the exodus of the Serbs and Montenegrins. Those items on the agenda gave them terrible eye strain, and they usually spent more time discussing the form of the meeting, who called it, and why he called it (they paid more attention to that than to what was said in those meetings), and not a word that had to do with something which the citizens had said, so that something might be undertaken at least to some extent to combat the pressure,

the vandalism, that--I confidently say it, as I see it--fascism! And when I say that, this is why: In 4 years we drove out a many times stronger enemy who occupied us in 1941, and now here this is the 5th year, tomorrow it will be a full 5 years, that we have been unable to deal with the Albanian Irredenta!

And let me tell you, comrades, I say this frankly, I believe it is clear to everyone that it was not that ordinary Albanian citizen who brought us into this situation in Kosovo, and this is no longer a Kosovo problem, this is a Yugoslav problem, and I believe it goes even beyond that. It was not that ordinary citizen who brought this about, not the worker or the peasant.

It was not he who contributed to bringing this situation about, but rather, and I say this freely, there are some of them even at the top. I am not able myself to point a finger, but I trust the comrade fighters and revolutionaries from Kosovo who on 12 December 1985 had a meeting with Kolj Siroka, I believe that those are people who were young when they went off to war and today are elderly, I guarantee that none of them wanted to hurt his reputation at the end of his life, but probably--who it was, who has been hampering them all this time from bringing certain things out into the open. Here in this meeting I would give support, if you agree, to abiding fully by the measures proposed by the comrade fighters from Kosovo on the 12th of last December.

Ilijaz Kurteshi, presiding:

I would just ask you a bit...

Bosko Budimirovic:

Let me tell you in all sincerity, I have been a member of the League of Communists since I was 17 years old.

Ilijaz Kurteshi:

That is not our topic today, comrade. I will not discuss that.

Bosko Budimirovic:

As I see it, that is the main topic. I apologize, comrade president, I apologize for getting into a debate.

Ilijaz Kurteshi:

But I cannot discuss that. If you want to, fine, if not, I will not, I leave immediately, and you can talk...(end of sentence not audible)...

Bosko Budimirovic:

Comrades, if I have done something wrong, tell me. (A ripple in the audience) I am offended that you have cut me off, that you did not hear me out, and if I deserve some penalty, here are the supreme law enforcement agencies, the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, let them put me in prison if I have gone too far.

Ilijaz Kurtesi:

You did not come here for them to lock you up.

Bosko Budimirovic:

I would rather have them put me in prison than for someone to kill me there. I have been beaten about the head there where I live....

Bozidar Banjac:

My name is Bozidar Banjac from Klina Opstina.

I have some recollection of the war, and by and large where I am, our elders have suffered at the hands of the Albanian families. However, that is now the past. I am interested in only certain things, the exodus of Serbs and the sale of property. Not a single case has yet been recorded when this was stopped. Then I can also say that as far as bilingualism and the signs of certain firms and institutions are concerned, we fight even for our minorities in Austria, specifically the Koruska Slovenes supposedly so that their language would be in use there. However, I can prove this and document it, take for example the "Grand" Hotel Prishtina. All four sides are open, and on each one it says Grand Hotel Prishtina [in English in the original]. On four sides.

And to tell you the truth, I have a neighbor, right next door, he is a feeble old man, they stole his horse, and even today that horse has not been found. They raped a woman over 60 years of age who was all alone. They determined exactly who that was, but no steps were taken whatsoever. That was Christmas, 25 December, believe me, that was on the 24th, Christmas Eve, and the next evening it was a proper state of war, there were bursts of gunfire. I myself applied for a license, I am referring to a license to carry a gun, but I have received no answer for 2 years now. And this situation now, for me personally, Serbia is helpless to do anything. However, all of this is in the SFRY Assembly, which is really tolerating many things in Kosovo, and in my opinion it is solely to blame.

Milik Aleksic:

My name is Milik Aleksic from Kosovo Polje.

Comrades. I will not have anything personal to say, since if I were to speak in personal terms about the pressure that has been exerted on me personally, it would take me hours....

The Irredenta is not and has not been carrying out those methods it had, when it was out in the streets, when it was raging, but the Irredenta is working covertly. You go to someone's office, you have trouble getting your business done. I know how such things are done. I have worked in the opstina administration myself. I went to get a copy of a birth certificate, I had to wait there 18 days....

My grandson had a car accident. With another Serb. I went to that judge all of 25 days to obtain the accident report. For 25 days they gave me the accident record in the Albanian language. I gave him a look, comrades, who authorized him to take away my constitutional rights, may God punish you, I told him. He asked me if I was a lawyer! I said I was a Yugoslav. And I am a citizen of this socialist state and you have to give me what is guaranteed by the constitution. To be sure, he went off, I won't deny it, for that report. I have had many more of these quarrels down there with certain people who are exerting pressure, individually. I am an old man and I would not come here today from Kosovo Polje into this blizzard, into this cold, to hurt my health and what little life I have left if I were not driven to it by some trouble, comrades.

I don't know, it seems to me that this nationalism or whatever it is has been recruited from above and not by any means brought about by the poor people down below and that people.

That is all I had to say.

Miodrag Popovic:

I am Miodrag Popovic from the village Gornje Dobrevo.

I had 10 hectares in the Peasant Work Cooperative with obligations for 3 years kept for 6 years, without land, thrown out. Why?

So as not to pay war damages to the Serbs, the war criminals have been protected. Every one of them. So that they did not pay war damages to us, and then the Peasant Work Cooperative was dissolved, and the land was divided among the richest Skipetars, I am referring to those who are quite well-off, no doubt as a bribe or for some corruption, how am I to know. But when I said, comrades, why are you taking 5 hectares of land, when my 10 were not returned to me, he said that even the Emperor Murat fought for this communism, since communism existed, since Emperor Murat was himself a communist. And accordingly that is what I am fighting for, not for land, and not for money, and not for children. Those were the three things he said.

Tihomir Kovacevic:

My name is Tihomir Kovacevic from the village Priluzje.

We are well aware that in every speech Comrade Tito remarked: "Comrades, preserve brotherhood and unity as you would the apple of your eye." What is the necessary question in Kosovo now? Why has this state of affairs come about? Who started it, the authoritative bodies which were supposed to carry out things and ascertain things on the spot? The authoritative agencies are covering this up, comrades, and that is why these consequences have come about. The executive authoritative bodies, the legal system, how am I to know, and all the way down the line. It is a crying shame that today it is very difficult to correct it, that this is passed on to the young generation which is growing up today. The pressure is now being exerted through that young

generation, which is still under age, in just the same way. And there is damage and all the rest of it.

Thank you for your attention.

Bogosav Bacic:

My name is Bogosav Bacic from the village Dolac, Klina Opstina Assembly.

I think everyone knows why and how we came here. The press, television, and radio are writing about it every day. The situation in Kosovo is more secure and safe every day. They should ask our children who go to school what kinds of attacks they experience there. I personally ask the comrades present here in the assembly as the highest forum of Yugoslavia: Who am I to personally complain to with my comrades here after this? Is there some other body, is it possible that it exists, where we might present our grievance, or is this the end? I feel this is a shame upon the leaders of Yugoslavia. I do not bring the Communist Party into this, since the party is not to blame. There are 49 grievances here, comrades. I have not received a response to a single one....

