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No. 1598

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN TREATMENT OF MINORITIES CONTRASTED WITH HUNGARIAN

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Aug 78 pp 13-17

[Article by Mircea Musat and Florian Tanasescu: "Sons of One and the Same Fatherland -- Romania"]

[Text] The history of the Romanians has its beginnings thousands of years ago in the history of the Thraco-Geto-Dacians. It is the history of one and the same people, one of the oldest peoples of Europe, who lived in one and the same Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic geographic space, the history of a people with great prestige in the world of antiquity, a people whose civilization, ranked at the same level of development, exercised a reciprocal influence on the great civilizations of those times -- the Persian, Greek and Roman civilizations.

On an Old Ancestral Homeland

About 2,050 years ago, the Dacians, under the leadership of the great King Burebista, set up a powerful and flourishing state which extended in the northwest as far as the Slovak Mountains and the Middle Danube, in the south as far as the Balkans, and in the northeast as far as the northern Black Sea. From Burebista to our time, the Romanian race, located at the crossroads of the rival interests of the great empires of the times, had to struggle constantly to defend its national being, its ancestral soil, and its freedom and independence. The ancestors of the Romanians had to fight the Roman legions, which conquered a part of Dacia (between 106-271), the devastating invasions of migrating populations (between the 4th and 10th centuries), the invasions of the troops of Hungarian kings, who subjugated a part of the western portion of the country -- Transylvania -- (between the 10th and 13th centuries), and the armies of the Ottoman, Czarist and Hapsburg empires, which conquered and took away extensive territories from the body of the nation. In spite of the fact that they have been faced with numerous adversities and vicissitudes since ancient times, the Romanian people have preserved unaltered their characteristics of moral physiognomy, being hospitable and generous, desirous of understanding and living peacefully together with their neighbors, and never coveting the property or land of those neighbors.

In the last millenium, populations of different ethnic origins -- Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Jews, as well as other less numerous ethnic groups -- settled on the territory of our nation, in addition to the Romanians. Complex historical circumstances caused people of Romanian nationality also to be living together with the indigenous populations in Bulgaria, Hungary and Serbia, and to an extent also in other countries. On their arrival in the Romanian territories, the other nationalities found the Romanian people united and possessing long-standing and rich traditions of material and spiritual life and a state organization with a millenium-long tradition.

Beginning in the 10th century, the Hungarian kings who had settled in the Pannonian Plain at the end of the 9th century, began to attack the western regions of Transylvania. For more than three centuries, the Romanians put up a stubborn and brave resistance to the invaders, who nevertheless toward the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the next century succeeded in conquering portions of the western part of the country.

The Hungarian chronicles themselves recognize the existence of Romanian state formations and the bravery with which the voivodes heading these formations fought to defend their ancestral homeland. At the beginning of the 10th century, these Romanian territories are mentioned for the first time in the Gesta Hungarorum, where reference is made to Romanian feudal state formations headed by the voivodes Galu, Glad and Menumorut, who put up a stiff resistance to the policies of pillage and conquest of the Hungarian king Arpad. The chronicle mentions that in affirming his decision to defend the independence and to preserve the integrity of his voivodship, Menumorut answered the Hungarian king with dignity and said that "he refused to surrender to him even one handfull of soil." Even under foreign domination, the Romanians preserved their old political organization, freedoms and individuality for a long time. Transylvania had a structure different from the rest of the Hungarian feudal state and preserved its autonomy in the traditional organizational form of the Romanians -- the voivodship -- which was also common in the other Romanian principalities, Moldova and Wallachia. In 1860, a Hungarian historian, Sandor Szilagyi, stated that "Transylvania and Hungary have always remained different countries."

In analyzing the historic and ethnic evolution of the various peoples of Transylvania, other Hungarian historians recognized in monographs or studies that the Romanians represented the oldest indigenous population. On 10 January 1843, in an article entitle "The History of Transylvania" in the publication MAGYAR GYERMETBARAT, professor Ferenzy Szilagyi affirmed that: "Transylvania [...] was inhabited from the beginning by different peoples. About 2,000 years ago it was called Dacia, and then the Romans, under the leadership of the brave Emperor Trajan, occupied this region, colonized it with numerous people, and held it for one and a half centuries. The old inhabitants, the Dacians, mixed with the Romans and formed the Romanian nation and language..." In 1890, Theodor Lehoczky wrote that the regions northeast of Salaj county "were undoubtedly inhabited by Romanians before the Hungarian elements appeared."

Even history textbooks used in Hungarian schools before 1918 recognized that the Romanians were the ancient inhabitants of Transylvania. For instance, a history of Hungary (MAGYARORSZAG TORTENEPE, by Dr Karoly Peeseri and Karoly Denes) approved by the Ministry of Instruction of Hungary in 1906 with [Certificate] No 610 and published in 1911 has a historical map of the territory of Pannonia and Transylvania before the appearance of the Hungarians in which Transylvania is shown as a Romanian principality of independent status under the rule of the Romanian voivode Gelu, who was mentioned in the chronicle of Anonymus.

Through the conquest of Transylvania by the feudal Hungarians and then through the subjugation by the great neighboring empires of the Romanians in the northern portion of Moldova -- referred to as Bucovina by the Austrians -- in 1775 and in the eastern portion of Moldova between the Prut and the Dniester in 1812, the natural process tending toward unification of all the historic Romanian provinces within a modern state was made more difficult. But there existed permanent and extensive contacts of an economic, political, military and cultural nature among the Romanian provinces, a fact which contributed to the vigilant maintainance of a consciousness of the common origin of the Romanians, their desire to be united, free and independent, their desire to ensure both the continued development of the forces of production and the preservation of the being of the Romanian people, their desire for retention and perpetuation in the territories of these states of those same laws and customs that existed on Romanian soil.

At the beginning of the 16th century, during the offensive of the Ottoman Empire toward the center of Europe, the Battle of Mohacs took place (1526). The Ottoman forces destroyed the Hungarian army and broke up the Hungarian kingdom. After a few years, in 1541 the Porte transformed central Hungary into a pashalik with its capital in Buda, while the former voivodship of Transylvania was cut off from the political contacts it had up to then and was given a new organization as a principality independent of the Hungarian crown, but vassal to the Ottoman Porte. "Of all the provinces which were conquered by the Hungarian crown," pointed out the historian Nicolae Iorga, "the only one which under the Hungarians retained a voivode as its chief is Ardeal; the provinces, many of them from the former Hungarian kingdom, were named in all sorts of ways, but this is the only one which remained a voivodship to the end [...] If the Hungarians had a voivodship in the Ardeal, this means that when they entered into the Ardeal they found a voivode, one of many voivodes who, especially in the valleys or in regions with a special geographic configuration, had conquered a portion in the western part of ancient Wallachia."

As a result of the transformation of Hungary into a pashalik, in 1541 most of the Hungarian nobility fled to autonomous Transylvania, thus enlarging the ranks of the Hungarian nobles in this Romanian province, a fact which had a negative influence on the development of the majority Romanian population and accentuated the policy of national oppression of that Romanian population. At the same time, in the period when Transylvania was under foreign

domination, the Hungarian kings and feudal lords proceeded to colonize some of the urban localities with Hungarian settlers, ignoring the Romanians in the rural areas. The Romanians were exploited in two ways -- socially and nationally -- and after 1691 when Transylvania lost its status as an Ottoman vassal and became a province of the Hapsburg empire this exploitation was accentuated.

Conquered by the great neighboring empires, the Romanian peasantry, just as in the other historic Romanian territories (Banat, Bucovina and Bessarabia), were gradually dispossessed by violent means of their land, their rights, and their ancestral freedoms.* In spite of these cruel historic events, the Romanian people waged a strong social and national struggle for preservation of their national being, their language, their faith and their traditions. Installed in the urban centers, the aristocrats who came in to Romania from the conquering empires also at the same time accentuated the religious and cultural intolerance toward the Romanians, who were considered as merely "tolerated" and as "nomadic intruders" and thus as a consequence lacking any rights within their own country. In referring to this state of affairs, Karl Marx wrote that: "Up until 1848, the Romanian in Transylvania [...] were considered as a "tolerated nation" within their own country" and that "They were called common vagabonds, although they made up two-thirds of the population, with the Hungarians, Saxons, Szeklers, Greeks and Armenians making up the other third." Indeed, in spite of the policy of denationalization promoted by the great empires, according to the census of the Transylvanian population in 1787 there were more than a million Romanian inhabitants, while all of the other nationalities together totalled only slightly more than 200,000.

The situation of the Romanians in Transylvania, Banat, Bucovina and Bessarabia continued to be equally difficult and also underwent aggravation during the 19th century and the beginning of the next century, a fact which generated an intensification in their struggle against the conquests of their ancestral land. To an increasingly greater degree, this struggle was given sympathetic understanding and support by European public opinion and by prominent personalities of political and cultural-artistic life in many countries.

Natural Integration in the Unitary Romanian State

The struggle of the Romanians for national emancipation was carried on constantly and approached the time of unification of all the Romanian population within the natural historic borders of the unitary national state. At the end of World War I, with the downfall of the Czarist empire and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the century-long vision of the Romanians -- realization of national and state unity -- was realized.

The Great Unification in 1918 -- the result of the secular struggle of the

*MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 2, 1976

Romanian people for national unity and independence and the crowning of the great historic deeds performed by Michael the Brave in 1600 and by Alexandru Ioan Cuza in 1859 -- was the natural result of an objective, logical process of development of the Romanian people and of their wishes and decisive struggle and not of the good wishes of the victors in the first world conflagration. At the same time, it represented realization of the ideals for which the great leaders of the nation, the soldiers, the historians and other Romanian scholars had picked up the sword and fought for realization of the national and legitimate goals of the Romanian people. The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and also the post-war peace treaties confirmed an uncontested historical reality, a direct result of the freely expressed desire of the National Council in Bessarabia (on 27 March 1918), the Congress of representatives of the population in Bucovina (on 28 November 1918), and the Grand National Assembly at Alba Iulia (on 1 December 1918).

After 1918, the unitary national Romanian state also included populations of other nationalities: Hungarians, Germans, Szeklers, Serbs, Swabians, Saxons, Ruthenians, and others, but without changing the unitary character of Romania itself, a fact which was fully confirmed by its demographic evolution. According to the 1930 census, the ethnic structure of Romania, which at that time had 18,157,074 inhabitants, was as follows: Romanians -- 73 percent; Hungarians -- 7.1 percent; Jews -- 4.01 percent; Germans -- 4.0 percent; Ukrainians -- 3.2 percent; Bulgarians -- 2.0 percent; Christian Turks in Dobrogea -- 1.4 percent; Turks and Tatars -- 1.0 percent; Poles -- 0.3 percent; Serbo-Croats -- 0.3 percent; Greeks -- 0.1 percent; and so forth. The cohabiting nationalities therefore represented 27 percent of the total inhabitants of the country, with the bulk of this population being located in the Romanian territories which had been under foreign domination for a long time. On 1 January 1939, the structure of the total population of 19,850,000 was as follows: Romanians -- 14,850,000 (74.8 percent); Hungarians -- 882,000 (4.4 percent); Jews -- 750,000 (3.8 percent); Germans -- 740,000 (3.7 percent); Ruthenians and Ukrainians -- 600,000 (3.0 percent); Szeklers -- 565,000 (2.8 percent); Russians -- 400,000 (2.0 percent); Bulgarians -- 370,000 (1.9 percent); Turks and Tatars -- 120,000 (0.6 percent); others -- 573,000 (3.0 percent).

