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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1583

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No. 1583

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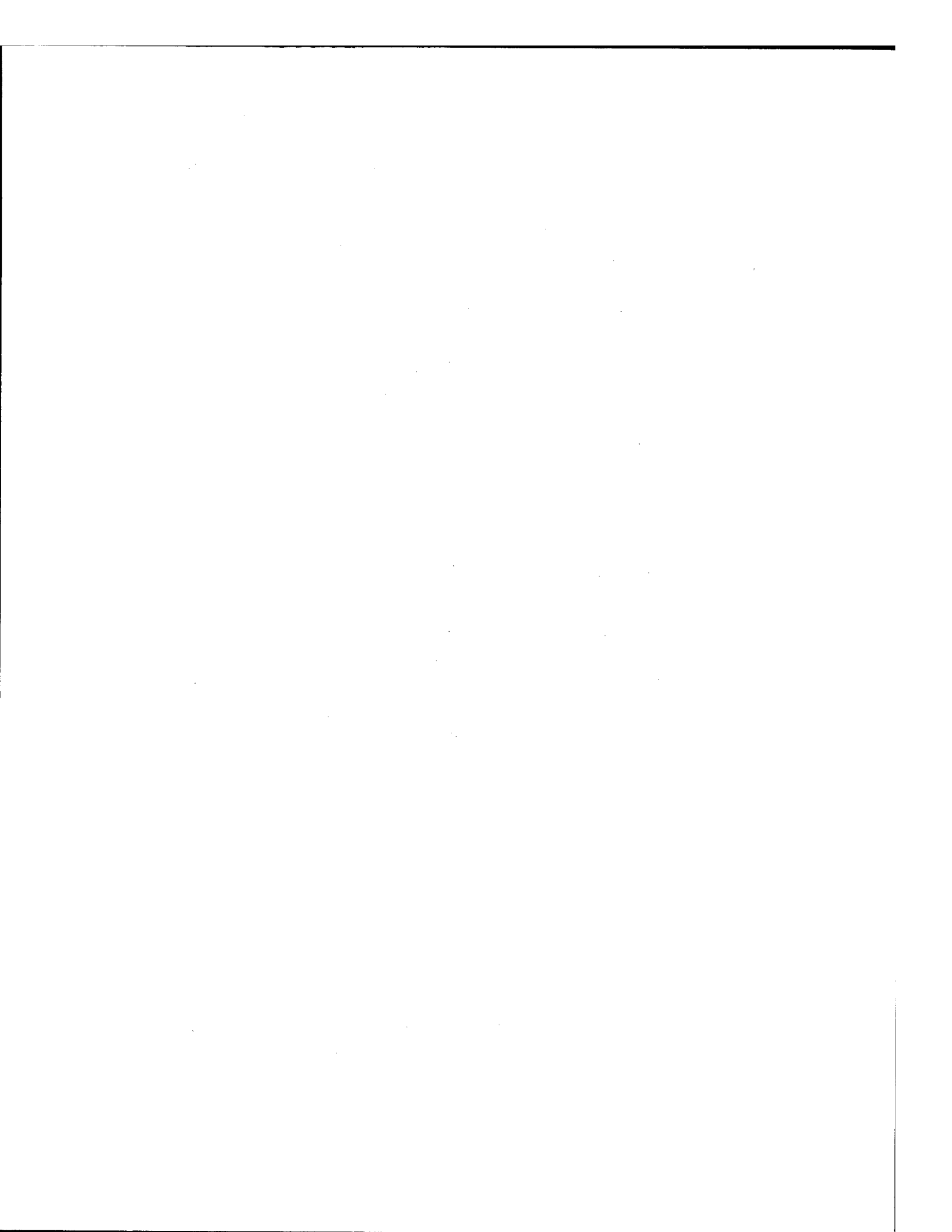
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR LEADERS GREET ROMANIAN COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Aug 78 p 1 AU

[Greetings message from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to their Romanian counterparts on Romanian National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP General Secretary, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

To Comrade Manea Manescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bucharest.

Dear comrades, on the occasion of the 34th Anniversary of the National Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Armed Uprising we convey to you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the government and the people of the Socialist Republic of Romania, our cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings.

The liberation of the Romanian people from the fascist yoke in 1944 marked a turning point in your country's history. Under the leadership of the RCP, in alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist states, the Romanian working people have scored great successes in building the new socialist social system. By implementing the decisions of the 11th RCP Congress, another important step is being taken to establish the universally developed socialist society.

The cooperation in the framework of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA is strengthening and consolidating the work of socialist construction in our countries and contributes toward safeguarding and preserving peace.

We can state with joy and satisfaction that the friendship and fraternal cooperation between the SED and the RCP, between the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as between our two peoples, are steadily developing and deepening on the unshakable foundation of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

The continuous implementation of the orienting stipulations contained in the Joint Declaration of 10 June 1977 that was signed last year during the official friendship visit of a party-state delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, is an expression of the vital process of the further development of relations between our parties, states and peoples.

On the occasion of your national holiday we wish you, dear comrades, and all working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania new successes in building the universally developed socialist society. To you personally we convey best wishes for health and personal well-being.

[signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

BELGRADE DAILY CITES 'PRAVDA' ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 78 p 2 AU

[Report by R. Bajalski]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Aug--Reprinting an article from Prague RUDE PRAVO today, PRAVDA once again recalls the August decisive moment in Czechoslovakia's internal developments in 1968, an act carried out by outside factors. The article serves--as the Soviet newspaper says--"to unmask the campaign of slander in the West against the CSSR and its allies in connection with the 10th anniversary of the internationalist assistance to Czechoslovakia in defending its socialist achievements."

Yesterday PRAVDA, in an article by a staffer, also dealt with the "Czechoslovak topic" in connection with the current campaign in the West, and in this connection the basic message of the newspaper was that those who are leading this campaign "are pushing the matter toward undermining detente." RUDE PRAVO's message is somewhat different. It boils down to criticism of all those who hold different views of the developments in Czechoslovakia 10 years ago from the ones that have come to prevail in Czechoslovakia and among its closest allies during the past decade. Moreover, the keenness of RUDE PRAVO's criticism is directed against those communists in other countries to whom "dogmatism" is attributed because they do not renounce their views.

All the rest that is reprinted from RUDE PRAVO has long since been known as the official view of the Czechoslovak party organs on the developments in that country in 1968. The only topical note now is the Prague newspaper's complaint that not all people have bowed to the official position. What is involved is that foreign factors have not bowed to this position.

Nevertheless, it is interesting that RUDE PRAVO claims the following: "Our party does not want to impose its assessment of the 1968 events, an assessment made on the basis of our own experience, on any of the communist and workers parties." This view, naturally, sounds realistic and would be quite clear had it not been followed by a different thought: "One cannot, however, express surprise in connection with certain statements that bear witness to a complete lack of knowledge of the Czechoslovak developments 10 years ago." In order not to create a contradictory

impression, the Prague newspaper defines its displeasure with certain elements abroad: "It is difficult to understand that certain communists, instead of paying attention to the path that Czechoslovakia and the entire world have traveled since that time, are dogmatically adhering to their rash assessments of the matter made at that time and are treating the developments of that critical year on the basis of worn-out epithets, instead of paying attention to a deep analysis of the two CPSU [as published] congresses and convincing themselves with their own eyes of the Czechoslovak reality."

Finally, another of RUDE PRAVO's theses, which is linked with detente, also deserves attention, according to this thesis, "the possibility for detente and a strengthening of peaceful relations in Europe was opened precisely thanks to the fact that the fraternal internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist states prevented the CSSR's being separated from the socialist community."

CSO: 2800

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOREIGN CRITICISM OF ROMANIAN TREATMENT OF MINORITIES ATTACKED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 1 Jun 78 p 24

[Interview with Attila Palfalvi, rector of the Cluj-Napoca Polytechnical Institute, member of the bureau of the Cluj-Napoca municipal party committee and of the National Council for Science and Technology, by Constantin Mustata].

[Excerpts] [Question] Abroad, some people are showing great "concern" for the fate of the Hungarians in Romania.

[Answer] I have always felt that in our country Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and all of us who live here are people with identical outlooks and interests, devoted servants of a common goal: the construction of a new, more just, more developed, and richer society which will better assure the satisfaction of the natural desires of all workers in our country. When I express these thoughts I am thinking, first of all, about the institute in which I have been working for almost a quarter of a century and which I now head as rector. Now I am in the position of evaluating and promoting people. I tell you with complete sincerity that never has anything other than the man and his worth counted. It is firmly legislated in the constitution of the country and, at the same time, it is carefully observed.

[Question] What examples can you give to support this assertion?

[Answer] It is useless to give examples. But if you ask me, remember that the rector of the Polytechnical Institute, the dean of the faculty of electrical engineering, the head of the department of social sciences, the deputy dean of the faculty of mechanics, and one of the assistant secretaries of the party committee of the institute are Hungarians. Also, in Cluj-Napoca, for example, the rector of the Institute of Plastic Arts, the dean of the faculty of mathematical data processing, and one of the assistant secretaries of the party committee for the university center are all Hungarians. Also remember that the director of the largest research and design institute in Cluj-Napoca, who is also a deputy of the Grand National Assembly, is also Hungarian. I have given a few examples, at random. But there is no organizational framework in which the Hungarian and German populations do not have their representatives.

[Question] There is a lot of talk about rights!

[Answer] Rights? In Romania I have never felt that I had fewer rights than my Romanian colleagues. All my work colleagues were evaluated and promoted on the basis of their merits and professional training regardless of whether they were Romanians, Hungarians, Germans or persons of other nationalities. To tell the truth, all these discussions seem to me to be senseless. How else would it be possible for almost 7,500 young people, out of a population of 1,700,000 Hungarian-nationality citizens to be [university] students? How else could there be 687 university teachers of Hungarian nationality, including almost 100 university professors?

These are thoughts which no person of good will can ignore. They are obvious facts which reflect a great truth: the unity of the Romanian people, in which Hungarians, Germans and persons of other nationalities who live together on Romanian lands are included, with equal rights. I believe that it is necessary to understand that we have at the head of the country a powerful, wise forum which has known and does know how to resolve, under the best conditions, all the problems which appear inherent on our road of building a new socialist order in our country.

[Question] What is one's country, Comrade Palfalvi?

[Answer] I will not give a definition but I will tell you that for me it is the land where I was born, where I live and work along with all workers of good will. Not long ago, I was a member of a delegation which visited the United States. I had an opportunity to visit several American universities and during the meetings which I had there with teaching cadres, scientists and other citizens, I was able to make a modest contribution to making Romanian realities known. Realities as they are, as they are seen and lived here, at home, in our common fatherland, in which each one of us has the opportunity to develop his own personality, here, where we were born, where our parents and ancestors have lived, where we are building a new order by our work and united struggle.

[Question] How do you explain all these "ideas" which are recited abroad?

[Answer] In only one way. There are some people foreign to Romanian realities who are trying to interfere in our internal affairs, attempting to cause, by different methods, damage to the unity of the Romanian workers in the struggle for the building of socialism and communism. Are there problems to be resolved in Romania? Yes, there are. But these are problems affecting all, not only the national minorities. It is natural that there should be problems. The important thing is that

we know how to solve them, and we have proven that we do. This was discussed openly at the Congress and at the National Conference.

Do they blow hot and cold? Yes, and they will probably continue to do so. But we are going forward and we will overcome all difficulties. We are still a developing country but through our joint efforts we will go beyond this stage. It is important that we all put our shoulder to it, regardless of nationality. It is an effort to which the entire collective is contributing with perseverance. As a result of this effort which our country is making, our task in regard to the training of advanced technical cadres have increased greatly in recent years.

CSO: 2700

PROFESSOR APPEALS TO GUSTAV HUSAK

Berlin DIE WELT in German 3 Aug 78 p 1

[Article: "Mr President, I Am Afraid"]

[Text] "Mr President I am afraid. The state and its security organs do not give me any feeling of security. They fill me with growing anxiety and that is the reason why I write to you." With these words begins a passionate appeal addressed to the Czechoslovak state chief, Gustav Husak, published yesterday by the London TIMES. The Prague regime critic and professor of Greek philosophy, Julius Tomin, 38, was the author of the open letter.

After the Prague Spring of 1968, Tomin left Prague for the West. Nevertheless, he returned to Prague later. Although a scientist, he had to make his money there as a night guard in the zoo. He belongs among the persons who signed the Charter 77 civil rights manifesto. His signature stamped him an enemy of the state apparatus.

Anxiety is the theme of his letter addressed to the president. Thus Tomin writes: "Whenever someone rings the bell, I feel anxiety that it could be the State Security once more. And whenever a car stops in front of the house in the night, I feel anxiety that they will pick me up again." His anxiety accompanies him whenever he goes to the mail box, because every day could bring a new summons to interrogation, writes the professor.

"Is it not possible to remove the reasons for my anxiety?" he asks. "Why do that many officials of the state apparatus use their time in order to fill people with anxiety?" Tomin himself answers: "It is because the state is afraid of confrontation with all these people who are accustomed to thinking freely, to writing freely and to using their creativity for formulating a free life."

Tomin lives with his wife Zdena and two sons in Prague. Ever since he returned to the CSSR, he was either without employment, he worked in a power station or--as now--as a night guard.

He gives regular classes in his apartment. His wife has also lost her job.

EAST GERMANY

FRG PROTESTS OVER BAN ON TELEVISION MAN REJECTED

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1213 GMT 23 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Berlin--GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier today invited Guenther Gaus, head of the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR, to attend a meeting in the Foreign Ministry.