[6 Apr 86 pp 55-58]

[Text] Stojan Ognjanovic:

My name is Stojan Ognjanovic from the village Ugljar, which is right next to Kosovo Polje.

I will try to be brief, but forgive me if I am not a good speaker.

I participated in the National Liberation Movement beginning at the outset of 1943. I was discharged in April of..., and after my discharge I had a great task even as a member of the party--requisitioning, planting, and so on. The formation of social ownership was undertaken....

Later a decision was made at the level of the Pristina Opstina to form the "Kosovo-eksport" Agricultural Combine in Kosovo Polje. To be sure, at that time they did not bother too much about the opinions of the peasants in Ugljar, Bresje, Kosovo Polje, and that part as to whether they would allow the farmland to be used for public purposes or not.... It goes without saying that the combine was mostly created with Serbian land, it was in Gornje Dobrevo, a portion of Prelac, Ugljar, and Kosovo Polje, all of those villages in the Kosovo Polje area. The combine operated as it had been planned. Later there was a tendency on the part of the Skipetars, counting on the situation that is now happening with us in Kosovo, and the Irredenta served as the basis for seeking an ethnic pattern in the combine as the basis for the combine's operation. They demanded that the pattern of the labor force be the same as it was in the province. That was the position of the committee, that was the position of the opstina, that was the position of the combine, those are the positions they took. In large part, that is, the managers in the combine, were squeezed out. A large portion of the workers who were squeezed out left, and most of their jobs were taken by Skipetars.

What has been happening recently, now! When I say this, I have said this already, I said it in a closed party meeting, actually it was not a party meeting, but it was attended by comrades from the Central Committee here, that things were not going the way they should in the combine. I said that a portion of social property was being usurped, I told how much of the land stock had been taken and done away with in every manner possible. When there was a dairy, butter was stolen, the offenders were apprehended and punished, some for 5-6 months, some 2 months, and later, when they were to be released, the assistant director of the work organization called a meeting for those people to be reinstated, to be given apartments, and they are still operating.

Another case, in the meat plant at a later date there was a certain Gani Pulja, and then there was a certain Kadir, and then came Avdi Musa.

However, in that short time since Avdi Musa came in that plant, he brought approximately 150 of them in, without bothering to fit them into the organization chart. It is normal to have an organization chart everywhere, but it does not exist in our case when it comes to hiring. Normative acts are being drafted now. Now people have come to take those jobs, they are operating from that position, the issue has been brought up even in the Assembly, the public prosecutor and presiding judge of the Constitutional Court have been called upon to see whether the mandatory recognition of bilingualism was envisaged by the constitution. The explanation I have been given is that it wasn't. I think that there has also been some debate of this in the Kosovo Assembly and it was said that there were only certain jobs where bilingualism had to be recognized. At my job, in the work community where I work, a new job analysis has been done, and mandatory second- and third-class recognition of bilingualism has been envisaged for 70 percent of the jobs which are held at the moment by Serbs and Montenegrins. Even more than that--typists who work in the Serbian language, for them recognition of bilingualism of the second group is mandatory. For all the specialists and lawyers who work on normative acts recognition of bilingualism in the third group is also mandatory. Recognition of bilingualism in the second group is mandatory for the cashier, that is my job.

Once I asked the solicitor general if this was possible. He said that they had provided the criterion that was necessary. I told him, now you look at what kind of criterion that is. He came, that seemed to be the end of it. Coercive pressure is exerted, including even a physical assault on one worker, that is, an engineer who was a graduate in agricultural economics and had been hired in the combine as the only person with that background. He carried out physical assaults in order to bring someone else who had worked there.

Various meetings were scheduled that were attended by politicians, and this came up at every meeting, and when the time came to get down to the truth, the meeting was interrupted, and they said, "Comrades, we will be taking this up again." Never was any of those interrupted meetings resumed.

Comrade Popovac came, Stijovic, Gasi, Pulja, they were all there, they all came, but they did not discover the real truth, and the real truth was not spoken. So, in that combine where I work, this is a policy based on precise design, and that is how it is operating. At the moment we have a director, it

is a bit embarrassing for me to say, but he is a doctor of sciences, I told him to his face--Comrade Bozo, there are things which you look at, but you see nothing around yourself. People like that are designing our policy.

The man who holds the position of director where I am, he was caught in an act of malfeasance. The state of the facts was established, criminal charges were filed, pressure was put on the workers' council to adopt a decision on his behalf, so that he would be allocated an apartment, although he has a house, he has a house in the country, and he has an apartment in Podujevo. Those are the people who are committing white-collar crime, and instead of being driven out of office, preference is actually given to them.

I have been a worker since 1947, my pensionable service was increased because of my participation in the war, and in all I have 42 years of pensionable service. I am still employed. I have not used any resources for housing construction. I tried to do something, but it was unsuccessful. I was rejected once, then a second time, and I filed a grievance with the Federation of War Veterans. The Federation of War Veterans came to intervene, and nothing happened. Later when I behaved rudely, they gave in and granted me 13 million old dinars. Just imagine, I have 42 years of pensionable service, my house is dilapidated, the tiles are about to fall off, and they grant me only 13 million.

Miroslav Solevic:

I am from Kosovo Polje, it has been 2 months now since I moved into a socially owned housing unit in Pristina.

Comrade president, comrade vice president, and comrade secretary, please understand that those of us who have come here have come with the principal desire that we have an opportunity to live normally, to work, and to remain in Kosovo to live. As you see yourselves, we here are Serbs and Montegrins.

Our desire was that through our individual statements we would indicate the situation as we see it so that we might thereby make a contribution so that things be examined at the federal level, so that measures be found in those examinations and so that those measures are carried out and we have an opportunity to remain down there.

I have in the past and still am president of the Action Conference of the League of Communists in the 17th Local Community. I organized several meetings. What Comrade Bosko Budimirovic said a little while ago, the comrades didn't ask what was said, but they asked who organized it. Even I as president of the action conference was not for them a person who had a right--the way it was put was "in an unusual way"--and what is usual, if it is not usual for the president of the party to call a meeting of that organization?! Who, then, is supposed to call it? We did this with the intention that we, the progressive forces, the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, the Federation of War Veterans, and the entire front would be on the offensive, rather than having our enemies on the offensive. All the hostile jaws are directed toward Kosovo regardless of the nationality they belong to. We have to

fight for every person, for every individual, regardless of nationality, so that they do not go off the wrong way. We have too many enemies to make enemies of those who are still our friends.

I therefore think that unless we effectively carry out the measures that have been outlined, quickly, resolutely, and radically, we will be opening up the opportunity for a portion of that population to go off precisely into those jaws.

I have the duty, comrade president, to advise you, to inform you, of one fact. Please inform the highest authorities of what we have been saying here. I want to tell you that tendencies which in my opinion are very, very dangerous have emerged down there. People are more and more frequently saying to one another, everyone here knows this, that we will no longer move out individually. Either we are going to live together or we are going to move away together. (Lengthy applause)

You know why I say that this is a dangerous thing. If we Serbs, down there in Kosovo, regardless of when, come under the leadership of some Carnojevic as may turn up regardless from where and try to move to Serbia all of us together, in a body, if nothing is resolved, what will happen then? What might be all the consequences of that?