The presence of populations belonging to cohabiting nationalities was not a phenomenon specific to Romania. It is known that populations of other origins cohabited in all of the states set up or reunited after the end of World War I and also in the successor states to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. For instance censuses taken in 1930 by appropriate authorities in the respective countries or statistics published during the same year showed that in Hungary the cohabiting nationalities represented 7.9 percent of the total population,* in Yugoslavia 20.2 percent, in Czechoslovakia 33.7 percent, while

*The authenticity of the data provided by Hungarian authorities after the 1930 census is contested by the German specialist Michel Schaffer, who wrote in the 30 December 1932 issue of DEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG that: "In past decades the practice of Hungarian authorities in respect to population censuses has been known as very curious. I recall a banquet at which the predecessor of Kovacs (chairman of the Statistical Institute of Hungary in 1930)

in Poland, of a total population of 21,993,000, 9,047,000 or 41.1 percent represented cohabiting nationalities. The existence of these populations did not change the unitary character of the respective states, nor was the unitary character of these states ever contested.

The populations of other nationalities located on the territory of Romania found a suitable climate and favorable conditions for their development within the framework of a state with a bourgeois constitutional parliament, in contrast to the Romanian population remaining within the borders of other states in which, during the very first years after World War I, fascist, dictatorial regimes were established.

The constitution adopted in March of 1923 confirmed the historic achievements and bourgeois-democratic reforms of the Romanian state after 1918 and, in the spirit of the post-war peace treaties, guaranteed justice and freedom for the cohabiting nationalities. For instance, paragraph six of Title II of the constitution stipulates: "All Romanians, regardless of ethnic origin, language or religion, are equal before the law and are obliged to contribute without distinction to public goals and taxes."

In referring in detail to the status of the nationalities and to collaboration with them, Armand Calinescu, the former prime minister of Romania (March-September 1939), wrote: "We are, of course, a national state [...] But citizens of other ethnic origins have long also lived within our borders. This is a phenomenon which is also encountered in almost all states. With these citizens, we have interests which force us to live together with them within the same state, and we have a common ideal of civilization and welfare. We have had and we still have a very open policy in respect to the ethnic minorities."

The Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Jews and others have participated constantly in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the nation and have shown themselves as an integral part of Romanian society. They have benefitted in a corresponding and proportional manner relative to their percentage of the total population of Romania from the provisions of legislation passed in that time. For example, as a result of application of agrarian legislation passed in 1921, of the total of 1,393,353 peasants given state lands, 260,165 were from the ranks of the cohabiting nationalities. Of this number, 82,640 were in Transylvania, 94,480 in Bessarabia, and 29,145 in Bucovina.

The cohabiting nationalities also benefitted from the same political rights given to the Romanian population. During the period between the wars, these cohabiting nationalities set up such political parties and groups as the Hungarian Party, the German Party, the Jewish Party, the Ruthenian Party,

was congratulated officially for the way in which his statistical institute had contributed to a great degree 20 years ago in Magyarization." -- Authors' Note.

and others, either independently or in coalition with other parties, took part in the general parliamentary elections, obtaining mandates in the Assembly of Deputies or in the Senate, and showed independent action in the political life of Romania. For example, here is what the number of parliamentary mandates obtained by the Hungarian Party was after the general parliamentary elections held during the period 1922-1937: in 1922 -- 3 deputies and 3 senators; in 1926 (in an electoral coalition with the People's Party, the National Party and the German Party) -- 14 deputies and 12 senators; in 1927 (in coalition with the German Party, the National Liberal Party and the Peasant Party -- Dr N. Lupu) -- 15 deputies and 1 senator; in 1928 -- 16 deputies and 6 senators; in 1931 -- 10 deputies and 2 senators; in 1932 -- 14 deputies and 3 senators; in 1933 -- 8 deputies and 3 senators; in 1937 -- 19 deputies.

Within the limits of the political regime during this period, the cohabiting nationalities also had conditions created for the development of education and culture and scientific and artistic creation. The 1918 law on primary education provided that: "In communes with another language population than the Romanian language, the Ministry of Public Instruction will establish primary schools using the languages of the respective populations in the same proportions as in the Romanian communes. In these schools, study of the Romanian language will, however, be obligatory, and the number of hours for study of the Romanian language will be established by regulation." The organization of education in Romania during the period between the wars was based on the principle of mandatory public education for children and youth between the ages of 5-18, regardless of nationality. In support of this legislation, which offered equal educational opportunities for all inhabitants of Romania, during the years 1932-1933 there were 422 state primary schools and 326 sections teaching in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities; these schools and sections had 74,611 students. In addition to the state primary and secondary schools, the children of the cohabiting nationalities also had an opportunity to study in specialized schools (lay or religious).

The press regime applied in Romania during the period between the wars offered extensive possibilities for publication of numerous publications of a periodic and daily nature dealing with economics, politics, literature, culture and science, and religion in the Hungarian, German, Yiddish, Ukrainian, Serbian, Russian and other languages.

The citizens from the cohabiting nationalities also had the right to freely exercise their religious beliefs. The Law for the General Regime of Cults, passed on 31 May 1928, states: "No one may be prevented because of the religion which he practices from acquiring or exercising his civil or political rights."

Between the two world wars, the policy of the ruling circles of Romanian capitalist society did, of course, result in abuses, discrimination and inequalities in relation to the nationalities, just as in relation to other Romanian citizens, many times based on class criteria. Moreover, during the interwar period the dominant classes in many states practiced a number of

discriminatory and repressive acts against the exploited working masses, with the victims of these acts often also being the citizens of different nationalities. The communist party and the democratic and progressive forces in Romania spoke out against any discrimination of a national, racial, religious or other order and for the full equality under the law of all citizens of the nation, without regard to nationality. They also supported and carried on a sustained activity against the abuses of the bourgeois regime. The working Romanian, Hungarian, German and other nationality masses struggled shoulder to shoulder against oppression and exploitation, for democratic freedom and rights, and for a better life. The democratic freedoms and rights accorded after 1918 by the unitary Romanian state to all the inhabitants of the country made it possible to achieve an organic integration of the cohabiting nationalities in the economic and social-political life of Romania and a manifestation of the unique individuality of each population of another ethnic origin.

On 20 February 1928, a new constitution was given to capitalist Romania, with the majority of the provisions of this constitution being taken from the 1923 constitution. For example, just as in the 1923 constitution, article 5 states that: "All Romanian citizens, regardless of ethnic origin and religious faith, are equal before the law."

No Pity for Anyone

During the time Hitlerist Germany dominated Europe and concentric pressures were exerted on Romania from outside -- pressures which resulted in the summer of 1940 in significant territorial losses for Romania -- the dictatorship of General Ion Antonescu was established on 6 September 1940. This dictatorship abrogated the constitution and the old laws and governed by decree laws. Some measures of a racial discrimination nature taken by the government at that time affected the Jews in particular, both from the economic and the social-political standpoint. Some reprisals caused deaths in the ranks of this population. But in spite of all the pressures and repeated interventions of Nazi Germany, the Romanian authorities refused to accede to the request that the Jewish population within Romania be massacred* or deported to the camps at Auschwitz, Buchenwald, or other places.

There is no doubt that this situation was due to the traditional humanity of the Romanian people, their profoundly humanitarian character, and their long-standing goodness and generosity, as well as the struggle of the democratic, progressive, anti-fascist forces, which were headed by the working class and our communist party with an exemplary patriotic consistency. According to available statistical data, during the Antonescu dictatorship in Romania several thousand of the total of more than 350,000 Jews left in Romania after

*MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 6, 1976, and No 7, 1978.

the territorial cessions in the summer of 1940 were killed.

After the occupation of the northern part of Transylvania as a result of the Vienna Dictate of 30 August 1940, the Horthyist authorities carried on a vast and systematic program for extermination or forced denationalization of the Romanians, as well as for a terrible persecution of the Jews and other nationalities. A wide range of means and methods was used, from brutal mistreatment and torture to deportation and crimes of genocide -- all for the declared purpose of liquidating the Romanian population in Transylvania, applying the Hitlerist racial laws, and strengthening the domination of the fascist Horthy regime over the occupied Romanian territory.

To understand the significance of what the Horthyist domination established in the northern part of Transylvania meant, we quote from a document issued at the beginning of the occupation of Romanian territory by the regent Miklos Horthy and designed to guide the apparatus for repression: You are to eliminate every Romanian that gets in your way [...] At night, you are to burn the Romanian villages. You are to put the sword to the entire population. You are to poison the wells. You are to strangle the babies at their mothers' breasts. You are to have no pity! For anyone! Not for children and not for pregnant mothers! Without pity, cruel revenge!" (Csaba Dúcsó, NICS KEGYELEM (Without Mercy), Budapest, 1939, p 156).

The Horthyist troops, together with fascist organizations and paramilitary chauvinists such as the "Ragged Guard," the "Front Line Fighters," and others, were guilty of thousands and thousands of killings, mistreatments and devastations on the ravished territory. Within only a single month -- September, 1940 -- and within a single county -- Salaj -- the Horthyist bands killed about 300 Romanians -- men, women, children and old people -- in the commune of Ip they killed 150, in the commune of Traznea 81, in the communes of Pausa and Clumarna 30, and pregnant women at the outskirts of the city of Zalau, etc. During only two years of Horthyist occupation, in conquered Romanian territory 991 Romanians were killed without trial and another 6,813 were mistreated and tortured. It is likely that there did not exist a locality in the northern part of Transylvania which did not have to suffer severely as a result of the fascist-Horthyist policies.

Added to these atrocities were the banishment and forced expulsion from the occupied territory of over 280,000 Romanians, the shipment of 20,000 Romanians to Germany to perform forced labor in digging trenches on the Hitlerist-Horthyist front in the east, and the shipment of another 15,000 Romanians to Hungary to perform forced labor. A large number of Romanians were interned in concentration camps at Puspok-Ladany, Someseni, and Floresti, where they were subjected to a regime of extermination. In September, 1940, alone, the number of Romanians interned in the camps mentioned was about 2,000.