Kurt Nier pointed out to Gaus that Lutz Lehmann, a correspondent of the FRG's first German television [ARD], who was accredited in the GDR, continued to violate the GDR's laws and legal regulations and, disregarding the conditions imposed upon him by the Foreign Ministry, had continued his attempts to make unauthorized television shows.

On behalf of the GDR Government, Nier strongly protested against this gross and deliberate violation of the laws and interference in the GDR's internal affairs, and emphasized that the ARD and its correspondents accredited in the GDR will, in future cases like this, have to bear all consequences arising from it.

At the same time, Kurt Nier emphatically rejected a protest from the FRG federal chancellor's office and statements by the FRG Government spokesman on this affair as totally without foundation. It was regrettable that the necessary conclusions were not being drawn from the GDR's unmistakable standpoint expressed at previous meetings. He did not assume that the FRG Government was turning itself into an advocate for the activities of its correspondents, which were contrary to the spirit and letter of the basic treaty and the Helsinki Final Act, and which represented a violation of the regulations on the work of the media of other states and their correspondents. The exchange of letters of 8 November 1972 on the working facilities for journalists states that they are being granted within the framework of the prevailing laws. It is clear that actions running counter to this must place a burden on relations between the GDR and the FRG, and that they are directed against detente.

Nier again expressed the expectation that the FRG would proceed strictly from regard and respect for the GDR's sovereignty and noninterference in its internal affairs. Only on this basis was progress possible in the further normalization of relations between the GDR and the FRG.

EAST GERMANY

CURTAILMENT OF WEST MARK USE FOR PROSTITUTION THREATENED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Aug 78 p 2 AU

[Unattributed dispatch from West Berlin: "Springer Is Walking the Streets"]

[Excerpt] [Initial passage omitted quoting from an article published by Axel Springer's BILD on 7 August 1978, entitled "Hot Sex for Hard German Marks on the Alex Square (East Berlin)," listing facts and figures on prostitution spreading in West Berlin]

Hence we also have enough to worry about in West Berlin ourselves. Properly speaking we need not rack our brains about what a BILD reporter allegedly discovered on Alex Square in the GDR capital.

We would not be surprised here in West Berlin, however, if the competent GDR authorities were to respond in one way or another to the latest variant of baiting the GDR presented by the Springer press. After all, it is perhaps not tolerable that the GDR is proceeding very generously with respect to permits for visits and at the same time puts up with such infamous disparagement of its citizens. People in the GDR could think of placing the exchange of freely convertible currencies under stricter control by means of an appropriate system. It would be easily conceivable that the GDR mark would be the only medium of exchange in general and that only foreigners--these include West Berliners and FRG citizens--would be permitted to shop in the intershops.

It would perhaps be most expedient only to permit those permanent West Berlin residents to enter the GDR capital who really want to visit relatives and are coming for humanitarian, family, religious, cultural or touristic reasons. Certain characters, however, who do not want to visit relatives but only to spend a cheap weekend in the GDR should be refused entry. Doing so would only accord with the wish of many Berliners on either side. This would also be the right answer to those people who disseminate such filth here in West Berlin in the mass media.

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

AID FOR ZIMBABWE--Another aid consignment from the GDR Solidarity Committee for the African People's Union of Zimbabwe left for Lusaka this afternoon in a special Interflug aircraft. The consignment, which was financed by FDGB and the GDR population's donations, consists mainly of food, clothing and blankets. According to the secretary general of the solidarity committee, Kurt Krueger, in a radio interview, the GDR, at the recommendation of the United Nations, had increased in this anti-apartheid year its support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa in particular. In the first half of 1978 alone, the progressive forces of this continent as well as of the Middle East had received aid goods worth 40 million marks. The liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, in particular which are struggling against racist minority regimes, could continue in the future to count on active anti-imperialist solidarity on the part of the GDR. All African states with socialist leanings will also continue to receive material assistance from the GDR. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 6 Aug 78 LD]

FRIENDSHIP WITH MEXICO--Mexico City--A regional group of the Mexico-GDR Friendship Society was created in the Mexican state of Guerrero over the weekend. The founding ceremony in the province's capital of Chilpancingo had been preceded by a week of friendship with the GDR at the Guerrero University, where a GDR expert had been acting as guest lecturer for the past 6 months. The new regional group of the friendship society--another such has been in existence for the past year in Mexico's second largest city, Guadalajara--intends, above all, to develop numerous activities to consolidate the relations between the two peoples in preparation for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1803 GMT 6 Aug 78 LD]

AID TO GUINEA--Conakry--The GDR charge d'affaires here handed over 700 tons of wheat flour. It is part of a solidarity consignment paid for by donations from trade union members and other sections of the population to alleviate the consequences of the drought for the population of Guinea. Guinea Foreign Trade Minister Saikou Barry expressed cordial thanks on behalf of his government for the GDR's solidarity and help. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1501 GMT 2 Aug 78 LD]

SPEECH BY REAR SERVICES CHIEF--"With vast initiative the members of the rear services of the National Peoples Army and the GDR border troops safeguard the material-technical and medical supplies and services to the troops and insure their combat readiness to a decisive extent. Thus they are enabling the GDR Armed Forces to accomplish the military class assignment set for them by the Ninth Party Congress to reliably protect socialism. This duty, Lt Gen Helmut Poppe, deputy national defense minister and chief of the rear services underscored, prompted the members of the rear services to high achievements in the 'soldiers avowal 1978' socialist competition." The primary target was, General Poppe stressed, to sparingly use the available means with a high utility effect for the further enhancement of combat strength and readiness. General Poppe described how, thanks to the efforts of rationalizers, savings totaling thousands of marks have been achieved in various branches of the rear services. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Aug 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

## HUNGARIAN LEADERS' SPEECHES PUBLISHED IN FIVE LANGUAGES

Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 18 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Budapest, 18 Aug, (MTI)--Entitled "Power, Liberty, Democracy--Speeches and Articles of Leading Hungarian Politicians," a volume has been brought out by Budapest's Corvina Publishers in five languages. The book informs the reader about the report of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party placed before the 11th Party Congress about economic conditions, state life and the development of socialist democracy. It also carries the party program declaration's chapter dealing with the consolidation of state power and the further development of socialist democracy. In addition to these documents, the content of the publication contains the names of nine members of the HSWP political committee. Each of their writings deals with key questions of Hungary's socialist construction. These extend to issues that have aroused great interest in capitalist countries too. Brought out in German, English, French, Spanish and Portuguese, these pieces help fraternal socialist and communist parties to get comprehensively acquainted with the HSWP's approach and ideas as well as its leadership practice.

In four of his articles, Janos Kadar deals among others with Hungary's experience in socialist construction work, with the inter-relations between patriotism and internationalism, the policy of alliance, character of power and the role of state, and cultural construction work. In another writing he expresses: The basis of workers' power is the unity of the working class and he goes on to speak about the current tasks of socialist construction. In their varied writings, Gyorgy Aczel, Bela Biszku, Sandor Gaspar, Imre Gyori, Miklos Ovari, Istvan Sarlos and Dezso Nemes present the multifaceted problems and achievements of developed socialism in ideological, political, cultural and scientific life, in the relationship between the church and state and in the development of creative free human life.

The 16 writings in the volume, documents and explanatory notes provide useful political knowledge. They make it bare what true forces are in action, what the HSWP leaders think and aim at and what is the reality behind the bourgeois press 'reports' which are often superficial, often misleading and frequently betray deficient knowledge of the country.

CSO: 2020

IMPLEMENTATION OF YOUTH LAW DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jun 78 p 5

[Interview with Gyorgy Nador, secretary of the State Youth Committee, by Jozsef Fahidy: "On the Consequences of the Youth Law"]

[Text] Gyorgy Nador was born in Budapest in 1929. After liberation he became associated with the youth movement as a young worker. He was head of the pioneer movement from 1957 to 1967 at the KISZ--KB and then he had a leadership assignment in the Ministry of Labor. Since the formation of the National Youth Committee he has been secretary. He has a teaching degree from ELTE (Eotvos Lorand Tudomanyi Egyetem). He has many publications about youth policy.

Almost half of our country's population is under the age of 30 or has just turned 30. One and a half million students are studying in our daytime educational institutions and 35 percent of our active workers also belong to this age group. The Cultural Committee of the National Assembly recently discussed the results to date of the implementation of the September 1971 approved Youth Law.

Jozsef Fahidy asked for information from Gyorgy Nador, secretary of the National Youth Committee about the rights of the youth, their duties, results to date and future course of action.

[Answer] The Youth Law gives the most comprehensive summary of what is expected from the youth and together with other high level statutory provisions ensures the validity of citizenship rights and obligations of the young population. In addition to regulation of an overall nature for carrying out the law, the Ministry brought to the fore many measures affecting the broad spectrum of youth. Between 1971-1977, they discussed proposals on youth policy 22 times; 21 ministries and national policy agencies, several regional and municipal councils gave final directives.

[Question] Can we be satisfied with the results obtained?

[Answer] Yes and no. A social appreciation of youth has increased at the same time with the increase of production and social work activities as well as other public activities taken on by youth. As a result of the youth law and actions taken to raise the standard of living the living conditions of youth have improved. In spite of the results however, there are further problems that need to be solved.

[Question] How do you monitor observance and enforcement of the law?

[Answer] The youth law has its own formats of supervision and execution, formats which fit into the socio-democratic organization of the youth parliaments. They meet at the work place and training centers two times a year as well as in trust, county or national branches where they meet five times a year. So far, we have arranged such meetings in 1974 and 1976. The first time one million and the second time one million and three hundred thousand youths participated, about two-third's of those concerned. At these forums every fifth to sixth youth spoke up about common interests, and gave thoughts and proposals to the youth community as a whole. State and management agencies, the KISZ (Central Youth Organization) and trade unions as well as interested cooperative agencies, pay special attention to these proposals and try to carry them out if at all possible. Following the latest forums, the leadership allowed the National Youth Committee's plans to be analyzed in view of national priorities and together with SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] and KISZ and KB (Central Committee) they reached joint agreements in regulating the rights and sphere of authority of these forums. For example, youth parliaments have the right to concur in decision making regarding youths in various enterprises. This year it is between 15 October and 15 December that parliaments of work places and institutes will meet to supervise the implement of the youth law and to discuss things expected of the youth as well as their tasks in the remaining period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

[Question] There are many things to be done to improve the future of youth. Of these which would you single out or which would you maintain as the most important one?

[Answer] I think that one of the most important tasks is to educate youth for work, to respect work, to choose careers to meet the needs of the society and which conform to the capabilities of the young. The child in school who gets used to doing his basic work well will later as an adult will more readily achieve joy out of a job well done. Learning and physical work are parts of the same process, they cannot be separated. In the interest of furthering physical development, developing many different activities have evolved like the KISZ and the pioneer movement with youth camps, volunteer summer work by students. Now it will expand with a new form career training not available in schools. Starting with the next academic year and concurrently with the new curriculum, schools will introduce at the seventh and

eighth grade level and at the secondary school level 12 days of curriculum related work. We are trying mainly through this to educate the youth for the job. That is why when we are choosing the occupation it is very important to have the right conditions both from school and the work place. As job possibilities only those jobs are acceptable where the youth can truly contribute to society, taking into consideration the age and physiological factors of the students. Thus as I have already mentioned, the introduction of employment will take place gradually.

[Question] What kind of work do the young do and how are they compensated for it?

[Answer] Besides [employment to serve] the needs of industry, services and agriculture, we are also thinking about [employing them for] tending the environmental milieu residential, beautification and the construction of camps, playgrounds and of small sports fields. In setting up the employment possibilities, one must bear in mind the already existing relationships between school and industry and not least the manpower needs of agriculture in the fall. The elementary school pupil cannot work more than 4 hours at one time, while those in middle school can work for only 6 hours at a time; the school doctor may excuse some pupils for health reasons from some types of work. The youth receive a compensation for the work done but it is possible that on voluntary basis the student group may decide to have part of their earnings used for common youth goals.

[Question] The youth's choice of a career, adaptation to the work place and starting a family are all national concerns. Regarding these what kind of agreements can you tell us about?

[Answer] It truly is a matter of national concern and objective since every year new age groups join the production sector and start to shape their individual life styles, and from youths becomes adults. But aside from these concerns, one must also see that in our country, each youth has a job ensured. No one is threatened by the fears of youth in capitalist countries, these of unemployment and uncertain livelihood.

Organized measures have been initiated by enterprises to receive youth starting [their] careers to acquaint them with their new work place, and to take into account the years spent as in apprenticeship study or in the local militia. The relationship between the workplace and youth receiving childcare assistance and those serving in military service have become more regulated and effective. In spite of all this, the situation of youth is not reassuring in many places of work with regard to the regular, continuous employment of student workers and especially in the area of supporting those starting out new careers. This is evidenced by the fact that nearly one half of learned skilled workers find job in an enterprise where their training is not assured and also that the majority of those changing jobs is made up of youth starting new careers.

The youth production movement plays an important role in aiding those who start out in a new career. For example in the competition "Creative youth" initiated by KISZ 50,000 youth participated. During one year they submitted innovations and suggested improvement worth more than 150 million forints. The conditions for further results is the utilization of chosen careers and the increasing of the creative potential of youth.