Another dangerous tendency, every one of us here has been talking about it, but will not say it here from the rostrum, but everyone says it at home talking to his neighbor: I have five members of my family or I have six, I would give up two, so that the rest could live in freedom. What does that mean? That means, comrades, civil war. The gun kills regardless whose hand it is in, regardless of whether it is held by the Irredenta or by the Ustashi or the Chetniks. It does not matter in whose hands it is.

The most important reason was that these documents, these conclusions about stopping the exodus from Kosovo, are in our opinion pale. They are being carried out inconsistently. Now there are the new elections. This is a profound and fundamental matter. We resent it, as Comrade Bosko said a little while ago, that people are being nominated in whom we do not have confidence and who have proven themselves to be bad. For example, in the place I am familiar with, I do not want to mention their names, but there are several of them. We received the slate of possible candidates for the opstina committee of some 90 members. I ask you, on that list there were 10 people, I later heard 14, against whom an inquiry or criminal proceedings are being conducted for hostile activity.

Just let me go back to one thing. In Kosovo Polje I chaired that meeting, and it was stated that at the previous meeting 33 problems were brought up which were very essential ones. And if we resolve those problems, we in Kosovo Polje would for all practical purposes halt the exodus. Only 5 of those 32 have been resolved, but many more problems were brought forth at that meeting and at subsequent meetings. These problems are not being resolved. The most dangerous thing which can happen is for some leader from the sociopolitical structure, and in my case the most responsible people at that meeting were

from the Pristina Opstina, to promise something that is later not carried out, when there is an objective possibility of carrying it out. No one of us is asking for these problems to be worked out over 5 years, but we do ask that it be stated publicly that we will solve this set of problems in a month, this other in a year, and this set of problems over 5 years, and these, comrades, because of the financial situation our country finds itself in, because of the political-ideological unacceptability of some measure proposed, we will never do. We merely ask for clear answers so that we can make a clear choice--yes or no.

Comrade president, when I come to some meeting such as you are now presiding over here, or in the Assembly, and when that citizen over there says--fine, comrade, that is alright, but you answer me how many Albanians have moved out of Kosovo under the pressure of that Great Serb nationalism and Montenegrin, and how many of the latter have moved out--it is illusory to defend facts which cannot be defended.

Yet another very dangerous line of argument runs this way: Let us talk here, comrades, about the exodus (I am not referring here to this meeting, but in general when some factor in our country comes up for discussion) under pressure, it is not moving away under pressure that is the problem, but the greatest political problem in Yugoslavia, this has been confirmed and concluded by all the official authorities in this country, whether it be government, party, or some other structure, is creation of an ethnically pure Kosovo. If that is created, even suppose that we here reach agreement, comrades, that everything is perfect for us in Kosovo, and we all move out for economic reasons, it is not at all essential whether this occurs under pressure or without pressure, you see, the moving out of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is a political problem of the first order regardless of whether it takes place under pressure or not, since although we all move out without any pressure whatsoever, this will constitute realization of the idea of an ethnically pure Kosovo.

Accordingly, that line of argument is not to our liking either, and it disturbs us deeply.

What we are bothered by most down there are also the careerists, the opportunists, and the poltroons from the ranks of the Serbian nationality.

(Applause in the auditorium)

We are also bothered by those others, of that same category and of that same profession. But we Serbs are not attacking those others for one simple reason (from the other nationalities) because when the opstina committee is chosen, when the opstina or some other government is chosen, we are chosen on an ethnic basis. Accordingly, if, to take an example, the committee secretary in Pristina Opstina is a Serb, he got there mainly because he is a Serb, it had to be. If he had not been the person, I know the names, but they are not essential here, some other would have done it. And it is his duty to protect my interests, since that is why he is there. And if he behaves in an opportunistic, careerist, or poltroonish manner, he is making it possible for the

irredentist and retrograde forces to carry out their policy, to drag things out, to water down the arguments, to substitute arguments, to bring up facts which are not essential to anything and to skip over the essential things.

There, that is what I wanted to say, but there are many other things I might say, but I would like once again, comrade president, to emphasize that our desire, our basic desire, is for all of us to remain there and to live under normal conditions. The fact that the measures taken so far have not yielded results, have not yielded the kind of results we are seeking, so long as a single Serb is moving away from there, the situation is deteriorating, since every day there is one fewer. I do not know the comrades from Klina and from Pec, but in this section I know almost all, if just one of them goes, say this Dr Banjac, if he leaves Klina, I say that 30 Serbian houses will be sold in a week. Just let Dr Milica Lukovic depart, and I say that 10-15 houses will be immediately sold and that those people will leave. It is a great thing to keep people there on the basis of real authority, real prestige, and being a committee secretary is not the only way to get real prestige and authority.

We have doctors there, we have engineers, we have enterprise directors who have incredible prestige. And now just imagine, when the ordinary man, when the ordinary people, learn one of these, as I have put it, prestigious citizens, prominent citizens, has bought a house in Smederevo or in Barajevo, or in Obrenovac, or somewhere in this vicinity, as soon as they hear that such a person has built a house or bought a lot, or bought a house, here is what the people say, comrade president: They say--well, he is an enterprise director (I am speaking about a particular person, but I will not tell you the name, that is not essential, he is one of the directors in "Grmija"), he has purchased a house, he is in constant communication, he knows more, and that means that he knows that something worse and terrible is coming for us. And that then automatically creates an atmosphere which sets us in motion, which uproots us completely.

I personally, to speak for myself, this I must say, since everyone here has stated his own case, have had several drastic examples, I have them here in my briefcase, specific pressures on me, but I have never complained because of them. So, let someone come forth and say that I have ever made an issue of this. And I have here even court verdicts, very severe ones, and they were brought against me. However, I have never complained.

I want to tell you this, comrade president: Last year I arranged employment for myself in Nis. A good job, a good salary, I promised a friend that I would take his wife as my secretary, and he would take mine, which means that the problem was settled, and I could have moved away. However, I did not do so because I was convinced, and I am now, that it still can be made possible for me to live there, for me to want to live there.

[13 Apr 86 pp 54-57]

[Text] Slobodan Rancic:

My name is Slobodan Rancic, I was born in the vicinity of Gnjlane, and I live and work in Smederevo. What the comrade president mentioned a while back,

introduce yourself, we are carefully writing down everything that each has to say. I want to tell you that you be aware that you are not alone, that what you present (all the problems, and the entire Yugoslav public knows about those problems) is not anything new, nor is it out of date, since all of this that has been happening has been happening for all of 40 years--with whose permission, how and why, that is what we ought to discuss a bit and talk about.

Your problems, I think, that is, what until yesterday were also my problems, are known to everyone; they are also known by the walls of this fine edifice in which the supreme power of the people sits, if I may so put it, and the authority of this country's working class. It is a bit strange and also rather disturbing that no one in our country, first of all the Serbian Government and then also the Yugoslav Government has the power or the vision or whatever it is to resolve these problems of ours, these sufferings, our terrible troubles, but is afraid, afraid of whom, to resolve this issue once and for all. I think that it is high time to settle it.

(Interjections from the audience: That's right. Applause in the auditorium)

For us, comrades, these small problems are our burning problems. The fact that we lack, say, freedom, that we do not have any rights, if I may so put it, though Yugoslavia is a member and propagates and is a progressive country in the United Nations, and so on, professing freedom and the right of every citizen to speak, to express himself, to write in his own language, to speak his own language, to communicate in his own language, comrades, if I am wrong, this is merely my assessment, tell me whether I am right or not--we do not have those things in Kosovo.