Concomitant with the terrorist measures, the Horthyist authorities applied economic, social, political, cultural and religious measures to weaken and eliminate the Romanian element and to achieve its forced denationalization.

Higher education was taught completely in the Hungarian language, while secondary school education had only two units and ten sections in the Romanian language. In the elementary school system, the number of classes taught in Romanian was appreciably reduced. While the Horthyist government sought to force education in the Hungarian language, with the support of the state and the Catholic, Reform and Unitarian religious schools, the Orthodox Church requested that its old religious schools -- which after the unification of Transylvania with Romania on 1 December 1918 had been incorporated with the Romanian state school system -- be reestablished, with the church assuming the maintenance costs for these schools. However, the request was refused.

By the beginning of the 1943-1944 school year, the number of primary schools with classes taught in the Romanian language or with Romanian sections had decreased by more than 200 percent compared with the number existing at the beginning of the period of Horthyist domination.

While all this was going on, approval was given for the publication of only five periodicals in the Romanian language for the Romanian population, compared with 24 periodicals in the Hungarian language for a population three times less numerous than the Romanian population. And of these five Romanian-language periodicals, four were religious in nature. The Romanian publications were checked especially by the the Horthyist wartime censorship board.

In their turn, the Romanian churches were exposed to constant vexations by the Horthyist regime for the concealed purpose of Magyarization. The Greek Catholic dioceses, which up to that time were subordinated to the Romanian Episcopate in Oradea, were placed under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Episcopate in Hajdudorog and required to perform church services in the Hungarian language.

An anti-Semitic policy was, of course, also not lacking in the arsenal of the Horthyist regime. Jews were totally eliminated from intellectual life, literary life and cultural life. Their lands and a considerable part of their urban homes were confiscated, and they were required to move into overcrowded and unhealthy ghettos where contagious diseases and malnutrition caused the death of thousands. Beginning in March 1943, more than 150,000 Jews from the northern part of Transylvania were deported to Nazi extermination camps. Only a few thousand of this number survived.

The terror of the Horthyist regime also struck with great violence against the democratic and antifascist elements, regardless of nationality and including Hungarians, Szeklers and Germans. For this reason, the reaction against this occupation included masses from all social strata and from among the ranks of all nationalities.

The friendship and solidarity among Romanian, Hungarian and German workers in struggling against fascism and war and in support of overthrow of the Horthyist dictatorship and liberation of Transylvania were affirmed with special force. The united attitude of Romanians and Hungarians in respect to

the Horthyist atrocities was shown very strongly during those difficult times, with the Horthyist terror striking also in a cruel manner at those Hungarian citizens who expressed sympathy toward the Romanians. For example, Augustin Laszlo and his wife in Tirimia (Mures County) had nails driven through the palms of their hands by the Horthyists for the simple reason that they had shaken hands with Romanians.

Realizing that Horthyist fascism and Hitlerism represented a danger to them also to an equal degree, many Hungarian citizens provided help to the Romanians in many ways. One document reported: "In Ardeal, Romanian and Hungarian leaflets passed from hand to hand." On 5 September 1940, a meeting of the Territorial Committee for Ardeal and the Banat of the PCR was held at Cluj to organize the antiHorthyist and antifascist resistance of communists in the northern part of Transylvania. This organization was transformed into the Regional Committee of Communists in Northern Transylvania. Together with many Romanian revolutionaries, Hungarian revolutionaries such as Arno Salamon, Jenő Kovács Katona, Laszlo Mojer, Jozef Nagy and Josza Bela paid with their lives also for the courage they showed in the struggle against the Horthyist regime.

An Era of Great and Profound Transformations

The national antifascist and anti-imperialist armed insurrection of August 1944 marked the beginning of a new era, an era of great and profound revolutionary transformations in Romania. It was the intentional act of the entire Romanian people expressed through the establishment of a broad, patriotic, antihitlerist front which reunited all of the nation's forces, from the communists to the circles of the royal palace. Like no other time in history, the Romanian people gave evidence of unity, heroism and self-sacrifice in problems of fundamental interest for the fate of the nation.

After the victory of the August 1944 insurrection, an insurrection which inaugurated a new era in the development of the nation, the cohabiting nationalities, together with the Romanian people, set out on the road toward socialist fulfillment, toward construction of a grandiose material and cultural creation, through the struggle and victory of the great, united family of the nation. With the changeover to construction of socialism, the national problem was resolved in a democratic manner, as a component part of the broad, renewing process of Romanian society. As recently pointed out by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Romanian Socialist Republic, "One of the results of which we are proud is the fact that we have assured full equality under the law for all citizens, without regard to nationality. The Hungarian nationality people, just as the German, Serbian and other peoples, enjoy full political rights and participate actively in all economic and political life [...] All Romanian citizens, both those of Romanian nationality and those of Hungarian or German nationality have been in Romania for very many years: the Romanians for more than 2,000 years, the Hungarians for about 1,000 years, and the Germans for 700-800 years -- and there exists a tradition that they act in a united manner and that they do everything in the place where they were born."

Full equality under the law for all workers, without regard to nationality, is guaranteed in the constitution and in all of the nation's laws. The constitution states that: "Citizens of the Romanian Socialist Republic, without regard to nationality, race, sex or religion, are equal under the law in all fields of economic, political, judicial, social and cultural life."

The state guarantees the equality of citizens under the law. No violation of these rights and no differentiation in the exercise of these rights based on nationality, race, sex or religion is permitted.

Any manifestations having as their purpose the establishment of such restrictions, the establishment of nationalist-chauvinist propaganda, or the inciting of racial or national hatred are punishable by law.

In the Romanian Socialist Republic, the cohabiting nationalities are assured free use of their mother tongues, as well as books, newspapers theaters, and education at all levels in their own languages. In the administrative-territorial units inhabited also by other nationalities than Romanian, all organs and institutions also use the language of the respective nationalities orally and in writing and appoint officials from the ranks of these nationalities or from the ranks of people who understand the language and ways of the local population.

Starting with the truth that equality under the law is reflected first of all in achievement of an increase in the degree of economic-social development of the entire nation, the Romanian state has tried and is trying to achieve the most rational possible placement of the production forces on the territory of Romania and the industrial development of all counties of the nation. The possibilities have thus been created for the equality under the law for those who work in our country, without regard to nationality, to become a reality first of all in the sphere of material existence, for all citizens to have an assurance of work, and for all workers, without regard to nationality or sex, to receive equal pay for equal work.

The policy of the party for harmonious development of all counties of the nation and the steps taken by the state have caused a number of counties such as Covasna, Harghita, Salaj and others to undergo accelerated rates of economic growth. Compared with the average rate of growth of industrial production -- which at the present time is 25.4 percent -- much higher rates of growth have been achieved in these counties. In Covasna county the rate of growth is 35.8 percent, in Harghita county 30.3 percent, and in Salaj county 50.5 percent.

In the conception of the communist party and the Romanian socialist state, solving the national problem also means assuring the conditions for active participation of all citizens of the nation in economic-social life and in management of the different sectors of activity throughout society.

The national structure of the PCR, the UTC, the trade unions, the other mass and public organizations, the managers of these organizations, and the state representative and executive organs corresponds to the national composition

of the nation's population. For instance, of the total number of party members on 31 December 1977, 90.18 percent were Romanian, 7.5 percent Hungarian, and the remainder of other nationalities.

In the Grand National Assembly, of the 349 deputies 29, that is, 8.2 percent are Hungarian, 8, that is, 2.21 percent are German, and 3, that is 0.9 percent are of other nationalities. In respect to the local organs of state power, that is, the people's councils, of the total of 61,340 deputies 5,225 are Hungarian, 1,125 are German, and 646 belong to other nationalities.

Romanian, Hungarian, German, Serbian and other nationality workers also participate in the management of the country through all the other institutionalized forms and organisms. At the same time, special organisms for the cohabiting nationalities -- councils of workers -- were also set up at both the central and the county level, as well as the local level, in areas in which workers of other nationalities live and work together with Romanians.

In Romania free use of mother languages is assured in the entire economic, political and cultural life of all cohabiting nationalities. Children belonging to population of the Hungarian, German, and other nationalities, just as all children of school age in Romania, have access to all forms of education and have an opportunity to be taught in their own language. In localities with a mixed population, the children belonging to the cohabiting nationalities are taught in units which have sections using the languages of the respective nationalities. In accordance with the educational plan, study materials are taught in the mother language in all classes. The children of the cohabiting nationalities also have to an equal extent the right to be taught in schools which use the Romanian language in teaching. If requested, lessons in their mother language are provided to these children.

In 1977, the number of school units which taught in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities increased to 3,276, of which 2,498 were Hungarian (and of which 1,440 were general schools and 112 secondary schools), 671 German, 49 Serbo-Croatian, 11 Ukrainian, 37 Slovak, and 10 Czech, Greek and Bulgarian.

Preschool, general and secondary school education in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities includes more than 400,000 pupils. In higher education, of the total of 129,133 students in daytime courses 10,748 are from the ranks of the cohabiting nationalities and are taught either in their mother languages or in the Romanian language.

The state provides for the training of the necessary teaching personnel, as well as for text books in the languages of the nationalities. Free text books are provided for all children; text books are prepared in the mother languages; scholarships, places in clubs, and so forth are granted. In the 1974/1975 school year, 162 titles of text books in the Hungarian language were published in a run of 1,491,640 copies, at a total cost of 9,922,716 lei.

The cohabiting nationalities have a rich press, radio and television programs, publishing houses, theaters, and institutions of science and culture. In 1977,

34 daily newspapers were published in Romania, with a total run of 3,750,000 copies each day, as well as 473 journals, reviews and other periodical publications, with a total run of about 7,594,000 copies per appearance. Of this number, 52 central and local publications were published in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities, with a total run per appearance of over 750,000 copies. Additionally, the radio and television stations transmitted more than 6,000 hours annually in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities.

The cohabiting nationalities in Romania have an original spiritual treasury which is the result of a long-standing literary-artistic and folkloristic creativity developed in close connection with the spiritual values of the Romanian people with whom they have lived for many centuries. These values are cultivated within the framework of a network of cultural and artistic institutions made up of: theaters, cultural clubs, cultural-scientific universities, professional and amateur artistic groups, and so forth. There is a Hungarian state opera, six drama theaters in the Hungarian language, two in the German language, and one in Yiddish, as well as more than 3,700 cohabiting nationality amateur artistic groups.

Resolution of the national problem was one of the most outstanding achievements of the revolution and socialist construction in Romania. It has ensured a strengthening of the unity and friendship of the Romanian workers and the workers of other nationalities, thus contributing at the same time, to a significant degree, to realization and consolidation of the social-political unity of the entire people -- the motor force for development of the entire society.