Another youth policy question occurring concurrently at the outset of a career is giving assistance in starting a family. As part of this numerous measures have come about above and beyond the social allotments. As a result of the youth law implementation instead of the previous 20 percent of housing allotted to young couples, they today receive half [of all housing]. Local housing distribution for couples is based on income category diverging from the average and favors skilled workers. Up to now 15 places have rentable temporary housing. To minimize difficulties of moving, the youth may ask to decrease their payments for the first 5 years and in the interest of further helping young married couples, they may borrow up to 30,000 forints at preferential terms for the purchase of household furnishings and equipment. In spite of this assistance, the creation of independent homes is still a problem to be solved since the majority of young married couples even with this aid, are not capable of saving enough on their own because the sub-bases make such a demand on [their] salaries without the parent's aid.

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CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

CHIEF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR REVIEWS APPLICATION OF SOCIALIST LEGALITY AID

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Jun 78 p 3

[Article by Dr Karoly Szijarto, Chief Public Prosecutor: "Legality and Legal Security"]

[Text] Even today many people are inclined to restrict socialist legality to the legality of the functioning of the law enforcement agencies or the decisions of the authorities and the organs appearing in contested legal cases. They forget that the totality of legal regulations are interwoven throughout the various circumstances, and the activity of public affairs which unfolds on the basis of the legal regulations belongs just as much to the total socialist legality as does the public social sentiment which develops in the citizens within the framework of the legal system.

We can only speak of the complete development of socialist legality when the legal regulations which form the legal system encompass essential life situations and when they satisfactorily regulate human behavior or if the activity of the law enforcement agencies is in accordance with social needs, while both the citizens and the law enforcement agencies observe equally the provisions of the regulations. Thus I believe we can assert that this has been realized in our country. As for decades, legal security is a tangible reality. Because the validation of legality also means for the citizen that everyone can feel secure, and can trust that the government organs will not violate his rights determined by the legal regulations, and in addition they protect him from the illegal intrusion or interference of others. Moreover the experiences of our prosecuting organization in this matter are unequivocally positive.

Education and Conviction

From the point of view of the general state of society, it is of unfavorable effect if as a result of carelessness in law enforcement or mistaken legal conceptions improper decisions arise, and the curing of legal violations demands newer procedures. Public opinion therefore follows with active attention the legality of the functioning of the law enforcement agencies.

It strengthens this if in the work of the law enforcement agencies the central will is correctly asserted, and if their activity does not violate civil rights. It is fortunate, today more and more the desire can be experienced in the work of the authorities that upbringing and conviction should gain a role in their decisions. This encourages the citizens to voluntary execution of the legal regulations, and strengthens civil discipline.

It also comes under the essence of legality that if someone maliciously violates the regulations, or his obligation in connection with either work relations or relations of cooperative membership, they are held responsible through legal process, and in accordance with the principles of legal policy in law enforcement the infringement of law is enforced in his regard, which then deters both him and others from the commission of similar acts. In our experience, the law enforcement agencies generally differentiate well and correctly in the assigning of responsibility.

It is an important social and civil interest that the law enforcement agencies properly validate the balance of interests of the social group and the individual. Still there often lurk in the background of such processes illegal attempts at making money or other desires aimed at deception of the regulations of a material nature. We have experienced that the majority of law enforcement agencies--from the state administration to the courts--fulfill their mission well, and block the fulfillment of such wishes. But we cannot leave outside of our attention the fact that the strengthening of the protection of social property is a constant task, and certainly in this area there is much to be improved. Among other things, for example, everything is not perfect in the compensation of damages caused by criminal activity on public property. It often occurs because of the indifference or negligence of those in charge of common property the validation of the legal policy obligations aimed at increased protection of social property is hindered. There was a case in which an administrating agency which was damaged took no steps towards handling significant damage claims of more than 100,000 forints, and the prosecutor had to make good this negligence of the enterprise.

#### Prevention

The development of crime has an equal effect on the situation of legality and the state of society. But in investigating the legal situation and relationship between public order and security one cannot simply begin from the number of criminal acts committed. The actual weight of the crimes must be evaluated, as well as their nature, the circumstances of the commission of certain crimes, and many other factors, for only in this way can we arrive at the correct understanding and reflection of the actual situation. For example in our country with the most serious crime of murder, we have experienced that the acts are often not related to deficiencies in public order or security, but actually more than 60 percent of these are committed because of insults. We note a decreasing direction of the total number of crimes if we look at the development of the statistics in the perspective of the decade. Of course this does not mean--and cannot mean--balanced

decrease of the number of crimes in any crime category, as new contradictions come about in the basis of our society such as tensions and insufficiencies exacerbating one or another type of crime. Thus for example it can also be seen from the statistical data that we have to take effective measures to suppress violent crimes and to strictly call to account those who commit such crimes. The number of certain violent crimes--for example, robbery and other similar acts--has in fact risen in recent year, probably for various reasons. And with this phenomenon--just as with other spheres of crime--it is the task of certain prosecuting agencies among them the prosecutor's office to seek and find with the help of society the most fruitful means of preventing and suppressing crime. Still the reduction of crime demands organized efforts from both the authorities charged with prosecution and from the society. And inasmuch as keeping abreast is the interest of the entire society, it is the intellectual obligation of everyone of us to stand in the way of possibilities for the commission of crime.

#### Lenience, Permissiveness

In the analysis of legality the question arises in and of itself to what extent the legal knowledge of citizens comes into play in the formation of the number of legal violations. Important and much--but not enough--effort has taken place in the interest of citizens for understanding the basic civil rights and the manner in which they are realized. It is almost indispensable that workers for example involved in labor relations should understand the more important provisions of the Labor Act, and cooperative workers to understand the law of cooperatives and internal regulations, etc. Of course one must properly differentiate which regulations are really necessary for citizens to learn. For this one must of course assure the conditions. Resultantly, if someone wants to build then it is desirable to get acquainted with the building codes, one about to retire with the provisions concerning retirement.

A lack of legal knowledge without a doubt plays a role in law breaking behavior of citizens, but I think that this is not the primary cause of legal violations. In almost every area of life it can be experienced that very often the citizens break those laws which they know. For example, someone who builds without a permit, or in a manner deviating from the permit today knows full well the consequences to be expected from this behavior, and in spite of this breaks the regulation; he does not have respect for the society nor the interests of other citizens. It is a concern of societal proportions that often some people violate professional rules or technical, work-protective, and fire-prevention provisions with the knowledge and indulgent attitude of the higher authorities concerned. And the breaking of rules and dangerous circumstances often become endemic until it leads to tragedy. In such circumstances the violation of professional rules and security provisions today means a great danger mainly for the life and physical well-being of the working man, but it also endangers very valuable installations and the already established material gains. Many signs point to the fact that the necessary moral standards and sense of responsibility

has not kept pace with the rapid technological developments. The violation of professional standards there can have unforeseeable consequences as we have experienced more than once. Let's think, for example, about the mass disaster which occurred in the Boraros not long ago. The large number of plant accidents that can be put down to violations of professional rules, and all that derives from this, negatively effects the individual, the family, and the society.

#### Everyone's Task

One side of the realization of socialist legality is the fact that the legal regulations are validated properly by the functioning of the state authorities and the law enforcement and administrative agencies. Public opinion is very sensitive to this. But the other side of legality is that along with state discipline that civil discipline should also receive more attention. In this area public opinion is significantly more lenient. In many places the dominant view is that the extent of law-breaking behavior of citizens is less than that of the authorities. But the two are often closely inter-related. And the two can only be assessed together, though the process is oriented toward restoring the violated legal order.

The conditions for the realization of socialist legality are that the legislation should also correctly express social interests. The niveau of legislation in recent years has risen greatly from the point of view of correctly expressing social interests. The recognition and enforcement of effective legal measures is significantly aided by the practice that the older and often modified regulations appear sequentially in the organic structure.

But in some cases legislation can still be improved. It can happen that one or another of the provisions of a regulation do not work out in practice; it is desirable to modify such provisions within the shortest possible time. This undoubtedly makes it difficult to learn the regulations, and also makes more difficult the work of the law enforcement agencies, although it does not endanger the stability of our legal system. Legal regulations in harmony with the demands of social development, legitimate functioning of the law enforcement agencies, and the respect for the regulations by the citizens, and their execution, together signify the realization of socialist legality, and is the condition for the good state of society to be durable and for everyone to feel perfectly secure.

The ensuring of socialist legality in our country is common mission of every government, economic, and social organization, therefore the prosecutor's office is not alone responsible. The public prosecutor's office--which have very recently celebrated their 25-year anniversary reorganization--will naturally fulfill its constitutional duty, and will stand guard with the means at its disposal over socialist legality.

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CSO: 2500

JOINT ZSMP, SZSP SESSION STRESSES COORDINATION

Conference Agenda

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 23 Jun 78 pp 1,3

[Article: "We Serve the Socialist Fatherland Through Joint Work; Plenary Session of the Main Boards of the ZSMP and SZSP"]

[Text] The tightening of the bonds between young workers and rural people, and the student community, the deepening of cooperation between ZSMP and SZSP in all levels of action, and the bolstering of the unity of the youth movement and the whole young generation in carrying out the party's nationwide program for the development of the country in the building of an advanced socialist society are the basic hypotheses undertaken in the course of the joint plenary session of the main boards of ZSMP and SZSP, held in Warsaw on the 22d of this month.

The deliberations, which was attended by PZPR Central Committee secretary Zdzislaw Zandarowski, were chaired by Krzysztof Trebaczkiewicz, chairman of the main board of ZSMP and chairman of the main council of FSZMP. The opening address leading up to the discussion was presented by Stanislaw Gabrielski, chairman of the SZSP main board. Head of ZHP, Jerzy Wojciechowski, was present.

Opening the discussion, K. Trebaczkiewicz said: "During the past few years we have done a great deal to solidify the unity of the young generation. The way made by the organizations of working and student youth during the 1970's allow us to say that the directions adopted for the development of the youth movement have proved correct and that the FSZMP concept is working day by day through the collective effort of activists, honest work and study, and creative commitment to the cause of socialism.

In their program activity, the ZSMP and SZSP base their work on joint ideological and political assumptions. We are side by side with the supreme goal set down by the party, the shaping and bolstering of the nation's unity around work for our country.

In connection with the content of the 12th Party Plenum, K. Trebaczkiewicz emphasized that we can carry out the indicated tasks by developing among all young Poles the universal movement for inventions and rationalization, looking everywhere for reserves leading to more effective management and operations, bringing the community of young artists, researchers, and inventors from the plants, colleges, and ministry institutes closer to our work. We must make our own contribution to the acceleration of technical and organizational progress. Modernity does not mean just better machinery and equipment, or efficient technological processes, but also the way of thinking and acting, and the sensitivity of every Pole.

The 12th Party Plenum resolution on the regulation and management of the Vistula provides our generation with an unusual opportunity to contribute to the development of our country. In historical measurement, this great undertaking is a national matter. Even today we should discuss the scope and forms of our participation. We are bringing the ideas, work, and dedication of young people who are coauthors of this all-national endeavor.

The basis for discussion was the joint paper of the presidiums of the main boards of ZSMP and SZSP (we are printing the discussion elsewhere in this paper), which defined the directions for further strengthening of cooperation between the two organizations.

"The goal toward which we are working through activity in our organizations is to deepen unity between the young intelligentsia and the working class," Marek Nowakowski, chairman of the Lodz board of SZSP, emphasized. "This is an extremely important element in the formation of modern cultural models, one which is a major force in upbringing influence on the whole young generation. We should work more fully together on a humanistic model of modern man and anticipate in our thinking and actions those processes which we are observing today."

"In the work of our organization we are going more and more outside of our own groups, but an issue of great importance is to assure continuity of action in the youth movement," said Slawomir Jakubowski, chairman of the voivodship board of ZSMP in Gdansk. "There are still too few former SZSP members in the ranks of ZSMP once they take jobs in their vocations. The plant boards should in their activity take up more comprehensively the problems of college graduates who by continuing their organizational activity could do a better job of handling the problem of directing groups of people, make better use of their knowledge, and have an influence in shaping proper relations in the workplace."

In the discussion much room was devoted to the matters of the sociovocational adaptation of college graduates. It is particularly important to employ them after graduation in jobs which fit their majors and qualifications, to make fuller use of graduates' professional knowledge in modernizing the production and technological processes, and to attract them to the rationalization and inventions movement, creating fuller developmental possibilities for them.

Among those speaking to this subject were Piotr Kacajko, vice chairman of the college council of SZSP at Lublin Polytechnic, and Henryk Wcislo, chairman of the ZSMP plant board at the small automotive plant in Tychy. At the same time they gave concrete examples of cooperation between the two organizations in the plants and schools. Mirosław Szymczak, vice chairman of the college council of SZSP at Warsaw Polytechnical pointed out the need for cooperation in the realm of organizing students' vocational and working practical internships, conducting an employment system in such a way that graduates would know a year or 2 years in advance the sort of plant in which they would be working.

Ernest Macenowicz, chairman of the ZSMP voivodship board in Tarnow, devoted his remarks to questions of making rational use of personnel after graduation in areas which are suffering a shortage of experts in various fields.

#### Z. Zandarowski's Presentation

At the end of the discussion, Zdzisław Zandarowski took the floor. He emphasized that the increasing cooperation among worker, rural, and student youth groups is an important element supporting the party's policy of strengthening the moral-political unity of the entire Polish nation. From the beginning of People's Poland the party has focused great attention on the best way to prepare the young generation of Poles to take on the tasks to further the development of the socialist fatherland, has supported and assisted youth organizations in their activities and instances of initiative, and has created for youth conditions for their full development and their first steps on the job.