(Applause in the auditorium)(...)

Who is bothered, let me say it here, who is bothered by the fact that Serbia, now I do not know whether it is the presidency or the opstina, I do not know exactly, are demanding investigation of the origin of the real estate in Kosovo going to Albanian emigres? Let that be investigated...that bothers people in Kosovo.

Further, more than that. How come now, who is bothered by it--that one official language is spoke in Kosovo? Yet everywhere in the world there is one official language in a country, in a state. This comrade has said that it took him 15 days to obtain a copy of a birth certificate, and that is terrible, I think that that is terrible, there is nothing more terrible than that.

Ilijaz Kurtesi:

What would the one language be, in your opinion?

Slobodan Rancic:

Serbo-Croatian. For all the nationalities in Yugoslavia.

Ilijaz Kurtesi:

I cannot talk to you about political ideology. You take a line altogether opposite to that of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Slobodan Rancic:

I have finished, comrade president. (Applause)

Miroslav Solevic:

I apologize, comrades, I do not want to get into a dispute about everything that this comrade has said.

However, some of the things which he said here are not to the liking of many of us who have come here. There are certain things, first, and first we did not come to have the comrade president do what we would like. We did not come so that the constitution or something else would be amended the day after tomorrow.

I think that when I spoke I was sufficiently clear.

We seek measures that would clear up the situation.

Let me tell you that I personally have seen the amendment submitted by a group of delegates from Kosovo. But this is the business of the Federal Chamber, let it do its work. Certainly it includes others than just that group which submitted that amendment. The question is whether it will be rejected or adopted, perhaps the proceedings are already under way, and so on.

Let us not discuss that. Say freely and openly how things are. I think that we have not come to offer specific solutions, to propose political measures, and so on. I said that at the beginning, I say this, comrades, I think that you agree with this, we have come to say how things are. And later, once we have said how things are, if again nothing is undertaken, someone will have to answer for it. That need not be today, it need not be tomorrow, but the day after tomorrow he will have to answer for it. Go with the sense of that responsibility, let us not enter now into any great detail, I think that that is leading us astray, I would simply make this request of you.

I think you agree with what I have said.

Branko Misevic:

Branko Misevic, born in Suvi Dol near Pristina, now residing and working in Smederevo.

I moved away from Kosovo in 1969, after the second counterrevolution in 1968, since the first counterrevolution, as you know, was in 1945....

It bothered me as a party member at that time the lenient view that was taken toward those counterrevolutionaries, those Balists, those chauvinists; only a few of them were arrested, and who were they, they did not even arrest the buck sergeants, but only the corporals, they were given light sentences, and so on. That irritated me. I said so at the time in those meetings; and since I was unable to expect anything better, I left, if I might say so in anger and recklessly, even though I was a sociopolitical official in the opstina and in the province. I also worked in Kosovska Mitrovica and so on, no one, I repeat, no one, called me in, neither the committee secretary nor chairman at the time, nor did anyone else ask me why I was leaving. They could hardly wait, I got the impression that they could hardly wait to see me leave. Even though I am a civil engineer. There was an urgent need for such personnel in Kosovo and Metohija, but it seems that those who carried out the counterrevolution were better suited if I left my job and also Kosovo and Metohija.

They figured that if one Branko Misevic left, then 10-15 or 50 families would leave with him.

My dear comrades.

Stories are told about how people leave for economic reasons. We...there, "we are a foreign body in an alien organism." We must begin from the beginning and prove ourselves. Abandoning my native place, I left my comrades, my friends, my relatives, and so on. Not only I, but all of us have had to build, to create everything all over again, from the beginning. The Balists and Irredentists have been playing games with the bitter destinies of tens of thousands of families. A hundred thousand individuals are playing with bitter destinies. It is not easy to leave one's native place, the home where he was born. It is not easy at all, nor is it any simple matter.

As for people moving out of economic motives, I can say, and I know the situation quite well both in Serbia and outside, that there are very few who came on economic grounds. Perhaps not a single one! It is absurd even to think so, much less assert it....

There is no one that can have better thoughts for the good of this country than we here. Perhaps we are not all good speakers, we are not able to say everything, and so on, but I believe that this is a fact. The situation in Kosovo cannot be changed with a magic wand. Radical changes have to be made, indeed radical changes in the constitution must be made. The whole must be strengthened at the expense of the parts. If we want unity. If we want to put a stop to this vandalism, there has to be a uniform court system. There has to be a uniform system for prosecution. The educational system in a country must be uniform. There has to be a single planning mechanism. We must strengthen the whole at the expense of the parts if we want to do anything.

That is all, dear comrades. Thank you.

Mihajlo Trajkovic:

My name is Mihajlo Trajkovic, I was born in Kosovo Polje, I participated in the National Liberation Movement beginning in 1942, but all of that is by the way.

It seems to me, comrades, that it would be better if these comrades who are here today, these are mostly farmers, if we had come together there and settled the question. We have a lot of work ahead of us with the spring planting, and in some places there are certain other major issues.

But we came here to have a little discussion, [not] to exchange insults. We should not exchange insults. We should not act like grieving women, but should arrive at a conclusion.

The comrade president, he is our countryman.

He has been listening to us attentively and presumably wants to bring this issue up, and it is not proper for us to exchange reproaches here.

A little while ago I said that I was a participant in the National Liberation Struggle beginning in 1942, in August, but that is not essential.

I took the oath of allegiance to the League of Communists and the party. But today my sons say: "But my daddy, what did you do? You did not bring us freedom." I fought with a gun in my hand, first to drive the enemy out of the country, so that we could create brotherhood and unity and the equality of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities in our country. We made a beginning, and we did quite a bit, but now we have spoiled it, so that we will never, so it seems to me, ever create it. Between the Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo.

Please, comrade president.

It seems to me, let us just find a party member with compassion, you are an old party member, an honest man, we have placed our confidence in you. Let a man be found, a compassionate party member, let him see what is being done in Kosovo.

Just listen to what my daughter says: "Daddy, you did not bring me freedom." Why, daughter? "Because you always have to wait for me at the train station or the bus station. You did not bring me freedom because you do not dare to take the bus to town with me. But rather you go alone, and I take another bus." That is an accurate fact, here are all the comrades here, I swear it, and if it is not "I will stick my hand in the fire...."

Just let every official from Kosovo state that his wife or his daughter is safe, that she is safe and enjoys all constitutional rights, "and I will cut myself here." But that man who holds a position and has a salary of 20 million and is well-off. But his wife and his child is suffering there. I know of certain cases.

The worst thing now, let me have an answer from the comrades: What is the worst thing for a man who has to leave his native place, who has lived there 500 years, his grandfathers and great grandfathers, he has to leave his home and to gather up his baggage and to escape somewhere. Not to move, but to escape. Or to see the monument which he has erected to his son, daughter, mother, or father destroyed and for his mother to go off moaning. Whether she moans in grief for that monument, or she moans because her son has died, or she moans because she has to pack up and flee, or she moans because her daughter or granddaughter or daughter-in-law there, the ladies will forgive me, has been raped.