Resolution of the national problem in Romania, as a component part of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party, just as resolution of all the problems which concern the life and work of the citizens in Romania regardless of nationality, has been and is an inalienable attribute of the state and of our people and party. As pointed out by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his speech at the Grand People's Assembly in the capital on the occasion of the 130th anniversary of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1848 and the 30th anniversary of the nationalization of the principal means of production: "The problems of the Hungarian, German, Serbian and other nationalities were not solved in Budapest, in Berlin or Bonn, in Belgrad, and in some other location, but here in Bucharest by our party." At the same time, "The problems of the Romanian nationalities in Hungary, Yugoslavia and other countries are not being solved in Bucharest, but in Budapest, in Belgrad, and in the other capitals of the respective countries."

The present-day life of the Romanian people who live in close and sincere friendship with the cohabiting nationalities, utilizing the glorious traditions of century-long common struggle, represents the most eloquent illustration of the statement made by president Nicolae Ceausescu: "What we are constructing in Romania is a society which will permit the full manifestation of the rights of man, in all fields. I would be especially happy if the way in which we have solved the national problem here in Romania, the way in which we have assured full equality under the law, as well as the right to use language in the schools, in cultural-artistic activity, and in the press,

existed everywhere. I shall never have to reproach myself nor the Romanian socialist regime in connection with the way in which we have resolved the national problem and how we have assured full equality under the law for all mankind, without regard to nationality."

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MBFR TALKS RESUMED IN VIENNA

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 78 p 7 AU

[ADN dispatch from Vienna: "Start of the 16th round at the Vienna negotiations: Socialist Countries for Immediate Reduction Measures"]

[Text] The 16th round of the negotiations on a mutual balance of forces reduction in central Europe began in Vienna's Hofburg Castle on Thursday.

Ambassador David Reece, the representative of Canada, spoke in the first plenum session as well as Ambassador Dr Emil Keblusek, the head of the CSSR delegation. Afterwards the latter held a press conference.

Ambassador Keblusek previously underscored that the objective of the socialist states at the Vienna negotiations was to achieve substantial progress on the road to halt the arms race and to advance the detente process in agreement with the expectations of the peoples of all countries. The proposals submitted by the socialist states on 8 June this year, which make it possible to immediately embark on working out a first reduction agreement, are fully in keeping with this.

The CSSR representative stated in this context: "When we departed for the recess in mid-July, the delegations of the Western states were in possession of an extensive and comprehensive document about the principles of the socialist countries' new proposals." Much time has elapsed since then. "We would like to hope that the delegations of the Western countries will immediately give a constructive answer."

Ambassador Keblusek also repeated the proposal of the socialist states to agree at once about not increasing the armed forces for the duration of the Vienna negotiations. "In our opinion, this is particularly topical because some Western states are carrying out increases of their armed forces and armaments," he underscored.

The NATO states have not yet given an answer to the new proposals of the socialist states at the first plenum session. As could be gathered from the words of a Western spokesman, the Canadian representative has acknowledged the far-reaching nature of the socialist initiative, but at the same time demanded additional concessions from the participating socialist states.

CSO: 2300

ALBANIA

DECREE ON PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY ELECTORAL ZONES PUBLISHED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Sep 78 p 1 AU

[Text] In conformity with article 68 of the constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Article 8 of the law on the elections to the People's Assembly, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, by decree 5762, dated 11 September 1978, defined the electoral zones for the ninth legislature of the People's Assembly. According to the aforementioned decree, each district will have as follows:

District	Number of Electroal Zones
1 Berat	14
2 Diber	12
3 Durres	19
4 Elbasan	17
5 Fier	19
6 Gramsh	5
7 Gjirokaster	6
8 Korce	19
9 Kolonje	2
10 Kruje	8
11 Kukes	7
12 Lezhe	5
13 Librazh	5

District	Number of Electoral Zones
14 Lushnje	11
15 Mat	6
16 Mirdite	4
17 Permet	4
18 Pogradec	5
19 Puke	4
20 Sarande	7
21 Skrapar	4
22 Shkoder	19
23 Tepelene	4
24 Tirana	28
25 Tropoje	3
26 Vlore	15

CSO: 2100

EAST GERMANY

SYRIAN PRESIDENT'S FORTHCOMING VISIT DISCUSSED

East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1703 GMT 30 Sep 78 LD

[Text] Another important event is imminent in the GDR--the visit by the president of Syria, Hafiz al-Asad. Our Middle East correspondent, Vieland Weber, comments:

[Weber--begin recording] It has become a good tradition, they are saying nowadays in the Syrian capital, that leading politicians of this Arab country situated at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and of the GDR meet to discuss the deepening of their cooperation. The current reason for these remarks is, of course, the coming visit by President Hafiz al-Asad to our republic. There are so many examples of this cooperation, however, that it is impossible here in the short time available to give even an approximately comprehensive picture.

A visit by a delegation of the SED Central Committee, headed by Comrade Paul Verner, at the end of February and the beginning of March to the Syrian Arab Republic is still well-remembered in Damascus. Shortly afterward the third meeting of the Joint GDR-Syria Economic Committee was held in the capital, which, by the way, is one of the oldest cities in the world. Both meetings, Syrian friends stress, have undoubtedly contributed toward giving the many years of cooperation an even firmer basis. It is an everyday occurrence to meet in the country that lies between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, GDR specialists who are assisting in building up important branches of the Syrian economy. For example, cement works and the most modern mills have been built, transformer stations constructed and at present a facility for the repair and testing of transformers is being built at Adhra, near the capital. I saw another example of this cooperation in a large textile factory in Damascus, many of whose managers, engineers and mechanics had attended lengthy training courses in the GDR.

A feature of this joint work, as the people I spoke with told me, is its long-term character. It helps the Syrian people in overcoming a multitude of problems and guarantees us supplies of urgently required goods. In short, it is typified by stability and mutual benefit.

And there is something else that is being publicly underlined in Syria at present. People are saying that the recent events connected with the Middle East, which have reached a temporary peak with the separate accords at Camp David, that is to say with the attempt to foist an imperialist means of settlement on the crisis area that is against the interests of the Arab peoples and that is intended to be particularly drastic in its effects on the Palestinian movement, make the following necessary: The cooperation between the progressive Arab forces that have just met in Damascus for the third summit of the steadfastness front must be deepened and still closer cooperation with the socialist countries, which is particularly important for the struggle for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, must be achieved. It is in this way that people in Damascus look upon President Asad's visit to our republic. [end recording]

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

MILITARY TEXTBOOK CONTENT FOR TEENAGE STUDENTS DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 18 Sept 78 p 4

[Article by Mark Brayne (Reuter): "The GDR Orders Heroism Via Schoolbook"]

[Text] The teaching material for the new topic of "Military Science", which was introduced this month despite the protests of the protestant and catholic churches, has now been distributed in GDR schools to the ninth level classes. "Civil Defense 9", obligatory lectures for about a quarter of a million 15 and 16 year old boys and girls should, among other things, assist the student in preparing for deeds of heroism in a possible modern war and be prepared "at all times" for the use of chemical or nuclear weapons by the West. The book, which cannot be obtained through commercial book dealers, was distributed free of charge to the students.

The teaching material in the 256 page book extends from personal protection against a nuclear explosion and the personality characteristics of a hero to decontamination following an attack and field and direction-finding training.

A prerequisite for heroic deeds, for example, is fulfilling "the requirements of school, work and activity in FDJ groups to the best of your ability" and adopting "communist personality traits." In matters of heroism, the students read that the concepts of "hero" and "heroic deeds" are almost always first associated with war and soldiers. Soldiers or military units of socialist armies perform heroic deeds according to the book if they contribute "through their deed to victory over the enemy and thereby in the end to the victory of socialism." If wars brought heroes in the past, the book maintains, "how much more will this be so in modern warfare", in which, for example, people would have to be rescued from smoking ruins, "with the knowledge that this wreckage is radioactive and releasing nuclear radiation."

Cited as personality characteristics of the hero, among other things, are initiative, discipline, endurance, will-power and self-control. In order to avoid misinterpretations, the book also provides assurance that this type of behavior is "actually expected of the workers in socialist countries even in times of peace."

"Imperialism" is cited as the main danger for a new war in several parts of the book which has now come out. Because imperialism is inherently aggressive, it is said right in the first chapter that "we must figure on a real danger of war."

In order to save their system, the "imperialists" are also supposed to be ready to employ means of mass destruction, an assertion which the children are then to illustrate as a practice exercise by the "use of the atom bomb in the last days of the Second World War", the "barbaric conduct of the war of the US to suppress the Vietnamese people", and other actual examples. According to the book, "imperialism" could trigger wars by "border provocation", by making unmeetable demands, by instigating "counter-revolutionary attempts at overthrows" or by a surprise nuclear attack.

In the first chapter, "Civil Defense - a Component of Socialist National Defense", the course of a possible war is depicted. It first comes to an armed confrontation of both world systems, and then to the use of the means of mass destruction, "primarily nuclear missiles". Combat engagements will take place in almost all of the parts of the Earth and "even in space", where the goal of the conduct of the war is the "fastest possible annihilation of the military, economic and moral forces of the enemy."

However, the students are assured at the same time that "if we must reckon with the madness of reactionary forces", protection will be possible against the immediate effects of a nuclear weapon detonation in at least 80% of the radius of action with "a real effort and proper procedure." Not a word is said in the book about the long term effects of nuclear radiation or is the fact mentioned that the area affected by a nuclear explosion remains contaminated for decades.

The goal of civil defense is the protection of the citizens, keeping the most important branches of the economy in production and assuring the further functional capability of the state apparatus. The various alert sirens for a nuclear or a chemical attack are explained in this regard, as are the measures which everyone has to take in such a case: "do not look at the fireball, turn away from the fireball, close your eyes."

The students are to practice in the open throwing themselves on their stomachs with their feet in the direction of the detonation, or if they are traveling in an auto, crouching down behind the dashboard. The young GDR citizens are given the subject assignment of setting up war shelters in the basements of their schools.

"Conscious discipline must be practiced," the book maintains "one must get used to military order. This is also the point of civil defense training in the schools."

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CSO:2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

STOPH SEES ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR--Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received on Monday [18 September] Abdel Hafed Mansouri, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, for a farewell visit. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO ITALY--Dr Alessandro Pertini, president of the Italian Republic, received on Monday 25 September GDR Ambassador Dr Hans Voss for the presentation of his credentials. In the subsequent talks the desire of both sides was expressed to comprehensively develop the existing good relations and to thus contribute to the consolidation of peace and to deepen detente in Europe. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE--Johannes Vogel, GDR Ambassador to the People's Republic of Mozambique, was received for a farewell visit by Samora Machel, president of FRELIMO and of Mozambique. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

ROMANIA

AUTHOR OF OPEN LETTER TO CEAUSESCU SAID TO BE UNDER INVESTIGATION

Writer's Open Letter to Ceausescu

Paris BULLETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Sep 78
pp 11, 12

[Excerpts] Romanian writer, poet and native of Cluj, Victor Frunza, 43 years old, professor of journalism at Stefan Gheorghiu Political Academy, member of the party since 1956, was visiting Paris as a tourist. On this occasion, he addressed an open letter to N. Ceausescu which was broadcast by Reuters on 2 September. On 8 September, Victor Frunza returned to Romania.