The central committee secretary emphasized: "Our nation has already created tremendous material and technical potential which is becoming increasingly modern. Everything must be done in order to take the best advantage of it. This requires highly qualified personnel, people with strong character, and high moral values, people who are ideologically committed. This is why the youth organizations should show in depth in their activity the scale of our contribution and the strength and achievements of socialist Poland, should build pride in what we have, and show a vision of future development."

Z. Zandarowski emphasized the importance of the problems taken up at the meeting. The close cooperation between the organizations is of great significance to the implementation of the resolutions of the Seventh Party Congress in groups of employed and student youth. He pointed out the need for broad propagation among young people of the content of the 12th PZPR central committee plenum and the widespread involvement of young people as a whole in the discussion on their participation in the program for management of the Vistula.

"It is the duty of the youth organization to deepen the ideological-upbringing process and to make young people more familiar with the ideology of

Marxism-Leninism. This is especially important in this era of increasing ideological confrontation. Much attention must be devoted to the broader historical education of youth and to making young people familiar with the revolutionary tradition of our nation, the contribution of previous generations, a contribution which was part of the overall attainment of People's Poland."

The central committee secretary emphasized: "A primary task of your organizations is to shape the socialist attitudes, socialist lifestyle and values, and national dignity and pride. The youth organizations should place particular emphasis on developing among young people the habits of thrifty management, and a cult of professionalism and social discipline. In your activity you should strive for those forms which teach respect for work and human effort and a sense of responsibility."

At the end of the deliberations a resolution was drafted to point out the basic directions and forms of cooperation between the two organizations in ideological-upbringing, social-vocational work, and other realms of activity.

That day there was also a plenum of the ZSMP main board. In connection with the appointment of Col Henryk Janusz, vice chairman of the ZSMP main board, to party-political work in the Polish Army, he asked to be relieved of his duties in the organization. The plenum acceded to this request.

Krzysztof Trebaczkiewicz thanked Henryk Janusz warmly for the contribution which he had made in his work, dedication, and commitment in his several years of activity in the youth movement and wished him success in his future work in the armed services.

The plenum chose Lt Col Mchal Izdebski, chairman of the army youth council, to be the vice chairman of the ZSMP main board. (We are publishing his biography elsewhere in this paper.)

#### Discussion of Report

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23 Jun 78 p 3

[Article: "The Duty of Youth Is Responsibility for the Country's Affairs -- Discussion of Joint Report of the Presidiums of the Main Boards of ZSMP and SZSP"]

[Excerpts] The supreme task which our organizations face today is to develop an effective system of ideological and political education, the search for those levels of action which will make it possible to carry out these tasks on a mass scale. In seeking the most effective forms and methods adapted to the various groups, we are accomplishing these same goals of youth upbringing in the spirit of socialist ideology, in keeping with socialist ethics and the deeply humanistic content of our regime, in the new work culture and new political culture. It seems that alongside expanding joint action

and instances of training initiative, opening up new planes for joint ideological discussion and an exchange of views, we should work together to develop the most effective model of moral upbringing and the structuring of broadly conceived political culture of youth. After all, we have a joint interest in seeing to it that the whole program of ideological-upbringing work carried out in the ZSMP circles, and SZSP action groups makes them schools of political thought and schools of character, that it teaches young people courage in presenting their own views and gives them the art of conducting an open ideological discussion, of carrying on polemics concerning difficult problems and issues, and also, that it teaches them to take positions which require an open declaration on behalf of the party, its program, and ideology.

Our organizations' broad cultural activity aids in shaping the ideological-moral attitudes of young people and in meeting its spiritual needs.

Our organizations are devoting a great deal of attention to matters of culture. We have a substantial contribution, and developed forms and methods of action. We have taken a position in favor of active participation in culture, of serving as a patron for the amateur artistic movement, making a lasting contribution to national culture.

Despite significant success in cultural activity, we should treat the expansion of our participation in organizing and inspiring the social cultural movement and the bolstering of our role of patron over the group of young artists as a particularly important task. In joint efforts, students' artistic contributions should be subject to constant evaluation from young workers. On the other hand, ZSMP should more frequently take advantage of student artists in programming the work of youth clubs or houses of culture. Hence, we should work together, as is done in the Youth Culture Center in Nowa Huta. And we should create together, as worker-members of the Gremium poetry group do.

It is with young engineers, technicians, and workers with high vocational qualifications and with young educated farmers that we should associate in the social awareness every day the progress and modernity of every workplace, in every village, and on every farm, in the sphere of social and production relations.

In the methods and content of our upbringing efforts, we must take into account the fact that work conditions, work organization, the effectiveness of management and style of leadership, and justice in evaluations and promotions have an important effect on the attitudes of young workers. For short here we can call these elements all the factors which define the climate and atmosphere in the plant. It is on how we influence and will influence all these issues, on the preparation of a broad group of mature, wise activists, and on the vocational and intellectual potential of college graduates that the assumption and solution of the most important problems facing our organizations depend.

Here the very question is that of bringing young people up in a new work culture in which the rate for quality is the basic criterion for giving it a value, the criterion of civic and employee reliability, the monitor of knowledge and moral behavior, the further expansion and activation of the social youth movement on behalf of the full implementation of scientific and technical progress into production, the creation of possibilities for making full use of young people's already high qualifications, their enthusiasm and creative capacities, the structuring of a high sense of social and moral responsibility for the work station occupied.

A particularly important matter is the popularization, among young students and employees, of the socialist lifestyle and socialist models of consumption, in which high moral, ideological and cultural values will be as desired and sought after as economic and material goods. We shall approach the advanced socialist society not only through the development of production potential and the increase in material prosperity but also through the popularization of active participation in culture, through the creation of conditions to improve people, the inculcation of our regime's deeply humanistic goals and values into our lives.

Further presenting matters related to young people's participation in the program for the development of agriculture and the nutrition of the nation, the report emphasizes the need to develop those forms and methods of joint action in which student groups cooperate with ZSMP voivodship boards which cause SZSP to join in fully in the process of broadly conceived modernization of the rural areas and agriculture. Here it is a question not only of the agricultural schools but also of student cultural activists, of students of teaching and medical academies and also those of technical schools, whose theses could be of assistance in solving basic problems in the area of the sociocultural infrastructure.

Further on in the report were presented problems related to educational advancement, particularly that of peasant-worker youth. We cannot overlook the fact that the share of peasant-worker students is declining in the colleges. Here it is mainly a question of stirring the educational aspirations of young people in outlying areas.

A joint concern of our organizations should be the quality of the work of the rural and small-town schools. We can do far more together in the area of vocational preorientation. Here we have a great deal of shared experience. We must give it a more mass-oriented nature.

We should place the level of qualifications of the rural population severely in the center of interest of the whole youth movement. We must develop the great social movement in the rural environment for the purpose of the acquisition of vocational qualifications, for training to an ever higher level. In this area ZSMP has many substantial achievements to its credit. We also think that there is room here for the activity of college students, young scientific employees, and the like, for broad activity in this area of urban

intelligentsia. The institutions of higher education should be more universal in their popularization of the latest achievements in agricultural science and should be concerned with inculcating such developments more thoroughly into agricultural practice.

The rational use of highly qualified personnel lies within the circle of our joint interests. Each year the colleges turn out over 45,000 graduates of daytime courses and about 26,000 graduates of evening and extension programs. The administration of this potential gives rise to a number of reservations. One college graduate out of every five is working in a job which suits his major. We also note a rather great turnover in highly qualified personnel. The distribution of these cadres could be better.

We think that it is necessary for our organizations to draw up a concrete program for the sociovocational adaptation of college graduates and to evaluate the conditions influencing the level of social activity of the young intelligentsia in their living and working environment. There is also a need to adapt the plan of college studies and the structure of education to the national economy's real needs.

It is becoming essential to create conditions favorable to accelerated professional advancement for the most talented young people. Right after graduation outstanding graduates and winners of "Young Thought for the Country" contests and TMMT, holders of honors diplomas, find their way into the economy. These are people with extensive knowledge, with wide horizons, and together we should create conditions so that these people can be better utilized. It is an important matter to define the long-range vocational prospects of graduates in the humanities.

The approaching summer youth drive, the report emphasizes toward the end, should help to translate the cooperation program set down into concrete terms. The drive will be used for direct friendly contacts and for talks about the problems bothering our group, the whole young generation. We must take up and resolve the problems of the young family, its bolstering, maternity, morality, and a number of social issues, and the like. We should talk about our issues during student workshops and practical internships, training and scientific camps, trips, outings, during work in rural areas and in the towns. We should remember that the program assumptions undertaken today must be carried out by all of us, by our lowest organizational structures, our groups and circles, our creative groups, and the broad ranks of activists.

The natural and objective processes taking place in our society are bringing us closer together. We are accomplishing joint goals. Our cooperation cannot have the nature of a performance and drive. The ideological-upbringing tasks facing us require continual, daily cooperation. This is also why we should attach particular significance to the natural flow of SZSP members who are college graduates into the ranks of the ZSMP organization. We must remember that we are to shape conscious acceptance of the socialist system of values of young Polish men and women, that the party and the nation expect

from us ideological attitudes which demonstrate genuine commitment to the daily affairs of Poland. Therefore, our cooperation is not only the good will of the echelons of our organizations but also the duty of every activist.

We expect all the echelons to translate the cooperation program given here into the language of concrete tasks, so that the program will create the possibility for participation by each member of our organizations in carrying out these tasks.

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## HUNGARIAN WRITER'S VIEWS ON ROMANIAN ORIGINS REFUTED

Bucharest VIATA ROMANEASCA in Romanian May 78 pp 63-68

[Article by Dr Radu Popa, deputy director of the Institute of Archeology in Bucharest: "Realism and Prejudices in Historical Research"]

[Text] The problems of the ethnogenesis of peoples, implying knowledge of the basic ethnic backgrounds, reestablishment of the changes produced during the course of time and the significance which these changes have had, determination of the territories and stages in which the respective processes were produced, as well as determination of the eras in which it is possible to say that these characteristics which individualize the peoples of our time matured, undoubtedly represent one of the major concerns of contemporary historiographers. Interest in this group of problems can be found throughout the Middle Ages in chronicles and writings which greatly preceded the appearance of national consciousnesses. Interest in the origin of peoples and especially the European peoples was strong in the last century. Investigations then were linked and in some cases even influenced by political interests. The presence of the same concerns in contemporary research is caused to a much greater degree by the commandments of progress in knowledge and science, since the circumstances in the distant beginnings of the history of peoples cannot influence either the realities of our time or the fate of these peoples.

Since its appearance as a modern science, Romanian historiography has given priority to the problem of studying and understanding the origin of the Romanian people, or, to use an established term, the problem of the formation of the Romanian people and language. The unfavorable historical circumstances in Eastern Europe during most of the Middle Ages and from some standpoints also perpetuated in the modern era still caused the demonstration and affirmation of the origin of the Romanian people to represent in their time an argument of weight in mobilization of consciousnesses for realization of legitimate national ideals. It is no less true, nevertheless, that in going beyond the interests of the medieval chroniclers in this field the research of Romanian historians and other foreign scholars during the last century and in the beginning of this century in respect to the origins of the Romanian people were stimulated by the very great interest accorded to these origins by certain historiographers of the time, especially those from the countries adjacent to Romania.

While for a very long period, up to the end of the 18th century, the idea of the Romanian-ness of the Romanian people, their formation as a people of neo-Latin language from a Daco-Roman symbiosis on the territory where they are found today, their uninterrupted continuity of living in this territory and their unity as a people, regardless of medieval political borders, were commonly accepted both by the popular traditions and consciousness of the Romanians and the neighboring peoples and by scholars, all these realities have managed to be contested or placed under a question mark. A so-called "problem of the origin of the Romanians" has been artificially created and then judged by foreign historians of good faith as a "miracle" or an "enigma" and resolved by others of less good faith in the sense of considering the Romanian people as having obscure origins and as having come into Romania in a later era under historical circumstances and from regions about which sources give us no explanation. This theory is obviously aimed at the national claims of the Romanians at that time.

The Daco-Roman origin, the autochthonous character and the continuity of living of Dacian, Daco-Roman, and then Romanian societies in the Lower Danube and in the Carpathians were sustained and demonstrated by Romanian historians generations ago with arguments drawn from written materials, from linguistic materials or from analysis of toponymy. In contrast with the situation in Western Europe, in the western territories of the Roman Empire, in which the other neo-Latin peoples of the continent were born, written sources in reference to the realities in the territory of Romania in the period between the 4th century of our era and the 12th-13th centuries are very few in number and not excessively clear in content. This is the fact which has been used moreover by those who try to question the historical beginnings of the Romanian people.

But the quantity of information available to historians in the last century has since then increased appreciably and especially in respect to new categories of sources. Noteworthy among the latter are archeological sources.

Known up to fifty years ago only through the intermediary of some fragments from the works of ancient authors, to which were added a few epigraphic and iconographic sources, the history of the Dacians and Roman Dacia can be re-established today with the aid of hundreds and thousands of archeological documents, under conditions which do not support comparison with the previous situation. The number of epigraphic sources alone has appreciably surpassed the figure of three thousand. In addition to classical archeology, in the last three decades a Romanian school of medieval archeology has also been created, and entire departments in the period of Romanian ethnogenesis which until not too long ago had been considered as obscure or unclear have acquired real substance.