That is all, thank you.

Miodrag Vujinovic:

My name is Miodrag Vujinovic; until recently I lived in Kosovo Polje, and now in Obrenovac. I will not speak about Kosovo, everyone in Yugoslavia knows that from the lowest to the highest. That is not a new topic. As far as I am concerned, it dates back to 1941.

I will present my case in order to back this up.

I was discharged in 1948. Beginning in that year and up to the present day I have been seeking to get back the land which was divided up by two Skipetars. Their names are Ismailj Zecir and Bajram Sadik; they do not even have the same last name. My land never became part of the land stock of nationalized property, but they have been using it. Which means that they are usurpers rewarded for their misdeeds.

As I say, this did not happen today, but dates back to 1941. There are those who are operating with cunning, and there are those who are applauding them. I call upon the Assembly to take all of these people into account, including myself, and to return to me what is mine. I know for certain that under the constitution I can never acquire the right to what was taken away, what was taken away by force of arms. My case is in the Yugoslav Assembly, in the Serbian Assembly, and it has also gone to the Kosovo Assembly.

Ilijaz Kurtesi:

Is there anyone else who wants to speak?

Milisav Vladic:

I am Milisav Vladic from the village Batusi near Kosovo Polje.

Comrades, we are not opposed to any nationality. Honest nationalities, nor against the Skipetars, honest people. We have some in our own neighborhood. We treat them honestly, and we visit one another. There are very few of them where I live. We are against the Irredenta, who are embittering our lives at work, when traveling, in the train. They are emerging more and more.

I have every reason for saying this. I am a poor man. I had a little girl and I was sending her to school in Obilic. She was attacked by someone of the Albanian nationality in broad daylight, people traveling with her of Serbian nationality barely saved her. I filed a report with the police. The police took steps, they turned them over to the court. I attended the trial. Everything concerning my case was documented. That was back in 1984. So far I have not received any answer whatsoever from the court. I do not know the reason for that. Which means that the Irredenta is there even in those individuals who are not taking those steps.

There was another attack of an old woman in the village, a woman who had fought with the Partizans beginning in 1941. She is 80 years old. A school-teacher was also attacked, a woman who taught us children in school, and who was out of school for 6 months because of it. Our children fell behind in school. No one took steps.

I can also say this: Equality, how can we be equal? I am not against the Albanians or anyone. But I want to say that I cannot have equal rights. He is having 10-15 children, while I have 2. I apologize. He finds jobs for 10, I cannot find a single one....

Comrades, in my opinion the Irredenta is emerging more and more. It is working for our departure. We will not leave individually, as hundreds from the village have done, those who went off individually to parts unknown. In our village, the old settlers who are Serbs here, we will not allow that. Individually. If we have to go, we will do that honestly, in a body, all in the same direction within Yugoslavia. We will not sell either our houses or our property there. Since we are leaving things there, we will demand asylum somewhere. We will seek it somewhere. And whoever settles on our land there, let him reflect on the fact that he has not bought it, that it is not here. Let him think it over well, and let him be aware.

That is all I had to say.

(Applause in the auditorium)

Zdravko Ciric, Vice President of the SFRY Assembly:

(...)The strongest impression on me as an individual, this is that area, I would say that an accumulated distrust is being felt....

After all, I think that no one can survive if we break down the bridges of trust. No one has a chance to survive. That is the only place we can start. I think that every citizen in our country who is an honest man can grasp the profundity of the idea of Josip Broz Tito that there is substitute for brotherhood and unity for any of us. Something similar happened to us, I could expound to you a whole series of things which I even think, perhaps you would feel, to be more serious, but something similar happened to us in Croatia in 1970. Probably you who were not there, just as I now am not close to your troubles, thus you would not have been close to our troubles, but I say (I know that you are aware) we did not experience the same thing. After all, the

thing took a certain course and all of a sudden it became evident what it was about.

Finally, I propose that there be an agreement, the president will probably agree, and please once again if you have any documents which would be important to us, leave them, and that we here assume the obligation that we will ascertain precisely which measures we must prepare in the Federal Assembly or some other federal institutions for which the Assembly is the oversight body. The comrade who said that he was the chairman of the action conference and certain others who spoke because the issues are very serious, so that we should begin to talk as members of the League of Communists. But I think that by the nature of things, you have emphasized important matters concerning personnel policy, very serious matters. If the assessments stand as you have presented them, then the League of Communists must thoroughly analyze what has been going on here....

(A ripple in the auditorium. Someone speaks from his seat, inaudible.)

I think it is better for me to tell you honestly how I feel. I can even say, to be precise, that even if 50 percent of it is true, the problem is still a very serious one, not to mention that if it is mainly true, then it is a terrible problem. After all, what is the League of Communists to do if it cannot guarantee to have people in its key structures who above all do not bear allegiance to someone else, who above all are not chauvinists? This is a postulate of the survival of this entire country, but especially for the party, and we shall not talk about personal congratulations or any other factors. But I think that these matters are so important that we probably should send it from here to those institutions.

That is all I had to say, thank you.

Ilijaz Kurtesi, President of the SFRY Assembly:

In your statements you have set forth the reasons why you deemed it necessary to come even to the Federal Assembly, and we have listened to you most carefully. For me personally I am very sorry that you had to do this now in this time of the year, in the winter, when there are other jobs and obligations....

It goes without saying that I will not agree with a number of opinions that depart from the line and positions of the League of Communists and the positions of the Central Committee, which depart from the Program and from the By-laws of the League of Communists. I believe that only on that line of the League of Communists, on the foundations of the positions taken by the League of Communists, the Platform Concerning Kosovo which is in effect, and we will reassess it, and we will reassess it at the next congress, the views which have been enacted at the level of the League of Communists and other authorities in the country, in the Republic of Serbia and in Kosovo; I mean to say that that is the foundation, and I think the main problem is that there are problems that have gone unresolved as yet. My feeling is that it is not for the lack of positions, but because of inconsistent implementation of a number of our commitments. If this is proven to be correct, and we will be checking

out everything you have said, in the behavior of individuals or certain bodies toward their obligations, tasks, and responsibilities which do not come under the head of negligence and a bad attitude toward their work, but much more than that, we will have to make an assessment right there on the spot.

I want to inform you, before I came here for this discussion with you, that is, before you came here to discuss this with me and with us, I informed the responsible comrades in the country. It is not pleasant for us that this had to happen, but there is every indication that follows from this that we will have to be consistent in implementing and enforcing things.

We will take up the part which concerns us here (some of your issues, editorial note), and that portion which pertains to the League of Communists we will send as a report to the leadership of the League of Communists, the part which pertains to the functions of the republic we will be sending to them, the part that belongs to the provincial authorities, to the opstina, we will be sending there, along with an organizational effort so that our Commission for Grievances, whose function it is to receive petitions and grievances, I do not have good information about how effective it is in dealing with them, but that is something we must check, so that most of the specific things--the abuses, the disregard of the law, and so on--we check out.

But since this discussion has extended somewhat more widely, there is something else I would ask of you. I believe certain of the allegations as they have been presented here, I believe that in certain places certain bodies and individuals have not been accommodating or have acted unfairly. It is unfortunate that we do have such cases. Our positions have been that when it is a case of interethnic relations, when it is a case of the problem of the exodus from Kosovo, which is our general Yugoslav problem, disrupted relations of interethnic inequality, the problem is not whether the number of such cases is large or small, but rather that if there is such a case, then this has always been a political problem and a serious one for us. If that has not been the approach taken in some place, then truly we are dealing with inconsistent implementation of the positions we have taken both at the level of the province and at the level of the republic.