Frunza Under Investigation

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Sep 78 p 13

[Excerpt] We have learned from reliable sources that Victor Frunza, about whom we wrote in this issue, is being investigated by the Securitate and has been expelled from the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy where he was a professor of journalism.

Frunza Statement on Departure from France

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Oct 78 p 1

[Text] We reported in our last issue that the writer Victor Frunza was arrested in Bucharest. Before he left France, he signed the following statement dated 2 September: "I am returning to the country with the conviction that [as a result of] what has been written and said in the open letter addressed to the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, N. Ceausescu, and disseminated by Reuters, pressure will be exerted upon me and therefore I consider invalid a priori any retraction or any other text signed by me which would compromise what has been stated in the letter."

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BUCHAREST FRACAS LINKED TO REMOVAL OF MILITIA CHIEF

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Sep 78 p 3

[Excerpts] In our 28 July issue we reported briefly on an incident which took place in Piata Unirii in Bucharest in the middle of July. A militia man was lynched and a large number of passers-by were wounded as a result of the intervention of the militia. A gypsy was selling flowers in front of the new "Unirea" self-service store. A young student and his wife wanted to buy some flowers. A militia man came to arrest the gypsy. She began to yell and the student and his wife defended her. A crowd gathered and then the mob jumped on the militia man and lynched him. The authorities were notified. They arrived on the site where a large crowd had assembled. The mayor of the capital, Dinca, was present and he gave the order to intervene to the armed "patriotic" guards. A number of people were killed and wounded by the gunfire. For several days after this, groups of armed militia men traveled the streets of the capital. The party was afraid of a rebellion. There were many arrests, including the couple who wanted to buy the flowers. This incident took place on 12 July. On 19 July, Lieutenant General Jean Moldoveanu, deputy minister of the interior and chief of the general inspectorate of the militia, was fired and Major General Constantin Nuta was named to replace him.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

POLICY OF DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH ALL SOCIALIST STATES STRESSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 78 pp 5-8

/Article by Constantin Florea/

/Text/ Actively participating in international life and the general efforts of peoples to build a better and more just world, Romania steadfastly places the continued development of relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration with all the socialist countries and the strengthening of their cohesion and unity in the struggle for socialism, security and peace at the forefront of its foreign policy. This principled orientation of a basic nature of all the international activity of our party and state, at the top of the Romanian Communist Party Program to build the multilaterally developed socialist society and direct Romania toward communism, corresponds to the interests of the Romanian people as well as the interests of the other peoples building the new system and to the general cause of socialism and peace.

The directions, principles and coordinates of this orientation in socialist Romania's foreign policy have been reasserted and broadly substantiated on the basis of a profound dialectical materialist analysis in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the meeting of the central party and state aktiv. The evaluations and conclusions formulated in this document of exceptional theoretical and practical value, bearing the imprint of the deeply creative thinking of the party's secretary general, give new brilliance to the entire policy and international activity of the Romanian Communist Party and contribute to enriching the treasury of ideas and experience of the communist and workers movement. Giving special attention to the relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity of Romania with the socialist countries, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the decision of our party and state to take action to amplify and deepen these relations with all firmness in the future, too, and to overcome the differences existing between some of these countries and to assert the force and influence of socialism in the world more and more powerfully.

Romania's policy to strengthen friendship and collaboration with the socialist countries--continuation and development of the long-time internationalist traditions of the Romanian Communist Party and the workers and democratic movement in our country at a higher level--stems from the very essence of our social-economic and political system and from the socialist nature of the definitively established realities of Romania.

At the same time, our party has in view the factors with an objective and permanent action which unite all the socialist countries--the community of systems, ideologies and basic goals, the joint struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and for the triumph of the aspirations for liberty, peace and progress of all the peoples of the world. The existence of these factors creates the lasting basis for development of relations of close friendship and collaboration, the primary factor in the continual growth of the role of these countries in international life and in promoting a policy and relations which are new, truly democratic and equal in the world arena, and for asserting the prestige of socialism in the world. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We feel that the strengthening of collaboration and cooperation between all the countries building the new system is of basic importance in increasing the general force of socialism and its influence and prestige internationally. We constantly proceed from the fact that the better each socialist country solves the problems of domestic social-economic construction and obtains bigger successes in building the new system and the more that collaboration between them is amplified and improved, the superiority of socialism as the means of new and more rational organization of society is asserted more powerfully and the greater is the influence it exercises on the peoples and the course of development of modern history."

In accordance with these major considerations and the guidelines established by the 11th party congress and the National Party Conference, Romania is taking consistent action to extend the political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations as well as to extend cooperation in international life with all the socialist countries, to broaden mutually advantageous collaboration and cooperation and mutual aid with these states and to intensify the exchange of experience in building the new system in the interest of each socialist country, socialism, peace and collaboration in the world.

The tireless, remarkable activity carried out at the head of our party and state by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is of decisive importance in continually strengthening Romania's relations with all the socialist countries; this activity is consistently placed in the service of the vital interests of the Romanian people and the general cause of socialism, progress and peace. The party's

secretary general and president of the country shows continual concern and takes firm action for the development of friendship, solidarity and collaboration with all the socialist countries, for strengthening their unity and cohesion in the spirit of the new kind of relations between the socialist countries, equality of rights, mutual respect and comradely mutual aid and for increasing of forces of socialism worldwide.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's visits in the socialist countries as well as the visits of these countries' party and state leaders in Romania and the highest level talks have been affirmed as a decisive factor in strengthening relations among the parties, states and our peoples. Taking place in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely understanding, these meetings and talks and exchanges of opinions on various problems of building the new system and of international life each time have brought identification of new opportunities to develop bilateral collaboration, have been occasions for concluding many agreements and understandings for cooperation and have given new stimulus to mutual cooperation in the interest of the increasingly more rapid progress of each socialist country and the strengthening of the forces of socialism and peace in the world.

Life and historical experience show that the foreign policy of our party and state is correct and that it fully corresponds to the demands of the development and assertion of socialism in the world and the demands of strengthening the cohesion and unity of all the revolutionary and progressive forces of modern life. Undoubtedly it is an historic merit of the Romanian Communist Party and its leaders, with deep international importance, that they have demonstrated in practice the real possibility for the stability and development of close relations of collaboration, friendship and solidarity with all the socialist countries.

The relations of close friendly collaboration and militant solidarity between our country and the Soviet Union, between the Romanian Communist Party and the CPSU, between the Romanian and the Soviet people are seeing permanent development. "An important place in our foreign policy," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu showed at the meeting of the central party and state aktiv, "is held by the continued development of relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Soviet Union. We proceeded and we are proceeding in promoting this policy both from the rich historic traditions of the relations of respect and mutual appreciation, from the friendship and mutual aid of our peoples, between the working class and the progressive forces in both countries and between our communist parties as well as from the fact that Romania and the Soviet Union will be a special concern of the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Republic of Romania in the future, too."

The fraternal ties of friendship and the fruitful cooperation and solidarity between Romania and the Soviet Union are continuing to develop successfully at many levels under the optimum conditions created by the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance signed in 1970 and by the Declaration on the continued developed of collaboration and fraternal friendship between the Romanian Communist Party and the CPSU, between Romania and the Soviet Union signed in Bucharest in 1976. In strengthening Romanian-Soviet relations there was particular importance in the visit of Nicolae Ceausescu to some of the Soviet republics in 1976, as well as Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev's visit to Romania in the fall of 1976, actions of great importance which opened the prospects wider and wider for the relations between our parties, states and peoples.

In this context are the results of the recent friendship meeting of Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev in the Crimea, a new and remarkable contribution to extending and deepening Romanian-Soviet friendship. Bringing out the rising course of Romanian-Soviet relations and the good results obtained in the development of our countries' collaboration, the talks which took place between the two party and state leaders at the same time showed the great possibilities for extending and multiplying these relations, particularly in the area of economic exchanges, cooperation in production and in other areas of common interest. The meeting reconfirmed the decision of the Romanian Communist Party and the CPSU, of Romania and the USSR and of the Romanian and Soviet people to continue taking action toward promoting friendly relations of collaboration at many levels in the interest of the two peoples and the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

At the same time, during the Crimea meeting a useful exchange of opinions was achieved regarding current problems of international life, broadening and strengthening world cooperation in the service of the cause of socialism, the ideas of social progress and peace in the world, understanding and cooperation between peoples. The particular importance of strengthening the unity and collaboration of all democratic and progressive forces was emphasized in the struggle for respect for the peoples' right to liberty and independence and against any outside interference in their internal affairs and for ensuring continuation of the course toward detente, security and peace throughout the world.

The Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee approved and highly evaluated the results of the new meeting between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and L. I. Brezhnev, stressing that in the continued development of Romanian-Soviet relations the meetings between the two party and state leaders have a decisive role and represent a factor for powerful stimulus and they open new and broad prospects for our mutually advantageous collaboration. "Saluting the results of this productive dialog,

the Political Executive Committee has expressed its determination to continue acting consistently to implement the decisions agreed upon at the high-level Crimea meeting and to make the relations of friendship, cooperation and solidarity between the RCP and the CPSU and between the two countries and people become even more productive for mutual good and in the interest of socialism, peace and progress."

The friendly relations of multilateral collaboration between Romania and the other neighboring socialist countries--the Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary--also are seeing a rising development. At the same time, friendly relations with the People's Republic of Poland, the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic have been intensified. Our country maintains relations of friendship and close collaboration with the Socialist People's Republic of Albania.

Good relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration are developing between Romania and the People's Republic of China, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, between the two peoples, tied through age-old traditions of solidarity in the struggle for national and social liberation for the revolutionary transformation of society. Bilateral commercial exchanges have intensified and collaboration in the area of culture, education and science and contacts along the party and state line are seeing continued development.

There was particular importance for strengthening Romanian-Chinese relations in the visit made this spring by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu in the People's Republic of China. The meetings and talks which took place at that time with Comrade Hua Kuo fen and other Chinese party and state leaders gave a new and powerful stimulus to extending and deepening the relations of friendship between our parties, countries and people and to mutual economic, scientific and technical collaboration. As we know, the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee highly evaluated the results of the visit to the People's Republic of China. The decision adopted on the official visits of friendship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu heading a party and state delegation to some Asian countries points out: "The current high-level Romanian-Chinese dialog has strikingly brought out the good relations between our parties, countries and people, powerfully stimulated by the visit made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in 1971 to the People's Republic of China and by the understandings established at that time with President Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai. The Political Executive Committee feels that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recent visit to the People's Republic of China and the talks

held with Comrade Hua Kuo-fen and other Chinese party and state leaders represent a new point of historic importance in the chronicle of Romanian-Chinese relations intended to give a powerful impetus to extending and deepening the friendship and collaboration between our parties, peoples and countries."