In contrast to certain skeptical opinions expressed in connection with the capability of historical research to reestablish and increasingly better understand the processes which led to the appearance of the peoples of today, the great majority of Romanian historians have believed and do believe in this capability. Beyond the limited number of written documents and their

subjective nature and beyond the complexity of the processes in the category of ethnogenesis, by presupposing aspects belonging to material culture, spiritual culture and language -- the last two of which are relatively difficult to detect with the aid of direct material evidence -- Romanian historians, and not just Romanian ones, are convinced that research in general and the methods available today to this research can give increasingly more complete answers to questions connected with the processes of ethnogenesis of peoples. I am not stating anything new when I affirm that material evidence faithfully reflects, even if only in their specific ways, the realities in the field of the superstructure of a given society. I also believe that all of the changes which collectivities have undergone in their ethnogenetic evolution have left conclusive traces in the sources of information which are accessible to researchers and that these traces are capable of leading to and verifying working hypotheses and intuitions, which are also part of the process of scientific knowledge. The real problem involves the quantity and quality of information collected and the proper processing and interpretation of this information. From a certain quantitative level upward, the documentary materials produced by archeology, when compared with one another and when supplemented and verified with sources of another nature, become conclusive and allow pertinent historical conclusions, even within a field as complex and difficult as that of ethnogenesis. This way of looking at things seems to me to be in full accordance with the principles and the spirit of historic materialism.

Our reflections are based primarily from reading an article published in the pages of the Budapest daily MAGYAR HIRLAP (no 303/1977), signed by Bartha Antal, and entitled "Erroneous Ways in the History of the Origin of Peoples." The author quite properly draws attention to the difficulties specific to research on the ethnogenesis of peoples, but in continuing takes the position that these difficulties would be compounded by adding the so-called "sentimental motivations" which appeared during the last century when research on this subject was just beginning and that this would thwart efforts in the direction of understanding the problem. In order to illustrate the point of view synthesized in the motto "blinding and deafening prejudices," A. Bartha discusses thoroughly some opinions of Hungarian historiographers relative to the ethnogenesis of the Hungarians, as well as certain aspects of the ancient history of Romania.

In respect to the subjective and objective difficulties of research on the origin of peoples, the findings of the author of the article to which I referred would undoubtedly benefit from a differentiated and properly circumstantiated analysis or even presentation. The conditions under which the bases for critical research on the origin of the Romanian people were developed during the last century are very well known. Similarly, the conditions under which Romanian historiography has argued against scientific opinions considered up to that time as a foregone and commonly accepted conclusion are also very well known. It would be very useful for the discussion if Bartha Antal took into consideration the political and national conditions within the former Austro-Hungarian Empire -- conditions which caused the appearance of the theory of the discontinuity of Romanian history and the immigration of the Romanians -- and mentioned the fact that the historian P. Hunfalvy, who is considered to be the origin of the erroneous theory of

"double Hungarian settlement," was at the same time a vehement opponent of the continuity of Romanian history and in this way gave suitable connotation to the qualifying adjectives of "subjective," "sentimental" or "romantic."

But for a historian in the second half of the 20th century, the circumstances which prevailed or even influenced historiography in the last century can and must be separated from the present stage of research and from the information which has been collected from that time to the present. To do this requires an understanding of the sources and their proper usage. From this standpoint also it cannot be said that the author of the article to which I referred is in an enviable situation. By affirming without hesitation that the Getae and Dacians were two different peoples, that the Dacian state in the time of Burebista in the 1st century B.C. and in the time of Decebal in the 1st century A.D. had been a tribal union of short and unstable duration, that the state of Burebista lasted only 15 years, and that the Dacian language would be an unknown for research, Bartha Antal proved totally ignorant, knowingly or unknowingly, of the texts of ancient authors, of archeological research, and of linguistic studies.

I should mention in passing that we have authoritative ancient sources such as Thucydides and the geographer Strabon who mention the Getae as inhabitants of the regions to the north of the Balkan Mountains and on both shores of the Lower Danube, that valuable information on the tribal union of the Getae headed by "King" Dromichete in the 4th century B.C. has been provided by Ptolemy the son of Lagos and by Diodor of Sicily, and that the same Strabon and also Pliny the Elder, Appian, Cassius Dio or Trogus Pompeius inform us that the Getae and Dacians were a single people and spoke the same language. These items of information are completely confirmed by archeological studies which show, apart from regional variations natural for both antiquity and modern times, a unitary spiritual and material culture.

If the author of the article in MAGYAR HIRLAP had been current in respect to the results of archeological research in recent decades or if he had visited the ruins in the Orastie Mountains in the southern part of Transylvania, in the heart of the Dacian state, dating from the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., he would have been more prudent in expressing his judgments. Obviously, acquiring such information directly is not always possible. On the other hand, the linguistic research of such scholars as P. Kretschmer, C. Daicoviciu, D. Decev or I. Rusu in respect to the Traco-Geto-Dacians has been published and is accessible, just as are the proceedings of the two international congresses on Thracology (Sofia, 1972; Bucharest, 1976). They are therefore available to those who actually wish to be informed about the present stage of research in this direction.

It seems that the irritation of Bartha Antal and the decision to express his opinions on paths in the historiography of the origin of peoples are primarily due to the decision in Romania to celebrate in 1980 the 2050th anniversary of the formation of the Dacian state in the time of Burebista. The author contests the fact that the Dacian state, which he considers a "political

organization," could be "the direct source of 2050 years ago of the Romanian state" and states that "the tribal union...of the Dacians cannot be reconciled with the belief that it represents the first centralized Romanian state and that it brought about the Romanian national being." I should like to point out that I am not aware of any such opinions expressed by a Romanian historian and published in Romanian historiography! The Dacian state did not represent the first centralized Romanian state and was not the direct source of the Romanian state. The anniversary of its creation was established for the simple reason that 2050 years ago the ancestors of the Romanians created on the soil of present-day Romania a form of state life based upon a completely remarkable civilization. Obviously intervening between the Dacian state and the Romanian state in time were the Roman province of Dacia, the era of peoples migrations in which the local population lived in modest organizational forms of the village community and community union types, as well as the medieval Romanian states. This succession of forms of political and territorial origin was produced, however, while preserving the same demographic base, and later in this article I shall return to this aspect of the problem.

Nevertheless, it might be possible for the author of the article in MAGYAR HIRLAP to have encountered statements of the kind which he disapproves in a publication which has escaped my attention. That would be regrettable and would demonstrate once again that ancient history is a scientific branch in which the intervention of those who lack the necessary training and experience can be not only picturesque but harmful. There exists also in Romanian language literature and also in other literatures -- and I have in mind literature in general and not historiography, which is a specialized literature -- an area in which dilettantism joins hands with the fantasy of those who reject the rigors of scientific research. The so-called "Thracomaniacs," who are near relations to the "Sumerian-maniacs" who are the authors of the absurdities which appear in various publications regarding the "settlement" of the ancestors of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin in the 4th century B.C., are in this area. The areas and opinions to which I refer have nothing to do, however, with historiography as a scientific discipline.

But to depart from here and to treat together in a unitary manner the dilettantish fantasies of the "Sumerian-maniacs" and the fundamental problems in respect to the origin of the Romanian people, as did Bartha Antal, who at the same time termed them "erroneous ways" in research on the ethnogenesis of peoples, undoubtedly represents a lack of moderation for which it is hard to find an excuse.

Great Romanian scholars such as Nicolae Iorga, Vasile Parvan and Dimitrie Onciul have made convincing arguments for the origin of the Romanian people in the Thraco-Geto-Dacian, Moesic and Carpic populations which underwent a long process of Romanization in the territories located between the two shores of the Lower Danube, from Haemus to the northern Carpathians, and for Daco-Roman continuity, equivalent to the autochthonous character of the Romanians in the areas where they live today. These opinions were shared and supported by history scholars and linguists of such incontestable authority as Mommsen, Jung, Homo, Patsch, Altheim, Gamillscheg and others. The list can be extended with the names of contemporary Romanian and foreign scholars.

Treatment of the Daco-Roman origin and historic continuity of the Romanian people in the same context with the "Sumerian-maniacal" fantasies in the pages of a widely-read newspaper, without justifications and arguments, and with use of such a label as "erroneous ways in the history of the origin of peoples" is equivalent to placing the great names which I mentioned on the same plane with the production of aggressive dilettants. And no one should be allowed to do this.

Romanian historic literature has never been concerned with the "continuity of the Sumerian-Magyar peoples" in the Carpathian Basin because such theories still merit less attention than those of the extraterrestrial origins of ancient civilizations. I do not believe that I am mistaken in stating that Romanian historians have never used the pages of a daily newspaper for discussion, without the necessary critical apparatus and proper argumentation, of theories such as those of the Avaro-Magyar continuity or the "settlement of the common Magyar people," theories which, in the last 10-15 years, have resulted in the judgment that all of the population found by the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin when they arrived there was already Magyar, thus raising the number of "Magyar settlements" to a unique figure in terms of magnitude in the history of the migrations of peoples. Such theories are discussed by specialists truly interested in better understanding of the past, but the discussions are held in specialized publications, in forms which are used extensively in scientific research.

It is no secret that in Magyar literature and in particular in Magyar specialized literature the problems of the Daco-Roman origin and the continuity of the Romanian people living in the territory of Dacia have frequently received the attention of historians, perhaps more often recently than two or three decades ago. In the pages of Magyar history journals or journals of other kinds we can find opinions which contradict the beliefs of Romanian historians or attempts being made to contest the documents published by Romanian historiography, as well as historical conclusions based on these documents. As far as I am concerned, I believe that the taking of such positions is perfectly in accord with the motto used by Bartha Antal, that is, they reflect "blinding and deafening prejudices." This is because in my opinion they are based on a priori judgments which lack any connection with scientific research and on non-scientific reasons which cancel out any possibility for rational analysis of the historic document. It is also at least curious that through the assertions concerning the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people contained in the article by Bartha Antal, both the author cited and the Magyar newspaper which published it have actually taken positions like those of some fishermen in muddy waters who write in the publications of the reactionary political emigration groups of the type of MAGYAR ELET and KRONIKA and whose principal concern is chauvinistic agitation directed against peace and collaboration among nations.

In a situation in which the author of the article in MAGYAR HIRLAP personally reached negative conclusions in connection with the origin of the Romanian people and how that origin was reconstructed by Romanian historiography and by foreign scholars whose names are mentioned above, even though these

conclusions are grafted on to a certain skepticism in respect to the capability of science to provide answers to such problems, it would have been natural to discuss the opinions by traditional means and in accordance with traditional standards. But we believe with firmness in the capability of science and rationality to defeat prejudices and opinions derived from sentimental motivations or even motives of another nature, and in closing we will draw attention to some documents which cannot be overlooked when speaking of the origin of the Romanian people and the beginnings of its history as a neo-Latin people in this part of Europe.

The discoveries of Dacian settlements in the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., and therefore in the Roman era, in the territory of the Roman province of Dacia, at Caslot and Obreja (on the middle Mures) or at Slimnic (in southern Transylvania), the Dacian burial grounds dating from the same time that were studied at Obreja and Soporu de Cimpie (in the center of the Transylvanian plateau), and the discoveries of characteristic Dacian materials in Roman archeological complexes such as the "villa rustica" at Cincis, in parts of Hunedoara, or in the Roman camps at Bologa, Orheiul Bistritei and Bretcu, located in the northwest, north and east of Transylvania, leave no doubt about the continuity of the Dacian population under the rule of Rome nor about the cohabitation of this population with the latinophonic colonists, both of which are basic conditions for the Romanization process.

As evidence of the continuity of the Daco-Roman population on the territories located to the north of the Danube in the 4th-6th centuries A.D. and of the intensification of the process of Romanization while maintaining close contacts with the Empire after the withdrawal of Roman forces and administration to south of the river, I should like to mention discoveries dating from the 4th century made by Hungarian archeologists themselves before World War I within urban Roman settlements at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, the former capitol of the province, or at Apulum (Alba Iulia), added to which are newer discoveries at Potaissa (Turda), Napoca (Cluj), Noslac, Lechinta de Mures, Porolissum (Moigrad, in the north of the province), and in other locations. Special attention is also undoubtedly merited by recent research at Pietroasa on the Buzau River, where in the 4th century a Roman camp of large size was built and operated, thus illustrating one of the times when the Empire returned to the north of the Danube. Such times also occurred during the reign of Constantin the Great and up to the end of the 6th century.

For those who are interested, I add that they can supplement this brief inventory at any time by consulting specialized publications on the discoveries of a paleo-Christian character, the number of which is increasing constantly and which appear not only in the territory of the former Roman province of Dacia but also to the east of the Carpathians or in the Wallachian Plain. The Daco-Roman burial ground at Bratei in the Tirnava Mare Valley, in the heart of Transylvania, dates from the 4th century and attests to preservation of the characteristic funeral rites in the century prior to the Roman provincial era. This burial ground was studied and the results recently published.

For the period of the 5th-7th centuries A.D. in which the Romanian ethnogenesis draws near the threshold of the appearance of a new people, I can draw attention to hundreds of settlements identified and studied throughout the territory of Romania, settlements of agricultural peoples, livestock raisers, and craftsmen who preserved the traditions of Roman civilization to the north of the Danube in modest rural forms. Specialists include these settlements in cultural horizons referred to as conventional Bratei-Filias for Transylvania, Ciurel-Ipotesti-Cindesti for the south of Romania, and Botosani-Manioaia-Costisa for Wallachia. These names are based on the first or the most significant discoveries. The names might appear somewhat complicated -- archeologists sometimes complicate things from an excess of zeal -- but this does not involve the essence of the problem. It is obvious that all things are not resolved and known in detail; research still has a long way to go, but those who make an effort to understand the stages through which we have already passed will undoubtedly be reluctant to speak of this way as an "erroneous way."