But I think that for your part you have to do everything so that we act in concert in the community in which we live. It will not be easy, but the battle in Kosovo or indeed in any part of the country can be waged both against the Irredenta and against nationalism and against the other nationalisms only through a joint struggle. When we understand that, if the working people and citizens understand this as a real responsibility, then there will be fewer problems. Society will constantly find the forces to work that out.

Second, I truly think that we must not reflect on whether people should stay there or not. I think that we must altogether, individuals and official bodies and organizations and the highest authorities of our country, to guarantee and to achieve respect for the constitution, for legality, for order, regardless of who is involved. On that line we will certainly have both many tasks and many problems. Not only should we have confidence in our authorities, but indeed we must, since there is no other force which could deal with things

except our party. We will have problems of unemployment, we will have problems with both scholarships and housing, with jobs, and so on, and so on, not because this society does not want to resolve those issues, but if there are not enough jobs, and a great number of people looking for that employment, then every solution contains a portion of injustice, of irregularity, and so on. Sometimes this is done intentionally, and when we establish it, I think that we must uproot it. Here I am thinking of the responsible authorities, of the party, and so on, and at the same time we must constantly point to those problems and make efforts to overcome them.

I would really like after this discussion today for us to make more effort to look at what remains for us to do with greater understanding and with greater trust. There is quite a bit left for us to do. We need to fight still more in Kosovo to take command of the situation. I cannot accept certain assessments to the effect that entire bodies of leadership and individuals within those bodies of leadership are simply said to be a part of the Irredenta without evidence (if it is proven, then so be it), but to say this of someone when things have not been checked out, that is not alright(....)

I think that both the comrades in the leadership of the League of Communists of Kosovo and in the bodies of leadership of these several opstinas, especially in Pristina, Klina, and so on, must examine things most seriously and that your involvement in this respect should also be support for the problems to be resolved and also a pointing up of the real problems, since we have enough real problems so that we have no reason or need to invent anything. If we take things up in the right way, then I think we will also succeed in resolving these problems. We have paid too dearly for everything we have to simply allow someone to destroy it. Why in certain situations have we even now allowed certain shortcomings, such things, I think that this should make us more and more aware and should make us more capable as a society of resolving these problems....

I hope that your tasks will be performed more effectively than has previously been the case in similar situations.

Thank you.

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CSO: 2800/236

SOCIOLOGY

ROMANIA

MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN CITIES, VILLAGES EXAMINED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 86 pp 39-46

[Article by Vladimir Trebici: "Demography: Nuptiality and the Cultural Model"]

[Text] It was stated recently that demography of the family is still in its infancy and that this situation is aggravated not only by the lack of adequate statistical data suitably processed but by the absence of a stable formulation of concepts providing guidance in research. The statement is valid at both the world and the national levels. Promising progress has been made in the study of marriage and nuptiality and of the family life cycle, the first sequence of which is marked by entry into marriage. Great importance was assigned to the problem of the family and marriage at the International Conference on Population (Mexico, 1984; United Nations Organization, "Fertility and Family. Proceedings of the Expert Group on Fertility and Family," New Delhi, 5-11 January 1983, International Conference on Population, 1984, New York, 1984, 476 p--in particular, Norman B. Ryder, "Fertility and Family Structure"). The problem was also brought up at the 22nd General Congress of the International Union for Scientific Study of Population (Florence, June 1985), at which a special section on family demography, life cycle, and nuptiality ("International Population Conference," Florence, 1985, Vol 3 "Family Demography, Life Cycle, and Nuptiality," pp 203-308) dealt with these problems, on the basis of valuable papers presented by Norman B. Ryder, John Bongaarts, Louis Roussel, Patrick Festy, and Thomas K. Burch, well-known names in the area with which we are concerned.

In what follows an attempt is made to present some of the features of the nuptiality of the Romanian population, to identify the nuptiality pattern and various "sub-patterns," and lastly to suggest a cultural model explaining the particular features of nuptiality that are constant over time.

The systematic principle obliges us to begin with a brief description of the demographic situation in Romania, in order then to place the problem of nuptiality in this context.

The postwar period has been characterized by a rapid and sometimes contradictory evolution of demographic phenomena, the population, and the demographic and socioeconomic structure of population in the context of the extensive changes occurring in Romanian society. Over the last 4 decades there has been a change in the demographic behavior of the Romanian people

marking the most important stage of demographic transition in the process of modernization. Inasmuch as the transition relates not only to birth rate, death rate, and natural growth, over the period in question there have been a transition in the age structure of the population, a transition in territorial mobility, a transition in economic activity rates of the population, a family transition, and others. As has been stated, nuptiality will be examined to determine the extent to which the "pattern" has changed in the course of demographic transition.

While the transition from the high mortality (around 20 deaths per 1000 inhabitants) and natality (around 32 live births per 1000 inhabitants) levels over the 1930-1935 period to the low levels of the postwar period is part of the natural process of demographic transition such as has occurred in other European countries as well, the rate of decline in the birth rate, the annual variations in the number of births, creates negative consequences, including intensification of demographic aging and disproportions in providing the manpower resources necessary for development of the national economy.

The principal demographic phenomena over the 1970-1974 and 1980-1984 periods are as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic Developments (Expressed as Annual Averages)

Item	1970-1974	1980-1984	+ or -
Live births	404,552	359,923	-44,517
Deaths	194,440	228,644	+35,204
Natural increase	210,112	130,279	-79,833
Marriages	159,703	173,606	+13,903
Divorces	12,222	33,663	+21,441
Deaths before 1st birthday	16,608	9,623	- 6,981

The sharpest decline was recorded in the natural increase, by around 80,000 persons a year, as a result both of the decrease in the number of live births and of the increase in the absolute number of deaths. The increase in the number of divorces is explained by the effect of legislation. Over the 1970-1974 period, rigorous enforcement of Decree No 779/1966 resulted in a sharp drop in divorces, while over the 1980-1984 period the divorce rate was more or less "normal".

The demographic picture becomes more sharply defined, however, when we consider certain demographic rates.

In subjecting nuptiality to more thorough examination, we use both the most general index, the gross marriage rate, and more refined indexes such as the first marriage rate of the female and male population, the average and median ages at first marriage, and the average age of unmarried persons, by which is determined the typology of nuptiality in urban and rural environments, the traditional provinces, and individual administrative districts (see also Vl. Trebici, "Nuptiality of the Romanian population," in VIITORUL SOCIAL, No 4, 1979, pp 762-770; Vl. Trebici, "Nuptiality and Demographic Transition in Romania," in Parviz Khalatbari (ed), DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION, BEI-TRAEGE ZUR DEMOGRAPHIE, No 7, 1983, Akademieverlag, Berlin 1983, pp 219-237.

We will begin with the most general picture. We note that the gross marriage rate and the divorce rate are approximate in nature, being influenced primarily by the sex and age structure of the population, the number of marriageable members of the population, and by the numbers and length of marriages (in the case of the divorce rate).