A vivid expression of the continued development of relations of close friendship, multilateral collaboration and militant solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China, the official visit of friendship of Comrade Hua Kuo-fen in Romania and the meetings and talks which took place at that time between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Hua Kuo-fen mark a new, especially important point in the continually rising evolution of the fraternal relations between the two countries and peoples, in the development and deepening of militant solidarity and in the fruitful, multilateral cooperation between the two communist countries and socialist countries for the good of both peoples and the cause of peace and socialism.

"The warm, friendly reception which greeted you today by the population of our country's capital plus the unforgettable demonstrations made by the Chinese people during our visit to your beautiful country once again brought out with special power the fact that deep friendly ties of close collaboration and solidarity based on mutual respect and on the principles and ideals of socialism and peace have been established and are developing between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, between the peoples of our countries," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said during the official dinner offered in honor of his high guest.

In turn, Comrade Hua Kuo-fen pointed out in the toast he made at the above dinner: "There are very good relations between China and Romania, two socialist countries. The common destiny, through the aggression and oppression which they suffered in the past for a long time, has made our peoples demonstrate mutual interest and mutually encourage each other in the struggle to obtain liberation. Today, the common goals--defense of independence and sovereignty and the building of socialism--are uniting us even more closely. This May Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu visited our country again and made an important contribution to strengthening even more the mutual understanding and friendship between us and to giving a boost to the development of bilateral technical-economic cooperation. We also have faith that through our visit to your country, through common efforts we surely will give a new impetus to the bilateral relations of friendship, collaboration in the political, economic and scientific-technical areas and we will

strengthen even more the revolutionary friendship between our parties, countries and between the Chinese and the Romanian people."

Also, continued development of friendship and collaboration is being recorded between our country and other countries in Asia committed to the path of creating a new system--the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and Democratic Kampuchia. Friendly relations have been extended with the first socialist state on the Latin American continent--the Republic of Cuba.

Particularly important points in the development of relations between Romania and the socialist countries were the concluding or renewing of treaties of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance as well as the signing of some party and state documents (joint declarations, agreements and so forth) intended to broaden bilateral relations at the most diverse levels. Thus, friendship treaties have been renewed in the last 10 years with the USSR, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and, for the first time, friendship treaties were concluded with the GDR, DPRK and Democratic Kampuchia. Founded on the principles of the new kind of relations between the socialist countries, these documents have opened new prospects for the multilateral collaboration and cooperation between Romania and the particular countries and between our parties and peoples.

A place of the greatest importance in Romania's overall relations with the socialist countries is held by economic collaboration and cooperation. With many of these countries Romania has long-range economic agreements which provide for continued intensification of commercial exchanges and cooperation in production and scientific-technical activity. An expression of these broad, continually developing economic relations, among other things, is the fact that the socialist countries have the greatest share of Romania's foreign trade, with our main commercial partner being the Soviet Union. In conformity with the decisions of the 11th party congress, the socialist countries in the future, too, will continue to be first in Romania's foreign commercial relations.

Romania is giving special attention to the development of collaboration within CEMA. Our country participates intensely in extending and improving economic and scientific-technical cooperation, both bilateral as well as multilateral, with the CEMA member countries and is making its active contribution to achieving the goals in the complex program on the basis of the unanimously agreed upon principles. In the concept of the Romanian party and state, collaboration within CEMA must contribute

effectively to the harmonious development of each national economy, to faster progress of each socialist country and to the drawing closer and equalization of their levels of economic development. Actual achievement of this goal can demonstrate the superiority of socialism as a means of organizing society and international relations and can lead to a growth in the force and influence of socialism in the world.

Successful development of economic collaboration within CEMA, at the same time, means strict respect for the provisions in the CEMA Statute and in the complex Program, according to which this collaboration must lead to a rise in the role of the single national plan of each country and to strengthening of the role of each socialist state.

The recent CEMA session in Bucharest, concluded with positive results, adopted a number of special programs of long-term collaboration in the areas of special economic importance, programs intended to contribute to ensuring the CEMA member countries' need for fuel, energy and raw materials, food products, machinery and equipment as well as technologies of a high technical level. Our country feels that at present there is special importance in moving to carry out the actions proposed and to work out the draft conventions appropriate. This will open ever more broad prospects for intensifying the cooperation of the CEMA member countries for the purpose of drawing closer together and equalizing their levels of economic development and speed up their forward progress on the path of socialism and communism.

Continually intensifying collaboration with the CEMA member countries, at the same time Romania is developing economic cooperation with all the other socialist countries, feeling that a rise in the economic force of each country as well as of the socialist countries as a whole is of special importance for asserting socialism in the international arena, for the modern social development as a whole and for the cause of progress and peace in the world.

As is known, Romania is a member of the Warsaw Pact, fulfilling the duties it assumed in this organ, which will exist as long as NATO does. Within the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the states participating in the Warsaw Pact, held in Bucharest in 1976, the pact's member countries once again reaffirmed their will to take action in order to eliminate the factors which can endanger security and peace and to take action for military disengagement of the continent and for elimination of NATO and the Warsaw Pact at the same time and for elimination of all military blocs. Of course, until a joint decision is reached to eliminate military blocs, Romania is taking care of the development of its armed forces and of strengthening its

defense capability and, at the same time, is developing military collaboration with the other socialist member countries of the Warsaw Pact, a collaboration which will take place in the future, too, regardless of whether this treaty exists or not. At the same time, our country is taking action to promote collaboration with the armies of the other socialist countries in the interest of peace, understanding and friendship among peoples.

Achievement of the ideas of liberty, peace and the progress of the peoples requires establishing a new climate in the world, one of detente and collaboration among all states, ensuring peace and security in Europe and throughout the world, achieving disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, peaceful regulating of the problems of international life through treaties and establishing new world economic and political orders. The collaboration between Romania and the socialist countries is continuing to develop in these basic problems of modern international life. A broad and fruitful bilateral and multilateral collaboration with the socialist countries is being achieved in international organizations, the United Nations as well as its specialized organs.

A decisive factor in strengthening friendship and collaboration between our country and the socialist countries is the relations of international solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party and the workers and communist parties in particular countries--government parties, the leading political force in these countries. The exchange of visits at all levels, meetings and talks which are bilateral and multilateral, exchanges of experience in building a new system and participation in a number of international demonstrations--all these actively contribute to the continued development of mutual relations, strengthening of friendship, collaboration and solidarity between parties, states and our peoples and to strengthening the unity of the international communist movement on new bases and of the cohesion of all revolutionary, progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

What is characteristic of Romania's policy of developing relations of friendship and collaboration with the socialist countries to the greatest extent are the permanence and continuity, its deep principledness which is foreign to any conjunctural treatments and any exclusive or narrow, bloc orientations, clear understanding of the ways and means which can lead to the strengthening of unity and solidarity. The demands for continued development of the process of moving more and more countries to the path of creating a new social system naturally bring the need to promote a policy of strengthening friendship and collaboration with all the countries moving to the path of socialism. This is a basic demand for asserting socialism and for fulfillment of internationalist duties.

Proceeding from these considerations, the development of Romania's friendship and collaboration with certain socialist countries is not taking place to the detriment or due to friendship and collaboration with other socialist countries. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized at the meeting of the central party and state aktiv, "Of course, it goes without saying that we are in no way pitting the relations with China and the other socialist countries of Asia against the relations of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Europe or other continents, just as we are not pitting our relations with the Soviet Union and other countries against the relations which we have with the People's Republic of China and other socialist states of Asia. On the contrary, all these relations Romania has with the socialist countries, without exception, complement each other in a unified whole, on whose basis is our principled, firm and consistent policy of active contribution to strengthening the unity and solidarity of all the socialist states and to increasing the force and influence of socialism in the world."

Firmly promoting this policy, which is deeply principled and of broad historical perspective, the Romanian Communist Party is honorably fulfilling its duty to its own people and, at the same time, is making its own contribution to affirming the general interests of socialism as the basic social force of the modern world and to the triumph of the general cause of progress and peace in the world.

The successful development of relations between Romania and the socialist countries in the end is the source for the consistency with which the party and state places at the basis of its relations with all these countries the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, mutual advantage, comradely collaboration and mutual aid and international solidarity. The historic importance and force of influence of the new kind of relations among the socialist countries lie precisely in their firm placement on the basis of these principles.

The influence of socialism on world development is exercised at many levels: economic, social, political and so forth; it cannot be reduced merely to one of these. Socialism is being called on to prove its superiority, its ability to carry out deep revolutionary changes in social and economic life nationally as well as in the area of interstate relations and in international life as a whole. Through their nature and character, the relations between the countries committed to the path of creating the new system thus must serve as a model of relations between states and must be a mobilizing example for all peoples in achieving

new international relations of total faith, equality and friendly collaboration opposed to relations of inequality and inequity, domination and dictate caused by imperialist policy and must contribute actively to creating the new world economic and political system. In this regard, too, the socialist countries have a role of the greatest responsibility in current historical evolution, the successful fulfillment of which to a great extent bring prestige and influence of socialism in the world.

In the concept of the RCP, a basic demand of the new principles of relations between the socialist states is solving the differences which appear between these states on one problem or another--differences of a special nature which inevitably are temporary--through principled, comradely discussions from one party to another in a spirit of respect and mutual faith.

Of course, moving to the creation of socialism cannot eliminate the problems accumulated throughout historical development all at once; at the same time, the great diversity of specific conditions in which the job of building the new system takes place causes differences of opinions on a number of problems. It is clear that perpetuating the differences and failure to solve them can only harm relations among the socialist countries, especially since the principles of socialism are not always applied in the relations between the states building the new social system. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the speech mentioned, "It is often said that there cannot be misunderstandings between the socialist countries and that all the problems between them are solved in the spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism, fraternity and solidarity. In our opinion, the supreme interests of socialism demand not hiding realities, but rather a well-founded analysis in the most responsible way of the causes bringing dissension and litigious problems and a move to actions for solving them on the basis of treaties between sides with a view to strengthening solidarity and collaboration in the building of socialism and in the general struggle for progress and peace in the world."