In the event the author of the article to which I refer refuses to give credence to the oldest Magyar chronicles, in accordance with which Transylvania of the 9th century was inhabited by Romanians and Slavs (Blassi et Sclavi) and ruled by a Romanian voivode (quidam Blacus), I should like to draw his attention to the discovery of two types of burial grounds of this era, both before the appearance of the Magyars within the Carpathian Basin. The first group includes biritual burial grounds, of inhumation and incineration, which are quite properly attributed to the Romanian population which had assimilated the first wave of Slavic migration, and is illustrated by discoveries such as those at Medias or Gusterita near the Sibiu River. The second group includes tumular incineration burial grounds, such as those at Someseni near the city of Cluj-Napoca or Nusfalau which is northeast of Bihor. On the other hand, the discoveries of the settlements attest to the evolution of a unitary civilization on the territory of Romania during the 8th to the 11th centuries, a civilization which researchers who deal with this period have every reason to judge as being the old Romanian civilization.

In the event the same author, even if he does not explicitly so state, concurs in opinions in accordance with which the Romanian people migrated in a mysterious manner at some time in the 13th-14th centuries into their present fatherland in the form of bands of pastoral nomads, whose presupposed arrival is nevertheless recorded by no written source, I recommend that he take note of recent research and discoveries at Streisingiorgiu in Hunedoara, at Voievozi to the north of Bihor, or at Cuhea in Maramures. The Romanian ruins in the places mentioned are all older than the date of the presupposed arrival of the Romanians into their country, as imagined by some tendentious theories. Additionally, these ruins reflect a well-developed society with superior forms of civilization and deep roots in the past. The courtyard church at Streisingiorgiu, a walled Romanian monument, representing the oldest construction preserved intact and in use in Romania, was built by Romanian princes in the first half of the 12th century as a replacement for a previous church built of wood. At Voivozi, the fortified medieval complex, also with a wall

made of wood, attests that the Romanian document center of the patriarchate of Constantinople also had its beginnings in the 12th century. At Cuhea, the burned ruins of the residence of the Romanian voivode of Maramures, a voivode who in the middle of the 14th century under the name Bogdan I became the first independent king of Wallachia, were found above the remains of the residence in which his ancestors lived.

These few documents, selected from a list which is lengthy and significant, seem to me to be enough to invalidate the absurd theory of the Romanian people having no continuity and historic roots in their own nation.

The opinions which I have expressed and which within the limited space available I have tried to present arguments for are historic common sense, and the discussion could seem excessive to those who do not understand the data on the problem. Perhaps I might not have taken the effort to write these pages if the article by Bartha Antal had been an isolated and alien publication in the context of literature in the neighboring country. But since I am forced to note in recent time a very marked interest in the past of the Romanian people, and in particular their beginnings, an interest which has come from the pages of specialized publications and in which, even if in different tones, scientists are taking positions very close to dilettantism, a dilettantism which has nothing to do with historical research and nothing to do with the interests of the peoples in this part of Europe, I feel that this intervention is useful and necessary. As far as I am concerned, all I want to do is to focus full attention on scientific research in an attempt in the light of full truth to reconstruct the increasingly more detailed past on these shores, in conformity with the sources which we have available and which we may still discover.

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## REORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 78 pp 39-42

[Article by Emil Baldescu: "Improvements Required by New School Structure"]

[Text] The needs of society require the schools to provide for the adequate training of a growing number of skilled workers, technicians, engineers and other specialists and to contribute to the constant improvement of the general education of workers in all activities. We began to reorganize secondary education a year ago to meet these demands. The high schools are predominantly industrial and agroindustrial now, and in addition to general cultural and specialized disciplines the pupils are learning the trades most essential to economic development and the great changes that have taken place in industry, agriculture and all social activity.

The need of a changed view of the mission of education and of adequate measures in this direction was pointed out by enlightened organizers of our education in the past, but such measures were not carried out at the time or only partly accomplished. As the famous Ion Heliade Radulescu said over a century ago, "Create technical and specialized schools that will teach boys to earn a living with material and moral independence but not to expect sinecures." (1) And August Treboniu Laurian said in his turn, "The need of people with technical knowledge is so acute in Romania that there is no need of arguing the point." (2)

To meet this basic social demand upon education, a demand that is more pronounced now that the technical-scientific revolution is progressing in all fields, nearly 1,000 high schools are operating in Romania this school year, including about 570 industrial schools, 150 agroindustrial and forestry schools, 40 for economics and law, 107 for mathematics and physics, 13 for natural sciences, 40 for pedagogy, 29 for health, 24 for philology and history, and 6 for art. This reorganization of the high school system and curriculum was necessitated by the growing demand for manpower with the qualifications needed for consistent implementation of the policy of national industrialization, steady and rapid development of the productive forces and their proper geographic distribution. Of course the present organization of high school education can be further improved, and this presents some problems.

For example, many county organs have asked the Ministry of Education and Instruction for permission to build more local high schools or classrooms for mathematics and physics, although it was questionable where the graduates of these high schools would be assigned within the county. It is equally unjustified to build a large number of pedagogic or health high schools of small size in counties when there are no more than two or three grades a year, since it is impossible to form effective collectives of teachers or any adequate material base in such small schools. To meet the future demand, it is far more efficient to operate a few strong pedagogic or health high schools correlated with the personnel requirements of several counties. The same conclusion is to be drawn from the study the Ministry of Education is making of the development of the school system up to 1985 in accordance with the changes in national socioeconomic activity.

A change of view is needed as to the occupational orientation of youth mainly toward high schools with a given curriculum. Thanks to the outmoded attitudes that still persist among parents and even teachers, most of the pupils who finish general schools, and especially those with very high marks, flock to the high schools for mathematics and physics, health or the natural sciences, despite the fact that the high schools for mathematics and physics, to take them alone, have taught only 25-27 more hours a year of mathematics than the industrial schools. Yet many agroindustrial high schools and even some industrial ones do not get enough applicants and have to accept poorly prepared general school graduates that have been rejected by other high schools. Though both the industrial and agroindustrial high schools generally have strong collectives of teachers and a good or sometimes very good material base, many pupils and parents have these unwarranted reservations about them.

The new organization of high school education to a great extent meets the requirement that schools and education of youth should be closely correlated with life. Workshops have been installed in all high schools and most general schools. Pupils are given experience in production for brief periods, and these activities are included in the education plans and programs alongside the theoretical and applied disciplines. In this way every school will become both an educational and a productive unit providing for the adequate theoretical and practical training of the young generation.

In this form of organization the quality and level of the pupils' whole preparation depend upon the nature and orientation of the education plans and of the school programs and textbooks. The present plans and programs for high school studies have improved the proportions of the various activities and disciplines. Thus the technological disciplines and practical training take up 55 percent of the total planned hours, theoretical disciplines 45 percent, and practical instruction properly speaking 28.95 percent in the first stage of high school and 34.24 percent in the second. This is a turning point in the orientation of the process of instruction and education. But there are still a number of points to be clarified, especially in connection with the high school cycle. The education plans do not define the missions of high schools adequately enough to lend each one a definite "personality." Grouping of disciplines should conform more precisely to a well-defined purpose, while the present situation, with no precise criteria for determining the specialties of various educational units,

sometimes conveys the impression of a medley of disparate elements or an improvisation.

We must also acknowledge that the compilation of the education plans is still unsatisfactory. Among other reasons, this is because some authors of these plans think they can be prepared overnight. That is why we had to change the education plans for the ninth grade during this school year, at the end of the first quarter.

It is true that initiatives have been taken in the preparation of school programs that will eliminate some routine attitudes and conceptions. The Ministry of Education appointed a collective of 12 professors from universities, high schools and elementary schools who prepared, in 3 years, uniform physics programs for grades 6-12. This is a good thing because vertical correlation is essential to good programs and eliminates duplication in teaching the subjects among grades. These physics programs were discussed with teachers in three counties. I consider this a good example of how the very process of preparing school programs can and must be modernized and of the use of teachers' experience. But the programs for other disciplines are still being drafted "by inches." This is also true of the preparation of textbooks, which has often been rightly criticized by the party and state administrations. Many textbooks and courses still contain outdated and insignificant information instead of presenting the disciplines clearly and attractively in accordance with new scientific and technical advances and human thought in general.

#### Quality of Education As a Collective Effort

The whole complex activity of the schools, for the purpose of preparing new generations for work and life, requires a high sense of responsibility for the future of society and the support of all elements having to do with the instruction and education of youth.

Our education on all levels from preschool to higher education employs over 200,000 educators, teachers, instructors and professors. They are an important segment of the intelligentsia, and the schools are organized to make use of these great human reserves. A number of democratic bodies have been formed to consistently promote the principle of collective labor in school activity, such as the administrative councils of the schools and school inspectorates; the pedagogic councils, professorial councils and university senates; the council of compulsory preschool, primary, elementary and general education; and the council of occupational and technical high school education under the Ministry of Education. Teachers' conferences are held every year, and commissions for scholastic and occupational orientation, commissions for preparation and examination of programs, etc. are in operation. These bodies are to help improve the organization and management of education and develop their responsibility and functions in keeping with the broad process of constant development of socialist democracy as an essential factor for the general progress of the nation and for implementation of the directives of the 11th Party Congress and the National Party Conference.

How is this great potential for thought and action for purposes of further improvement of education being used?

In keeping with the party measures to improve the management of all social activities through widespread worker participation, a tradition has grown up in scholastic affairs of holding a meeting at the end of the school year of all teachers from every educational unit to discuss their results and to determine future measures. At these conferences many suggestions are made for modernization of education, development and better use of the material base, and improvement of the teaching staff and of school discipline. Moreover the educators, teachers and professors meet periodically in pedagogic circles to exchange experience with teaching methods. The Ministry of Education has recruited more professors and researchers to prepare and improve school programs and textbooks.

But the efforts made so far and their results do not indicate full use of the collective intelligence and energy available to our education. There are still countless latent potentials. The organizational framework provided by society is insufficiently used to interest teachers in improving scholastic activity. For example, the teachers make many suggestions based on their experience to the pedagogic circles, but these suggestions do not reach the decision making authorities. Some suggestions are repeated ad nauseam, until their authors give up making them. REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE arranged a discussion of the effectiveness of these forms of pedagogic activity and opinions were expressed, but no specific steps were taken to improve the situation although that was over 2 years ago.

The annual teachers' conferences have an important part to play in circulating advanced experience in education of youth, in determining and analyzing difficulties and defects, and in finding the best solutions to the problems that come up in scholastic activity. But in reality the effectiveness of these conferences is by no means worth the effort to arrange them. Though it has been repeatedly pointed out that they must be operative in nature, the conferences are still superficial and perfunctory, and the opinions expressed by the teachers are soon forgotten.

Generally speaking, if these conferences are to evaluate educational work and help to solve the various problems of instruction and education, I think they should be held at the start of the summer vacation and not just a few days before the new school year begins, when all aspects of organization and content of the instruction have already been determined. The very reason for being of these meetings and of others like them is the teachers' participation in discussion and solution of the problems on which the regular improvement of education depends. But for this purpose the topics of the conferences would have to be announced in advance, even at the start of the school year, so that the professors could investigate and study solutions and possibly suggest subjects for discussion themselves. In this way the annual teachers' conferences would become an effective medium for discussion of the most urgent problems of education. Formation of a permanent secretariat of the conferences would even further enhance their role in improving the management and organization of scholastic activities. Accurate recording of the suggestions made and their resolutions, maintaining contact with their authors, and notifying the latter of the solutions adopted would encourage further suggestions and creative activity on the part of teachers on behalf of extensive participation and intensified socialist democracy in the field of education.

An important part in correlating education with the socioeconomic requirements is played by the parents who, by virtue of their position in production and society, contribute their own views and their living and working experience to the cultural heritage of the schools. The parents' civic committees were established as a medium of regular contact between families and schools. At the constituent session of the National Council of Parents' Civic Committees, those present raised a number of very urgent questions to be resolved, such as decongestion of school programs and textbooks, avoidance of burdening pupils with useless data and concepts, clarity of the textbooks, rationalization of the volume of homework, introduction of disciplines and activities in the school programs to develop the practical skills of girls as future wives and mothers, modification of school regulations, etc. The parents also made a number of suggestions on the county level to improve the performance of the school inspectorates.

Yet on the whole the best use is still not being made of this potential the pupils' families represent for the improvement of the schools. Some parents mistakenly believe that the entire responsibility for educating the pupils falls solely upon the schools. But the persistence of such convictions is the fault of the teachers who do too little to strengthen the ties between the school and the family. In many schools consultations with parents have lapsed or have not even been organized. In other schools, where they exist, the consultations are irregular and very perfunctory, being characterized by abstract, pedantic discourses irrelevant to the most important points of interest to the schools and parents alike.

There are also some teachers with outdated attitudes toward contacts between the school and the family. They wonder whether parents have the right to control the schools, and the parents have this right. The Decree of the Council of State on Parents' Civic Committees stipulates that they are an aid and a means of society's control over activity in preschool, primary, elementary, occupational and high school education. The school regulations specify, for example, that parents are entitled to attend final examinations provided, of course, that they do not interfere with them.