In this very general picture, we thus observe that the marriage rate of the urban population is high, 52 percent higher than that of the rural population. The marriage rate in municipal Bucharest is very high, and is very low in the province of Oltenia. The divorce rate situation exhibits even greater differences; the divorce rate is 3.2 times higher in urban areas than it is in rural areas. In individual provinces, the highest rates are recorded in municipal Bucharest, Banat, and Dobruja, and the lowest in Transylvania and Oltenia. The median age at the time of first marriage and at dissolution of marriage by divorce is of the greatest importance to the life cycle of the family and to fertility (Vl. Trebici, "The Life Cycle of the Family," VIITORUL SOCIAL, No 2, 1982).

Table 2. Comparison of Demographic Statistics, 1970-1974 and 1980-1984

Item No	Designation	1970-1974	1980-1984	+ or - (%)
1	Birth rate (per 1000 persons)	19.6	16.0	- 18.4
2	Death rate (per 1000 persons)	9.4	10.2	+ 8.5
3	Natural growth rate (per 1000 persons)	10.2	5.8	- 43.1
4	Marriage rate (per 1000 persons)	7.7	7.7	--
5	Divorce rate (per 1000 persons)	0.59	1.5	+154.2
6	Total fertility rate (number of children)	2.65	2.26	- 15.0
7	Average lifespan	68.58	69.77	+ 1.19
8	Male	66.27	66.98	+ 0.71
9	Female	70.85	72.61	+ 1.76
10	Infant mortality (deaths) per 1000 births)	41.1	26.7	- 35.0

Note: The average lifespan for 1970-1972 and 1980-1984 is taken from the "Anuarul Statistic al R. S. Romania 1985" [1985 Statistical Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Romania], p 40. The decrease in infant mortality and increase in the average lifespan do exhibit positive trends, but there has been only modest increase in the latter, especially in the case of the male population. The decrease in the natural growth rate and in the death rate are noteworthy for their long-term implications. The marriage rate is at the same level over both periods, while the divorce rate rose considerably relative to 1970-1972, but the 1980-1984 rate was 22.3 percent lower than over the 1960-1965 period, when it was 1.93 divorces per 1000 inhabitants.

Table 3. 1980-1984 Marriage and Divorce Rates (Per 1000 Inhabitants)

Traditional Province	Marriage Rate		Divorce rate	
	Rate	Ranking	Rate	Ranking
Romania	7.7	--	1.50	--
Urban population	9.4	--	2.33	--
Rural population	6.2	--	0.73	--
Oltenia	7.1	7	1.14	8
Muntenia	6.9	8	1.33	5
Dobruja	8.9	2	1.61	3
Moldavia	7.3	6	1.35	4
Banat	8.5	3	1.93	2
Transylvania	7.9	4	1.31	7
Crisana-Maramures	7.5	5	1.32	6
Municipal Bucharest	10.2	1	2.99	1

Note: The urban population includes cities and towns plus suburban communities.

Some factors may be cited immediately to explain the differences referred to. The population of the towns has received the benefit of immigration of young marriageable contingents from rural areas; this is also true of the most highly urbanized and industrialized districts. Similarly, an important contribution to the higher marriage rate of the urban population and of the districts in question is made by the greater frequency of remarriages associated with the high divorce rate.

Table 4. Districts with Highest and Lowest Marriage and Divorce Rates

No	District	Marriage rate (per 1000)	No	District	Divorce rate (per 1000)
1	Municipal Bucharest	10.2	1	Municipal Bucharest	2.99
2	Brasov	9.8	2	Timis	2.05
3	Constanta	9.3	3	Prahova	1.93
4	Timis	9.0	4	Hunedoara	1.87
5	Sibiu	8.5	5	Brasov	1.82
6	Cluj	8.1	6	Arad	1.81
36	Salaj	6.7	36	Ialomita	0.88
37	Vaslui	6.7	37	Covasna	0.88
38	Calarasi	6.6	38	Buzau	0.88
39	Ialomita	6.4	39	Vaslui	0.86
40	Giurgiu	6.2	40	Olt	0.81
41	Teleorman	5.9	41	Salaj	0.69

There is a clearcut correlation between the marriage and divorce rates on the one hand and industrialization and urbanization on the other. The most that may be said of the "propensity" toward marriage or divorce, or of the existence of cultural models, is that an urban and a rural cultural model may be assumed to exist. Only by use of other indexes can we arrive at an approximation of these models. We begin with the total marriage rate for the male and female population over the 1961-1984 period, concerning which statistical information is available on first marriages and their distribution by sex and age.

A clarification is in order. The total rate of first marriages represents the number of first marriages entered into by 1000 single persons between the ages of 15 and 49 (at which latter age a person is conventionally considered to become single for good). When a real generation is considered, it is seen that 1000 initially unmarried persons can only conclude a maximum of 1000 first marriages. Since the data employed in calculation are transversal, the total first marriage rate sometimes exceeds 1000, and this calls for special explanation.

The difference between 1000 and the total first marriage rate is an approximate measure of the proportion of definitive celibacy. In 1984, for example, this frequency is for men $1000 - 852 = 148$, that is, 14.8 percent of the hypothetical generation would remain unmarried permanently if the 1984 nuptial model were to persist. This index is 12.9 percent for women; in 1982 it was 0.6 percent.

Being results of statistical distribution, the mean and the shape of the distribution curve are of interest, and not just the total rate. It is to be seen from Table 5 that the frequency of definitive celibacy has declined both for men and for women, the maximum being 16.6 percent for men and 17.2 percent for women. The import of this index is clearly defined by comparison of the data of population censuses and certain data relating to Western Europe. As regards the average age over the 1961-1984 period, it was 25.21 years for men (ranging from 24.87 to 25.42 years) and 21.87 years for women (ranging from 21.59 to 22.29 years). The difference between men and women at the time of first marriage was 3.34, a more or less constant value. The median age of women at first marriage was approximately 21 years. This means that, in terms of a female generation which begins to marry at age 16 (15), one-half enters a first marriage before age 21 and the other half marries after this age.

The annual fluctuations in the total first marriage rate and in the mean (median) age over this period, which is admittedly a short one, do not permit us to infer a firm trend toward lowering of the age at marriage or toward the frequency of definitive celibacy, these being characteristics defining the marriage boom in Western Europe, a phenomenon studied by the English demographer J. Hajnal and others (J. Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (eds), "POPULATION IN HISTORY," London, 1965).

Census figures must be used in considering a longer period of time. The data calculated by the method of J. Hajnal ("singulate mean age at marriage") (J. Hajnal, "Age at Marriage and Proportion Marrying," in POPULATION STUDIES, London, November 1953) reveal the picture reflected in Table 6.

The data of the 1899 census are approximate in nature. It may be said that those for the years 1912-1977 indicate stability of the average age at first marriage, a high rate of conclusion of first marriages, and a low frequency of definitive celibacy (2.8 percent to 4.3 percent of women reaching the age of 49 remain permanently unmarried; this is a very low figure).