Our party's consistent concern with solving the problems existing between the socialist countries is dictated by the interests of successfully developing the construction of the new system in each socialist country and by the basic demands of increasing the force and influence of socialism and raising its prestige and authority in the world. In our age, with its great social and national changes, the unity and solidarity of all the socialist countries are a basic factor in the world revolutionary struggle, the triumph of the general cause of socialism and the victorious struggle for peace and progress in the world. Only by successfully resolving the tasks of building the new society nationally and, at the same time, by ensuring the continued

development of friendship and mutual collaboration and their militant unity and solidarity, can the socialist countries actively contribute to increasing the attractive force of socialism in the world. As was emphasized in the decisions of the 10th party congress, decisions reconfirmed by the 11th party congress and the National Party Conference, Romania will not allow itself to become involved in any public polemic or in blaming one of the socialist countries or another; on the contrary, it will do everything to overcome the misunderstandings, to strengthen solidarity, unity and cohesion among the socialist countries and to increase the force, prestige and authority of socialism in the world. The unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and the communist parties are a factor of the greatest importance in uniting all the revolutionary and progressive forces and consolidating the world anti-imperialist front.

Our party's policy for the continued development of relations with all the socialist countries and for strengthening their unity and solidarity is also approved and fully aided by all our country's workers and by all the Romanian people. Steady promotion of this policy, most clearly reaffirmed in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recent speech, is the guarantee for the continued strengthening of friendship and collaboration with all the socialist countries in mutual interest of the cause of the unity and cohesion of the forces of socialism and the victorious struggle for liberty, progress and peace throughout the world.

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ROMANIA

ACTIVITY OF WORKER'S COUNCILS EXAMINED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 78 pp 7-13

/Text/ In accordance with the guidelines included in the report of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, presented at the National Party Conference of December 1977 on the improvement and broadening of the democratic framework of the participation of the working class and all working people in the leadership of society, the party's Central Committee took a series of measures intended to ensure a rise in the role of the workers' councils in leading the social-economic units.

The Grand National Assembly adoption of the Law on the Organization and Leadership of Socialist State Units, on whose base are the guidelines and ideas of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, confirms the experience accumulated by the organs of collective leadership in the last decade, ensuring a broadly democratic framework for the workers' participation in the leadership of the national economy and all social life.

The number of members in the workers' councils has increased around 45 percent, while that of workers' representatives elected by the units' collectives--by around 86 percent, with their share in the councils now at nearly 50 percent, which creates broader opportunities for the producers of material goods to have their say directly in solving the major problems of the enterprises.

A worthy achievement is the doubling of the number of women in the workers' councils, an eloquent proof of the party's constant concern with attracting the most active women in the actual leadership of economic and social life.

The direct presence of a larger number of workers and other categories of working people from the sphere of material production in the organs of collective leadership, together with the

considerable extension of their duties, have given an even more pronounced revolutionary feeling to the leadership of social-economic activity and have led to increasing the working class responsibility and that of all who work for strengthening, fortifying and developing their position as owners of the means of production, with their being objectively placed in the situation of the direct, day-to-day administration of these means for the benefit of the entire collective.

As is known, on the basis of the party leadership's decision, the secretary of the party organization has been designated to also carry out the job as chairman of the workers' council in all enterprises in industry, construction and transport, in the agricultural units and in silviculture, in the units in the area of commodities traffic, water management, communal and residential management, joint transport, providing of services and other units under the executive committees of the people's councils, in design institutes, computer centers, in the centers and institutes of scientific research and technological engineering, in cultural, art units, physical education and sports and units in the area of health protection. At the same time, other cadres with leadership tasks in economic and public activity have been invested with great responsibilities in the workers' council: the director of the enterprise fulfills the job of first vice chairman of the council and chairman of the executive bureau, the chairman of the trade union has also become the vice chairman of the council, a worker who directly works in production, the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth organization, the chairman of the women's commission (in the units with a large number of women) also carry out the job as vice chairman of the organ of collective leadership.

Conferring the job of chairman of the workers' council on the secretary of the party organization, a measure of a deeply revolutionary nature, has contributed to strengthening the role of the party organizations in the leadership of economic and social life of the enterprises and to harmoniously combining party work with all the problems of production, which it now is succeeding in influencing more directly, more efficiently and with higher effectiveness.

As the head of the organ of collective leadership, the secretary of the party organization, and through him the entire bureau or committee, has amplified his concerns and attempts to always be in the midst of production activity and to solidly master all the levers of the economic mechanism for the purpose of efficiently placing the entire series of political and organizational means and the entire human potential with his rich political experience in the service of solving the problems raised by the progress of fulfilling the plan and the evolution of the enterprise's economic and social life.

The One Who Stimulates the Organ of Collective Leadership

In order to draw the first conclusions following application of the measures taken by the party leadership and generalize the positive experience accumulated by the workers' councils, particularly what has been gained by the party secretary in his job as chairman, as well as the party organizations in increasing their leading role, making the workers' self-leadership more profound and improving the organizational framework of the more active participation of working people in the leadership of the social-economic units, a number of bureaus of the county, municipal and city committees have analyzed the style of work of each worker's council, the way in which it examines and solves the problems and, in particular, the way in which the party committee secretaries have taken on the duties as chairmen of the workers' councils.

On the basis of the analyses made, the county party committees in Brasov, Buzau, Mehedinti, Maramures, Covasna, Teleorman, Bistrita-Nasaud, Vilcea and others have organized exchanges of experience under the first secretary's leadership on the activity and style of work of the workers' councils. At this time, the ones felt to have accumulated a certain experience have been presented to the participants, after which the first secretaries of the county party committees have summarized what has been done and have oriented their work in light of the tasks drawn by the party leadership.

A first lesson resulting from the exchanges of experience which took place is the need to persevere even more steadfastly to aid all the chairmen of the workers' councils to fully take on their new duties and to master even more solidly the party and state decisions and the standards of economic legislation. Precisely for that reason, many county party committees have adopted special measures for training and instructing those who have received a new responsibility. In this light, the bureaus of the county party committees in Arad, Bacau, Bihor, Cluj, Mures, Constanta, Buzau, Sibiu, Timis and the bureaus of the party committees of the sectors of Bucharest Municipality have organized courses for training the party secretaries-chairmen of workers' councils, the subjects of which are based on the ways to attain collective, scientific, efficient leadership; the duties of the chairman of the workers' council and relations between him and the first vice chairman, the enterprise director; the ways of exercising party control under the new conditions; the problems of improving the economic-financial mechanism and forms for developing worker self-leadership and financial self-management; the effects of introducing the value of net production as the basic plan indicator.

Some organs and organizations of the party, trade unions and the Union of Communist Youth from Bucharest Municipality, from Caras-Severin, Mehedinti counties and others have taken special measures to aid the representatives of the working people and other members of the organs of collective leadership, organizing courses, legal consultations, meetings with economists and specialists from the overall organs, and discussions of the case.

As has resulted from the exchanges of experience, the job as chairman of the workers' council obligates the secretaries to have a more well-based knowledge of economic phenomena in order to be able to ensure a competent guideline for the organ of collective leadership toward the basic problems of production activity, to participate in effectively solving them with knowledge of the case and in working out efficient measures. This means close and regular cooperation with the main factors of leadership of the unit, sections and sectors, maintaining direct and permanent ties with the workers. Concerning himself with achieving such a system, the party committee secretary from the Capeni Mining Operation in Covasna County made important contributions to adopting certain decisions to improve labor organization, better utilizing the advantages of documenting and informing himself, in places of work and on the job.

Active Participation of Each Council Member

Taking over the job of chairman of the workers' council means that the party organization secretary commits himself with all his political and organizational ability and that of the party committee and entire organization to the service of fulfilling the economic and social tasks confronting the enterprise. The exchanges of experience which took place fully confirmed that where this has been respected, the results left nothing to be desired. For example, now, when the value of net production and physical production have been introduced as basic plan indicators, the party committees which mobilized all the resources of political work for the purpose of explaining the importance and meaning of the measure taken have succeeded in ensuring an atmosphere which has favored not only complete understanding by the collective of the advantages of moving to this system of planning and reward for labor put forth, but also have created the necessary conditions for achieving the new indicator under good conditions, a basic factor in raising the efficiency of all economic activity.

In this is yet another proof of the fact, stressed most forcefully by the party leadership, that giving the job of chairman of the workers' council to the party organization secretary does not represent a somewhat organizational measure or a simple change of form. The conclusion clearly resulting from the

discussions and analyses which have taken place on this subject and from the speeches of many party secretaries is that the participants are completely conscious that the job of chairman does in no way mean merely to preside over the meetings of the workers' council. This is a permanent job which requires an active, sustained presence and constant efforts so that the organ of collective leadership operates without interruption, which means that each council member should have a specific and actual task springing from the role and duties of the council and its goals.

Requiring that the workers' council continually assert itself as an active organism of leadership, of course we are not thinking that it should substitute for the executive bureau and take over its tasks and duties. However, we have in mind that no basic problem concerning the daily activity of the enterprise and the collective should escape the concern of the workers' council and its programs of activity. And one of them, as pointed out by many participants in the exchanges of experience, is that the party secretaries-chairmen of the workers' councils should concentrate the efforts of the organs of collective leadership in particular on the basic problems of economic and social activity, on the solution of which depends the good progress of the entire enterprise.

At the same time, it clearly resulted from the meetings which took place that it is necessary to take energetic action in order to ensure rational division of the responsibilities of the vice chairman and other members so that nobody has a formal presence in the council. Bearing in mind the place where it carries out its day to day professional activity, the concerns in one area or another and the organizational aptitudes, it is necessary that the tasks be established exactly and equally for them, that the schedules for fulfillment be fixed and that the necessary help be given to it.

Shortly after he was entrusted with the job of chairman of the workers' council, the party committee secretary from the Navodari Chemical Fertilizer Combine carried on individual discussions with all the members of the collective leadership organ and, in particular, with the vice chairman and workers' representatives. The central idea was the need for each of them to assert himself as much as possible in the council's activity and take an active and effective part in solving the problems. The concern was powerfully implanted in each one's style of work to study all the aspects which were to become the subject of discussions in the meeting of the organ of collective leadership, to consult as much as possible with the working people and come with their own opinions, suggestions and proposals with a view to establishing the best measures and later contributing to

popularizing the council's decisions among the workers and effectively participating in implementing them.

In the most powerful possible integration of the council members in their activity there have been good results from assigning them by sections, workshops, teams and so forth in order to maintain a permanent link with them with a view to knowing the details of the situation in each place of work, mobilizing the workers to implement the decisions and to carrying out control for this purpose; entrusting of permanent tasks in a certain area and the participation of each council member in the meetings of the trade union groups in order to make known the concerns of the organ of collective leadership and take immediate action to solve certain problems raised by the working people also have proven to be methods which contribute to making the councils active organisms.