Of course the enlistment of all categories of workers in school administration, thanks to the efforts of the administrative councils and their executive bureaus, depends upon good organization of the operation, the vitality of these collective bodies, proper understanding of their functions, and how conscious all their members (teachers, parents, and representatives of public organizations or enterprises) are of their responsibility. For as we know integration of education with production involves both the school and the enterprise and requires closer collaboration between them if the new social demands are to be met.

It is clear that in general collaboration between schools and enterprises has produced good results. There are many trade schools and high schools wherein the technical equipment is the latest, the functions of engineer and professor are actually indistinguishable, and the pupils really learn a trade. There are many enterprise directors who take a keen interest in the educational process in the schools they sponsor, just as there are school principals who are very

receptive to enterprise requirements. In this way the school and the enterprise closely collaborate on the constant improvement of education.

But aside from circumstances sometimes inherent in the beginning, there are still some less favorable situations in the general schools especially, but also in some high schools. The directors of such schools expect the enterprises to bring them the necessary equipment, while the pupils' practical instruction is cursory and far below the minimum standards of organization and effectiveness. And the enterprises also present quite a few problems. Some of them provide the schools only with engineers without enough experience in production or without adequate training, while other engineers with good professional qualifications and wishing to work in education have had to resign to be transferred. In other cases the enterprises cannot find the necessary means of outfitting school workshops and send them worn out machines and equipment and scrap iron goods. The managements of such enterprises misunderstand the concept of sponsoring schools, and "sponsoring" may be the wrong word for it. It is not any matter of protection or charity. The school-enterprise relationship entails rights and obligations on both sides. But we are convinced it is not the fault of the word, even if it is not very well chosen.

This relationship is still being misinterpreted by some directors of agricultural or construction enterprises who have come to blame their nonfulfillment of their production plan or harvesting tasks on schools that have not provided them with enough pupils. And others, perhaps forgetting that they are parents themselves, have not made the effort they should to provide for the working conditions for pupils for the duration of the patriotic actions or have then been too stingy with the funds due the schools for work performed by their pupils. The participation of school youth in the work in industrial enterprises, at worksites, and in the fields has various and profound implications, economic, political, moral and educational. They cannot be reduced to mere accounts, however cleverly they are computed.

The school-enterprise relationship depends heavily upon collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the economic ministries in charge of the industrial and agricultural units. For this purpose there are forms of collaboration tested by experience, such as participation of representatives of the other ministries in various conferences, meetings and discussions organized in the Ministry of Education or in the school inspectorates, joint preparation and review or approval of the various education plans and programs, determination of the authors of textbooks in the technological disciplines, planning or perfecting the school system, determination of the scholarship plan, etc. But once education is reorganized, the cooperating ministries are faced with more complicated problems. There must be closer correlation and coordination of all school activities with those of the production units in all fields, yet duplications must be eliminated that still persist even in the direction and control of the schools with double or triple subordination. There are still some questions even in connection with equipment of the schools. For example, the existing school legislation provides that only schools under the people's councils are supplied with teaching material through the school inspectorates, which was valid in the case of the former technical-humanities high schools. But now all high schools regardless of curriculum are under the Ministry of Education, the

competent ministries, and the local state organs. Actually they are under society as a whole. Under these circumstances the responsibility for school activity, whether it is the nature of the instruction, recruitment of teachers, or material supply, cannot be fragmented but must be the result of collective, well-organized and coordinated thought and action.

#### More Responsibility for Every Servitor of Education

The quality of teachers' training is vital in view of the basic improvements our education requires. Do the present ways of improving professors meet these needs?

The standards of the final examinations for grade I and grade II are now somewhat higher. Yet if the teachers' examination marks were compared with their actual results in schools, the discrepancies would be evident. This is because the very methods of improvement, as they are planned and implemented, do not always correspond to the actual work in schools nor are they sufficiently correlated with the practical requirements. Moreover the reorganization of occupational and high school education calls for reevaluation and suitable modification of the improvement programs in various disciplines as well as higher standards in the professional training of the readers in the Institute for Improvement of Teaching Personnel, who are actually responsible for this whole process of improving the professors' qualifications.

But however good the improvement methods are as such, they do not ensure an adequate professional training in themselves. Individual effort is still the basis of this training, and its results depend upon every teacher's sense of responsibility. The facts show that there are teachers and professors in our schools with sound professional and pedagogic backgrounds, brilliantly confirmed by their entire activity. But there are also teachers, fewer in number to be sure, that are completely outstripped both by the new teaching methodology and by the development of the disciplines they are teaching. Although in such cases the gaps in their background and the need of remedying them are pointed out to them, and the school inspectors give them unsatisfactory marks and even take steps to deduce their pay, mediocrity and even incompetence persist. While decisions are still made to release moral violators from education, they generally hesitate to do this in cases of professional incompetence out of humane considerations. But I wonder what is more humane and more necessarily humane in education than the effort of every teacher or professor to arm his pupils with the knowledge they will need so much in the future? Undue tolerance of superficiality or professional incompetence irresponsibly or deliberately maintained does the schools great damage.

In view of the rapid progress of science and technology and of knowledge in general, I think it would be suitable to institute tests on specialties so that every professor will keep abreast of the development of the discipline he is teaching. Such tests, well designed and held periodically, for all teachers in kindergartens, general schools, trade schools and high schools would more accurately determine the level of professional qualification of every collective and every servant of education.

Under the present conditions, no teacher can confine himself to work performed solely in the classroom or school. The professor has become a public activist with a broad area of activity, since education itself is closely correlated with material production and cultural creation.

What kind of disciplines should the schools teach? The answer is unequivocal: Disciplines and skills to meet the demands of the present stage of our social development on the basis of the latest advances of science and technology and the most advanced human knowledge so that, as Nicolae Ceausescu said, the quality of our education will be comparable to that in any country of the world.

These aims are fully possible in the years to come. But from now on this depends upon the consistency of our efforts to improve the study plans and the school programs and textbooks. And we must never forget that the standard and quality of education ultimately depend upon the quality of the teaching staff.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ion Heliade Radulescu, "Balance Between Antitheses," Bucharest, 1859-1869, p 175.
2. August Treboniu Laurian, "Technical Schools," in "Public Instruction," 1860, p 52.

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ROMANIA

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN TRANSYLVANIA IN 1848

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 78 pp 27-30

[Article by Academician Stefan Pascu: "A Revolution of Profound Social Significance"]

[Text] Historiography in general, including Romanian, treats the great assembly of 3-15 May 1848 on the Cimpia Libertatii at Blaj as the starting point of the Romanian revolution in Transylvania. Contemporary historians of the revolution as well as those in subsequent generations from the end of the 19th century to the present have based value judgments upon inadequate knowledge of the events of March and April 1948. Even the latest writer on the Blaj assembly is in this position. Although better informed, he failed to understand the dialectic of the development of the revolution, which dialectic is supported by an impressive number of facts in the documents of the time and can be followed and better understood with the aid of the collection of documents on the revolution of 1848-1849 in Transylvania that is being published by a collective of Cluj historians.\*

The prologue of any revolution, including the Romanian one in Transylvania, is a closure of the ranks of all those who are threatened, namely the exploiting classes, and in the case of Transylvania this meant the feudal nobility and those with comparable interests, including the German aristocracy. In the face of danger differences were forgotten or subordinated to the common interest. Liberal and conservative nobles forgot political programs that had been bones of contention until then and joined their forces regardless of their socioeconomic and political status (counts, barons, gentry) in a common effort to maintain their economic and consequently political positions by checking the revolutionary wave looming more and more menacingly on the horizon. They did all they could to oppose the social emancipation and liberation of the peasants from serfdom, agrarian reform, and the bourgeois reforms championed by the European revolutions in Paris, Vienna and Pest.

\*Vol I (2 March-12 April) was published in 1977 by the Romanian Academy Publishing House, Vol II (12-29 April) is being printed by the same publishing house, and Vol III (30 April-14 May) has been submitted to same. The other volumes are in course of preparation.

The old regime the ruling classes were trying to maintain had to be defended, and ordinarily the best defense was the old feudal administration: counts, viscounts, communal judges, first magistrates, magistrates, notaries, judges etc. And so now in revolutionary times the old administration was maintained, reinforced by new institutions, and made to serve the reaction and the counterrevolution in the form of the "civil guards" and the "committees to maintain order," that is the "order" of the nobility, the feudal "order" and the "order" of privilege, which excluded the masses and especially the Romanians, who were in the absolute majority of the population. For fear of them and their revolutionary power the nobles maintained the union of Transylvania with Hungary as the sole safeguard of privilege and the only way to preserve the old regime, by uniting the backward, conservative forces in Hungary with those in Transylvania.

Isolation of the privileged class in outmoded, anachronistic forms and structures as well as the measures to protect them had an effect quite contrary to the one expected by the reactionary nobility (which was one of the most reactionary in Europe of the time), namely that of hastening the outbreak of the revolution as well as greatly extending and intensifying it. The revolution was fostered by the entire Romanian people (peasants, workers, intellectuals and townsmen) in a body, because the feudal laws were injuring them all, as a nation. This solidarity explains the profundity of the Romanian revolution, the maturity of its programs from the start, and the responsibility of those invested with trust and the right to representation. The social and national problems coalesced into an indestructible unity, because the entire Romanian nation was wronged and its vast majority, the peasantry, was in the bonds of serfdom.

The leaflets, manifestoes, pamphlets and some newspaper articles published in March 1848 cannot be considered revolutionary as yet in the historical-materialist sense of the word. They were rather preliminary exercises containing social and national claims imbued with ideas of reform. But Simion Barnutiu's proclamation and appeal, dictated in a state of great indignation on the night of 24-25 March, was revolutionary and actually expressed ideas fostered for several years, namely the Romanian nation's restoration to the political position which it had formerly enjoyed and of which it had been robbed by force, because "Without a nation even the republic is merely an arrant despotism." The proclamation and appeal demanded "abolition of serfdom" and a "national congress wherein we shall first agree upon obtaining them." Otherwise, Simion Barnutiu said, "Even heaven is hell."

The Transylvanian Romanians' revolution began with the impact of Barnutiu's proclamation and manifesto, copies of which were disseminated by youths who flew like a flock of birds to the four corners of Transylvania. This proclamation was supplemented by another one by the Blaj professor Aron Pummul at the beginning of April, summoning the people's representatives to the Blaj assembly for 30 April. In the view of the Romanian nation's political leaders, the Blaj assembly was to be a national congress attended by the archpriests and two peasants from every village, for "the salvation of the nation," and authorized to formulate the demands necessitated by "the course of time," namely peace, freedom and brotherhood in the sense of emancipation from serfdom and the Romanian nation's equality of rights with the other nations of Transylvania.

Both proclamations and the ideas they expressed bore abundant fruit, for they were sown on fertile soil prepared by centuries of social exploitation and national oppression. The peasant movements unleashed in April marked the beginning of the social revolution, while the meetings in many cities, market towns and villages attended by youths, intellectuals and even peasants to discuss the ideas of the time (freedom, justice, equality and political rights in general for the Romanian nation) marked the beginning of the national revolution. Of course the two aspects were not distinct and the peasant movements were not exclusively social any more than the meetings of the intelligentsia and youth were exclusively national. In the case of the Romanian revolution some of them had both characteristics, but the social problems predominated in the peasant movement and the national ones predominated in the meetings in cities and markets.

After the prologue in March the revolution began to take concrete form in practical action and not just in theories. The meetings at the end of March in Tirgu Mures, Cluj and Blaj considered not only the two main problems of the Romanian nation, namely abolition of serfdom and agrarian reform, but also political rights for Romanians. The same ideas also appeared in other revolutionary manifestoes disseminated in April by young students in Romania or returning from studies in Vienna, which were discovered by the authorities in Arad, Brasov, Alba and other counties as increasingly numerous and dangerous portents for the ruling classes, especially since the masses were aroused and could no longer be checked either by the prosecution of the "agitators" and "instigators" Avram Iancu, Ion Buteanu, Simion Balint and Dumitru Moga (all leaders of the Apuseni Romanians) or by the ban on the Blaj assembly of 30 April.

The repressive measures and threats of officialdom were all in vain, because the Romanians' desire for freedom and justice was keen, strong and fearless, especially since the attitude of the conservative and backward nobles, their evasion of and even opposition to enforcement of the decision to abolish serfdom in the western counties fostered the peasants' dissatisfaction, movements and uprisings. The latter broke out everywhere, in the western counties, the Banat and the big principality of Transylvania. All Transylvania was in a general state of revolution. In Satu Mare County the peasant movements (in the form of peasant assemblies, refusal to perform the corvee and other serf obligations, seizure of nobles' lands, attacks upon their courts, and maltreatment of judges) were aggravated by the nobles' opposition to immediate enforcement of the Diet's decision to abolish serfdom.

The same phenomena, and for the same reasons, were noted in several villages in Solnocul de Mijloc (Salaj) County, where the nobles were driven out by peasants who, in asserting their desire for freedom, refused both to pay taxes and to supply food for soldiers.

In the neighboring counties (Crasna, Bihor, Chioarului, Maramures) the peasants also refused to perform the corvee, drove out the officials who did not speak Romanian and did not understand the spirit of the time, deprived nobles of the use of the pastures, took over forests, and sold liquor in their homes to the annihilation of one of the nobles' privileges. The tenant farmers demanded partition of the freehold estates, and the Romanian peasants refused to enlist in the "civil guards."