Table 5. Total First Marriage Rate, Average Age by Sex, and Median Age of Women of Ages 15-49

(1) Anii	(2) Rata totală de nupțialitate		(5) Vîrstă medie		(6) Diferență	(8) Vîrstă mediană a femeii
	(3) Masculin	(4) Feminin	Masculin	Feminin	(7) bărbați-femei	
1961	980	1067	25,12	22,03	3,09	20,88
1962	1005	1093	25,24	21,89	3,25	20,68
1963	949	1035	25,17	21,79	3,38	20,49
1964	922	984	25,22	21,83	3,39	20,60
1965	910	943	25,18	21,79	3,39	20,63
1966	982	988	25,12	21,73	3,39	20,64
1967	948	914	25,15	21,63	3,52	20,62
1968	927	876	25,14	21,59	3,55	20,63
1969	878	828	25,17	21,66	3,51	20,86
1970	891	841	25,14	21,71	3,43	21,04
1971	900	849	25,13	21,74	3,39	21,14
1972	920	872	25,17	21,83	3,34	21,25
1973	965	925	25,15	21,79	3,36	21,25
1974	974	948	25,24	21,87	3,37	21,28
1975	993	998	25,28	22,06	3,22	21,43
1976	981	1018	25,42	22,29	3,15	21,57
1977	999	1061	25,30	22,20	3,10	21,49
1978	985	1073	25,35	22,12	3,23	21,41
1979	955	1072	25,35	21,98	3,37	21,30
1980	895	1017	24,87	21,49	3,38	21,15
1981	912	1034	25,26	21,85	3,41	20,59
1982	880	994	25,32	21,82	3,50	21,13
1983	834	885	25,37	22,11	3,26	21,50
1984	852	871	25,30	22,13	3,17	21,54

Key:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Years | 5. Average age |
| 2. Total marriage rate | 6. Difference |
| 3. Male | 7. Men-women |
| 4. Female | 8. Median age of woman |

Table 6. Percentage of Unmarried Women and Average Age at First Marriage

Years	Average age at first marriage (years and hundredths)	Percentage of unmarried women	
		Age 20-24	Age 45-49
1899	20.32	20.0	3.0
1912	21.71	33.9	2.8
1956	21.38	33.5	4.3*
1966	20.23	24.1	4.3
1977	21.07	33.5	3.5

*40-49 age group.

The type of nuptiality established by J. Hajnal for Eastern Europe, including Romania ("Eastern Marriage Pattern") has remained essentially unchanged over the last 8 decades.

Recapitulation from the 1977 census reveals the average situation reflected in Table 7.

Table 7. Average Age and Percentage of Unmarried Persons Aged 45 to 49 in Urban and Rural Areas

Area	Male		Female	
	Average age	Percentage unmarried, ages 45-49	Average age	Percentage unmarried, ages 45-49
Romania	24.93	2.5	21.07	3.5
Urban*	24.83	2.5	21.59	4.4
Rural	25.02	1.8	20.38	3.3

*Cities and towns.

There are differences between the urban and the rural population, but they are small. The average age of women at first marriage is higher in urban areas, as is also the frequency of definitive celibacy.

When the data are extended to cover the traditional provinces, the situation is found to be that shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Average Age and Percentage of Unmarried Persons Aged 45 to 49 in Traditional Romanian Provinces

Area	Male		Female	
	Average age	Percentage unmarried, ages 45-49	Average age	Percentage unmarried, ages 45-49
Romania	24.93	2.5	21.07	3.5
Oltenia	24.49	1.5	20.34	3.3
Muntenia	24.63	1.8	20.44	3.1
Dobruja	24.56	2.0	20.55	2.1
Moldavia	24.61	1.8	21.21	4.1
Banat	24.86	3.4	21.10	3.0
Transylvania	25.62	3.3	21.35	3.5
Crisana-Maramures	25.01	3.0	20.85	3.2
Municipal Bucharest	25.07	3.5	22.26	4.5

The "deviations" from the national pattern are modest ones. The highest average ages of men at first marriage are observed in Transylvania, municipal Bucharest, and Crisana-Maramures, and the lowest are found in Oltenia and Dobruja. The youngest ages of women are encountered in Oltenia and Muntenia, and the oldest in municipal Bucharest and Transylvania.

As has been stated, the important element is the form of first marriage rate distribution. At the national level, the maximum frequency of nuptiality for men is recorded in the 20-24-year age group, while in the case of women this frequency is divided between the 15-19 and 20-24-year age groups. The highest frequency of marriages by women, in the 15-19-year age group, is recorded in the traditional provinces of Dobruja and Banat.

Going back to the total first marriage rate by traditional provinces (1982), we find that, at the level of Romania as a whole, it was 879 for men, at an

average age of 25.30 years, and for women 994, at an average age of 21.83 years.

The differences between individual provinces are not significant, with the exception of municipal Bucharest.

Table 9. Total First Marriage Rate

(1) Țară		1965	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983
(2) R.F. Germania	M	913	734	644	620	609	
	F	1102	764	656	632	622	
(3) Danemarca	M	1002	624	492	469	448	496
	F	1005	663	532	501	480	525
(4) Franța	M	1013	822	689	643	634	601
	F	993	858	706	658	648	627
(5) Norvegia	M	917	756	615	611	590	557
	F	890	797	647	651	622	588
(6) Suedia	M	987	569	487	493		
	F	959	629	523	526		
ROMÂNIA	M	910	993	895	912	880	834
	F	943	998	1017	1034	994	885

Key:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Countries | 4. France |
| 2. Federal Republic of Germany | 5. Norway |
| 3. Denmark | 6. Sweden |

The nuptiality of the Romanian population is youthful, it being concentrated in the 20-24-year age group. The rate of conclusion of marriage is very rapid, and definitive celibacy is very rare. This pattern, which is highly stable over time, is an expression of the Romanian cultural model from the viewpoint of marriage and family (Vl. Trebici, "The National Demographic Model and Regional Submodels," VIITORUL SOCIAL, No 1, 1984, pp 48-57). It is uniform, with only insignificant local variations.

We may thus speak of a strong "propensity" for marriage and family and of resistance to attempts to erode this model. New trends in the evolution of marriage and the family have arisen in Western Europe in recent decades. The so-called "consensual marriage" and "juvenile cohabitation" models, that is, rejection of official marriage, have become widespread. We will consider

only a few countries (A. Monnier, "The Demographic Situation: Europe and Developed Overseas Countries," POPULATION, No 4-5, 1985, p 758).

In Sweden, for example, if the 1981 model has persisted, approximately 51 percent of the men and 47 percent of the women have remained permanently unmarried.

This trend has intensified in France in recent years. The first marriage rates for 1984 (tentative results) are 555 (male) and 580 (female), so that the percentage of permanently unmarried persons would be 44.5 percent (men) and 42 percent (women) ("Fourteenth Report on the Demographic Situation in France," POPULATION, No 4-5, 1985).

Inasmuch as the Romanian cultural model forms part of the European cultural area, comparative studies should be conducted, as is done in ethnography and folkloristics for example, to permit the making of long-term estimates. Up to the present, the Romanian model has been characterized by remarkable stability from the viewpoint of nuptiality.

The foregoing considerations, which are intended to represent an introduction to thorough study of the family, an area neglected in other sciences as well as in demography, seek to draw attention to the ineluctable necessity of multiple-discipline investigation of the family as the "basic nucleus of society" and of the life cycle of the family and to the need for elaborating theories and explanatory models. The contribution to cultural anthropology, ethnography, and folkloristics, would, as has been pointed out on another occasion, be of the highest importance.

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