The peasant movements spread steadily southward into Arad and Zarand counties. In Arad manifestoes were disseminated, meetings of youth were held, and speeches were made in Romanian, Hungarian, German and Serbian. In the county's villages the peasants refused to perform the corvee and seized the freehold pastures, while the tenant farmers took over the nobles' arable lands. In some villages the notaries were expelled and replaced by literate peasants, and the bailiffs of the nobles' courts were also driven out. Alongside the names of revolutionaries like Barmutiu, Iancu, Buteanu, Balint, Papiu Ilarian, Aron Pumnul, Florian Micas and Ioan Suci, the documents have also handed down to posterity the names of some of the braver peasants who headed uprisings in parts of Arad County, such as Isaila Lilla, Gheorghe Pop, Moise Moldovan et al.

Nor could the Banat miners remain mere passive and indifferent spectators of the revolution that was beating upon the gates of history, especially since they were half peasants with farms at the mining centers and neighboring villages and with serf obligations, and they were just as wronged by the feudal system of the nobles as their brother peasants were. The miners were further exploited by the capitalist system that had infiltrated the mining economy and consequently had sufficient grounds for dissatisfaction, which took the form of uprisings like those at Dognecea, Oravita and other points.

The unrest of the Banat peasants, especially in the villages of Timis County, was aggravated by the Murgu "case." Eftimie Murgu, who had been released from prison in Pest under pressure of the masses, returned to the Banat and incited the population to "a conspiracy against the integrity of Hungary in the attempt to form an independent state in the Banat and other provinces inhabited by Romanians."

The wave of revolution crossed county frontiers, which were no obstacle to travel of people, goods or ideas anyway, and the antifeudal revolutionary movements spread unchecked with the speed of lightning throughout the principality of Transylvania.

They struck first and more intensively in the Apuseni Mountains and the adjacent counties. In the former a series of revolutionary meetings of protest were held at Cimpeni, Abrud and Zlatna, where the "agitators" served to reveal the state of affairs and the times to the people. Manifestoes and petitions were disseminated in the name of the Romanian people. The officials issued orders to pursue and arrest the "agitators" and to send them under escort to Cluj. The attorney Ion Buteanu was considered the most dangerous "agitator" now, at the beginning of April. In view of the Blaj assembly, which had been set for 30 April 1848, and other expected events the Apuseni Romanians prepared their spears and other peasant weapons while the Romanians in other areas quit the "civil guards" to organize their own Romanian guards.

A series of peasant movements sprang up all around the mountains, in Turda, Hunedoara, Alba de Sus and Cluj counties, with extensions into Solnoc-Dabica County. And here too the primary problems were abolition of the corvee and other feudal obligations, abolition of the "royal" prerogatives (taxes on mills and public houses), division of village "bounds" among peasants, expulsion of the rural judges and election of others from the ranks of the peasants. Extensive

meetings were held to protest against the nobles, and revolutionary manifestoes threatening them were circulated.

Popular leaders arose in these areas too. In Cluj County the Cluj attorney Florian Micas was considered the most dangerous one, and he was arrested and searched. They found 68 "Romanian letters" on him, probably revolutionary manifestoes, and personal letters to the same effect. Two Hungarian "instigators," Istvan Finno and Mihaly Deak, were investigated by officials at Cojocna in the same county. In Turda County the clergyman Vasile Nemes, who toured the villages urging the people to attend the Blaj assembly, was performing a "dangerous" activity. The main "instigators" in Alba de Sus County were the priest Ioachim Aron and Ioan Popovici, who were distributing proclamations and encouraging the people to rebel.

Proximity to Blaj, a political center of the Romanian revolution in 1848 where unrest and preparations were even more intensive after the arrival of the clerk cancelist Alexandru Papiu Ilarian from Tirgu-Mures and the conference convened by Prof Aron Pumnul, further encouraged the revolutionary spirit in Tirnava County. The peasants resisted the corvee and the other serf obligations and prepared to attend the assembly of 30 April. In many areas they seized the nobles' forests.

The movements and uprisings included the German provinces, wherein the unrest of the Romanian peasants and intellectuals was caused by the privileges of the German aristocracy who, like the nobles, had no wish to understand the spirit of the time or to give up anachronistic practices and situations. The Romanians demanded equal rights with Germans in holding public, administrative and political office. In Lancram village (Sebes Province) manifestoes were circulated and the communal notary and inspector were driven out. Here and in other villages of this province the Romanians refused to enlist in the "civil guards," which they considered foreign to their interests, and prepared to rebel against the union of Transylvania with Hungary. Their example was followed by the masses in Cincu and Agnita provinces, where the trouble was aggravated by the institution of the "civil guards." The Germans refused to enlist, for fear of having to serve elsewhere in the empire too, and because of the fees to be paid to maintain these guards.

In April 1948 the movements were more intensive in the District of Brasov and in Tara Birsei, where the Romanians were more numerous and their intellectuals were better organized and more conscious of their rights. The movements in these southeastern parts of Transylvania were headed by the clerks Ioan Bran, Constantin Secareanu, Gheorghe Ion, Ioan Lacea et al. and supported by some progressive German circles inclined to grant rights especially to Romanians who had homes and businesses in cities.

As contrasted with the conservative German circles desirous of maintaining their prerogatives, the German middle class and masses proved better observers and interpreters of the developments, as indicated by the Germans' assembly of 20-25 April in Rupea Province, which opposed the "corrupt drones" and resolved to do away with the privileges and the bureaucratic regime. The assembly in Rupea understood and approved the peoples' opposition to the feudal institutions and

and justified the "communist and revolutionary" popular movements. Not satisfied with proclaiming principles, the Germans' assembly resolved upon some urgent necessities: reorganization of the "German University," participation of all social strata in legal, political and economic functions, rejection of the union of Transylvania with Hungary, revision of Romanians' rights on "royal land," taxation of all citizens, public control of public revenues, right of assembly and petition, freedom of conscience, and civil guards in common.

In several discussions during these critical days the "German University" opposed the union of Transylvania with Hungary and decided to arm the people to block this arbitrary action and to send a delegation to the Imperial Court to point out the incalculable disadvantages of the union. The antiunion arguments were based on principles of public law: The chauvinist Hungarian nobility who demanded the union formed a tiny minority, the union would cause violent reactions on the part of the non-Hungarian nationalities and consequently a dangerous anarchy, and the union would have bad effects from the financial and military standpoints.

The revolutionary spirit also caught up the Szeklers. Young "instigators," wanted by the officials for prosecution, became bearers of the revolutionary ideas. Added to their former discontent, these ideas brought on the revolt of the border Szeklers. And the Szekler tenant farmers in their turn demanded allotment of the plots of land they worked.

The officials' measures proved powerless against these general, primarily social actions. Neither the "civil guards" the masses rejected, nor the armed reinforcements sent to the more "sensitive" points, nor the issue of weapons from armories, nor the introduction of the "stationary," nor the military executions in several villages could any longer intimidate the masses or divert the course of events from the path that it had taken.

The revolutionary forces, which were largely peasants in this initial stage, had taken the path of revolution before devoting themselves in a large assembly to any long-range, well-planned program such as Barnutiu devised and such as was included in the proclamation of 24-25 March and in the manifestoes of the Cluj group under Buteanu as well as in those of Baritiu and Pummul on the same days at the end of March. The popular revolutionary actions needed guidance and organization, and the Romanian intelligentsia in Transylvania and the Transylvanian intelligentsia established in the other two Romanian lands of Moldavia and Wallachia were concerned with this crucial problem.

The revolution needed a uniform political program, and the program was discussed in correspondence in the second half of April. Prof August Treboniu Laurian suggested a meeting to clarify the opinions, including those on the program instituted by the Transylvanian officials (a province /guberniu/, a diet and the German University) and by the court in Vienna. The program suggested by Laurian called for a Romanian archbishop for the whole united, independent and national Romanian church, access to all high offices, and legislation in Romanian. The program proposed by another professor, Ioan Axente Sever, was more revolutionary and also in keeping with the author's ideas and mentality. It called for rejection of the union of Transylvania with Hungary and a Romanian uprising

under some young leaders like Constantin Romanu-Vivu, Ioan Margineanu, Alexandru Batrineanu (all established in the principalities as professors), Avram Iancu et al. The Blaj clergy's program primarily called for equality of rights of the Romanian nation with the other nationalities in Transylvania. The programs of the Cluj group and George Baritiu, drafted at the end of March, were both relatively moderate too. Barnutiu's program embraced both the national and the social problem and was still the most radical one in this initial stage of the revolution.

The Aradians' program of 24 April failed to meet the masses' demands, as if it had not been drafted in the "spring of the peoples." It called for determination of the number of delegates to the next Orthodox Congress, representation of Romanians at this congress by Romanians and not by Serbs and Greeks, and meetings of the congress in Arad or Timisoara, centers heavily populated by Romanians. It is true that under the particular circumstances of the Romanians in the Banat and Crisana the religious problem was also of considerable national significance because it also involved cultural problems, since education was denominational at the time. But more important than the program was the Aradians' action in itself, namely the first organization in a "community," under Ioan Arcos as president and Vincentiu Babes as vice president.

In this revolutionary atmosphere the day of the Blaj assembly, 30 April, was drawing near. Leaders throughout the whole land were preparing for it clandestinely, for it had been officially banned by the governor of Transylvania. The Romanian revolutionaries attached particular importance to the assembly, not only for the Transylvanian Romanians' revolution but also for the Romanian revolution as a whole, which explains the arrival of some Moldavian and Wallachian revolutionaries in Transylvania. Three revolutionaries from the principalities arrived in Brasov on 26 April for this purpose. The Brasov police had learned of their presence and also knew the purpose of it, namely to urge the Transylvanian Romanians to form a state or "Dacian empire."

And so the political program of the Romanian revolution in Transylvania, and not only in Transylvania, was emerging more and more clearly. It was the result of decades of constantly developing efforts, trends and endeavors since Horea's revolt with its social and national program, such as the "Supplex Libellus Valachorum" and subsequent repetitions of it, Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution and the movements, plans and actions from the 1820's to the 1840's. These plans were more purposefully, consistently and resolutely followed during the days and weeks of April, which were critical for the subsequent progress of the revolution, which can be regarded as already begun in its essential manifestations, namely a program, actions, trends and aspirations, and especially in the masses' expectation of a new life after centuries of oppression and submission.

The revolution had begun. The assembly of 30 April would mark its course more clearly and definitely by extending and intensifying it, organizing and guiding it, and clarifying and crystallizing its program. But the great assembly of 3-15 May 1848 was to proclaim it urbi et orbi by virtue of the resolve of the 40,000 and more participants and the millions they represented.

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COUNCIL OF STATE DECREE ON ASSIGNMENT OF MINING SPECIALISTS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 73, 9 Aug 78 p 5

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

Article 1--Specialists with advanced studies in the fields of mines, petroleum and geology--mining engineers, engineers skilled in extracting petroleum and gas deposits, geological engineers and geophysicists, geologists, mechanical engineers and electromechanical engineers specializing in mining and petroleum equipment--will be assigned to work only in the sectors of activity for which they have trained.

Article 2--The Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology is compiling a record of graduates of institutions of higher education which train specialists in the field of mines, petroleum and geology and is responsible for their assignment, in accordance with the conditions stipulated by law.

Article 3--Specialists with the advanced studies stipulated in Article 1 will be employed in units of the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology.

The assignment of these specialists to units subordinate to other ministries and central organs or to the peoples councils of the counties or of Bucharest Municipality will be done only with the approval of the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology, if the corresponding specialists are provided for in the respective units, in the lists of functions and the structural norms approved by law.

Article 4--Failure to observe the provisions of the present decree incurs, according to the law, disciplinary, civil or material responsibility, according to the case.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU  
President of the Socialist  
Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 5 Aug 78  
No 296

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ROMANIA

BRIEFS

NEW MILITIA CHIEF--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Lieutenant General Jean Moldoveanu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the interior and chief of the General Inspectorate of the Militia. Comrade Major General Constantin Nuta is appointed deputy minister of the interior and chief of the General Inspectorate of the Militia. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 67, 22 Jul 78 p 2]

DEATH OF MINISTRY OFFICIAL--Colleagues in the General Directorate for Investments and Construction-Installation in the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry announce the death of Engineer Mircea Nistor former director of the Calarasi iron and steel combine. [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Aug 78 p 4]

NISTOR OBITUARY--The Institute for the Design of Rolling Mill Sections and Plants (IPROLAM) announces the death of Engineer Mircea Nistor, former deputy director general in the General Directorate for Investments and Construction-Installation in the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry. A specialist with long experience in the field of investments, he made a special contribution to the development of the metallurgical industry. [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Aug 78 p 4]

REMOVAL OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Maria Stanescu is relieved of her position as deputy minister of education and instruction. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 72, 4 Aug 78 p 2]

HUA SPEECH TO BUCHAREST MAYOR--Esteemed Comrade Ion Dinca, dear comrades and friends, at Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's kind invitation, I have arrived in Bucharest, Romania's beautiful capital. I want to express heartfelt thanks for the warm and friendly welcome you have given us. I have brought warm greetings to the fraternal Romanian people and to the residents in Bucharest, as well as best wishes on behalf of the Chinese people and the residents from Peking. We view this key, that has been given me by Comrade Dinca, as a symbol of Chinese-Romanian friendship. Long live friendship, solidarity and cooperation between the Chinese and Romanian parties, countries and peoples. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Aug 78 p 2 AU]

END