Broad Promotion of Partylike Methods

The facts prove that the presence of the party organization secretary as the head of the workers' council has contributed to introducing partylike methods in the activity of the organ of collective leadership and to giving a dynamic and efficient style of work. However, it would be a mistake to think that all this can be achieved by itself. The facts in certain economic and social units confirm that ensuring a proper working climate which facilitates open, critical and self-critical expression of opinions and makes it impossible for any trend of self-thanks, justification of shortcomings and flight from responsibility to appear is indissolubly linked with the concern shown by the party organization with deepening the causes of negative phenomena and, with the collective's aid, finding the ways to eliminate them.

In many places attempts have been made and are being made for better planning of what the workers' council proposes to undertake. At the Bucharest Pump Enterprise, at the heavy equipment enterprise in Braila and other units, the party committee secretaries rightly have felt that it is not enough for planning to be limited to simply forecasting the council meetings--that is, to drawing up an outline--but rather it is necessary that even from drawing up the work plan the multilateral activity be ensured for the council members, that they be drawn into actions intended to improve the activity in various areas with specific tasks, that there be solid preparation of the discussions within the organ of collective leadership and that their own decisions or those received from higher organs be fulfilled. For example, at the Brasov Bearings Enterprise, the work plan for the second quarter of this year, among other things, also

aimed at actions such as the following: initiating a broad control over the way the equipment is repaired and maintained; making a survey with a view to examining the concerns for including at each place of work the consumptions forecast for metal, electrical energy and fuel; seeking to achieve the physical production of forging, rectification and lathing.

Special results were obtained where the party organization secretaries take care that all the levers which the workers' councils have available, particularly the commissions by areas, are utilized intensely for the purpose of taking measures and decisions as effectively as possible. In units such as the Hunedoara Iron and Steel Combine, the Sinaia Fine Mechanics Enterprise and Flamura Rosie in Sibiu, more and more concern is being shown by the chairman of the workers' councils for the way in which the ones responsible for the commissions by areas organize their activity, for the best preparation and development of each action and for fulfilling the proposals the commissions make following the studies undertaken.

It has resulted most clearly from the exchanges of experience that there is exceptional value in the practice that, each time the council discusses basic aspects, the secretary should ask the opinion of as large a number of comrades as possible from the aktiv, deputy secretaries, other members of the bureau in order to come to the council with a well founded, solidly argued viewpoint.

As is known, as an expression of the party's concerns with attracting some workers who are not party members to the act of leadership, a portion of those comprising the workers' councils are not communists. There is merit in the procedure of those party organization secretaries who carry out broad political work before the meetings of the workers' council and before adopting measures in order to convince all the participants of the need to adopt certain decisions or undertake certain actions and of the reason for them. It is not a matter of narrowing the framework of the discussions and making the opinions uniform, but rather of ensuring those conditions intended to offer the party organization the opportunity to assert its leading role and to create the necessary framework so that the organ of collective leadership take united action both in the process of working out decisions as well as in applying them in practice.

At the wood processing combine in Focsani at one time it was established that the organ of collective leadership should ensure firm inclusion in the consumption quotas for raw materials, fuel and energy. A basic place was held by broad consultation of worker personnel. The wall posters published articles which

made known the daily agenda and the date of the meeting, with those working in the enterprise being invited to put forth as many proposals as possible and make written suggestions in the suggestion boxes. The problems mentioned were discussed in the general meetings of the base organizations and those of the trade union groups. After the council meeting, the party organs and organizations and the trade union and Union of Communist Youth organizations were oriented to contribute to implementing the decisions made, thus achieving large savings of electrical energy, natural gases, crude oil and timber.

Practice shows that obtaining good results in any area depends not only on making the best decisions and on strict organization of their application but also on exercising continual, efficient and multilateral control. It has become a current method in the work of many councils to periodically examine the way in which the their members fulfill their obligations and systematically request reports from them, which contributes to strengthening their responsibility and to activating all forces. The introduction of a system to follow up on the way in which the decisions adopted are applied, the information which the council chairman presents to the working people in the meetings of the organ of collective leadership at the start of each discussion regarding the stage of resolution of the problems raised at the last analysis are measures which also bring a rise in responsibility for the tasks entrusted.

It has been striking that under current conditions, in all the exchanges of experience organized by the county party committees, the party organizations are succeeding in exercising the right of control over the activity of technical-administrative leadership more directly and more concretely on the basis of a more solid knowledge on the subject of the evolution of production and main problems raised by carrying out the plan. It also is positive that the methods used have become diversified and a greater and greater emphasis is being placed on analyzing the overall activity of the organs of collective leadership at the party committee plenums and party meetings and on requesting reports from the chairmen, first vice chairmen, vice chairmen and other members of the councils on the way they are fulfilling the mandate they have received.

The requirement to enter fully into all the duties incumbent upon the job of council chairman does not at all mean that the secretary should neglect any of his party obligations. At some of the exchanges of experience criticism was correctly made of those party secretaries who thought that in the new situation they would be able to transfer to the deputy secretaries some of the tasks directly belonging to them. But it should be clear that the measure taken by the party leadership not only does in no way diminish

the secretary's responsibility for the good progress of party work but rather considerably broadens it.

The problem posed is how the secretary works in these circumstances and what style of work he uses to fully do all his duties. Experience shows that, working alone and being aided by a restricted circles of people, the secretary cannot cope with all the requirements. Now, perhaps more than ever, it has become necessary for him to rely on the entire committee, on the party aktiv and on commissions by problems. As was seen from the exchanges of experience, the good results were obtained by those secretaries who made it a daily method of regularly meeting with the deputy secretaries, with other members of the bureau and party committee and of regularly drawing the aktiv into solving more complex problems.

There are special effects in raising the responsibility of all communists to the activity of the councils and their members, also demonstrated through the permanent concern of each one to follow up on how party and state decisions are applied on the job by the leadership cadres and how those comprising the councils as members of these organisms assert themselves, giving them the necessary help.

Fulfillment of the plan tasks for this year and the most sensible possible preparation of production activity for 1979-1980, improvement of the economic-financial mechanism and, more important, the move to the use of the value of net production and physical production as basic plan indicators places before the workers' councils problems of the greatest complexity which they must cope with in a highly competent way. Precisely for this reason, the county, municipal, city, village and enterprise party organs must ensure a permanent and qualified guidance for the workers' councils, must regularly initiate new actions like the exchange of experience by branches and by groups of enterprises and must ensure better and better training of the chairmen of the organs of collective leadership and their other members. Thus, the necessary conditions will be created so that all the councils fulfill the tasks drawn by the party in a exemplary way.

Our party shows steadfast attention to continually raising the political, moral, professional and civic qualities of its members as a primary condition for competently fulfilling the tasks belonging to them from the party program for the country's social-economic development at a high level of efficiency. An understanding of the multiple and mobilizing meanings and the militant and creative spirit of party policy and a clear explanation of it with the passion and revolutionary conviction of the working masses in order to make each party goal a new fulfillment and a new success are inconceivable without the existence of a base culture in the process of forming the personality of each member of our party.

ROMANIA

IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR PARTY MEMBERS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 78 pp 14-17

/Text/ In this context, continual improvement of the communists' political and professional training and cultivating their receptivity to what is new in production, science, technology and social-economic life depend to a great extent on the degree of knowledge attained and their level of general and specialized culture which they have formed through study, starting with high school education and continuing with the other stages of learning which, in one form or another, ensure the people's professional qualification.

On the basis of the indications given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, the RCP Central Committee Plenum of 22-23 March 1978 decided that the party organs and organizations should aid the party members who have not graduated from the general school in order to complete their studies.

The complex of measures adopted formulates high responsibilities for the party organs and organizations as well as the other educational factors--the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the county school inspectorates, the teaching corps in general education, administrative leaders of the economic and social units in cities and villages. On the basis of the measures established by the party leadership and in order for this activity to take on a special impetus from the beginning, the Ministry of Education and Instruction has ensured that at the September 1978 session, ordinarily devoted to repeat exams for those who failed, even those who did not graduate from any grade in grades 5-8 in the 1977-1978 school year as well as those wishing to take exams for a second grade may take the exams.

On the basis of strict records kept in the base organizations, but also followed closely in the party committees of the social-economic units, the necessary aid is being given to these party

members in order to be prepared so that they can pass the exams this September session. Regarding the coming exam sessions for those taking correspondence schools for grades 5-8, the party leadership has established that the Ministry of Education and Instruction organize them in December 1978 and in June and September 1979.

The prospects for this activity are being formed already also by the fact that, on the basis of the need already established by the situations formed under the guidance of the party organs and organizations, regarding the number of those who are to complete their studies in the 8-year general schools, the Ministry of Education and Instruction together with the county people's councils, school inspectorates and leaders of instruction units have specifically established the schools where evening and correspondence sections for grades 5-8 will operate, at the same time having undertaken certain of the more important actions to ensure the necessary material base. Thus, primary importance is being given to obtaining the school manuals on time. Since it is desired that any shortcoming be avoided in this direction, the appropriate ministries will create conditions so that the school manuals for grades 5-8 also be obtained for the library stock in the enterprises under them; on the other hand, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the county school inspectorates will facilitate things for the school leaders and place manuals from the pupils taking day courses at the disposal of those completing their studies. The participation of these factors is intended to create the ground for a fruitful collaboration, but not for parallel and inefficient measures.

Since the schooling of party members is an important political and organizational action, it will continue to take place under the direct leadership of the county, municipal, city and village party committees, who are called upon to be closely and systematically concerned with its good progress.

Treating the indications received from the party leadership with a responsible spirit, many party organs and organizations have taken political and organizational measures intended to ensure precise implementation of the decision on aiding party members in finishing general school.

Thus, in conformity with the programs drawn up, the bureaus of the county party committees in Cluj, Alba, Buzau, Braila and others have processed a number of problems connected with the completion of studies within the monthly instructions. Due to the work from one man to another and the concern with which each separate case has been treated, right now in many industrial enterprises, institutes and agricultural units all the party members who did not graduate from the 8-year general school are

enrolled in correspondence courses. During this period, on the basis of programs drawn up with a sense of responsibility and strictly respected, groups of professors with various specialties are aiding in the training of those who did not graduate in April this year from the courses of one grade and who are going in September to graduate from that or another grade; this is in each location or economic unit in the above counties as well as in others where there are school sections for adults.

For the purpose of making an appropriate, stage-by-stage evaluation of the situation and the existing requirements as well as for coordinating efforts to utilize the advantages resulting from the measures established by the party leadership, it is prescribed that the records of names existing in each party organization be followed statistically, in ratio to the evolution of schooling, by social categories, age, sex and year of study at the county, municipal and city committees.

In the coming period, lively activity will be carried on by the collectives which coordinate the schooling action established this summer by the county, municipal, city and village committee bureaus as well as by the party committees in the big industrial units and agricultural production cooperatives. These collectives are formed of party activists, secretaries of the base organization bureaus, representatives of the school inspectorates and leaders of the instruction units, headed by the secretaries or deputy secretaries of the particular party committees. They will provide concrete aid to the party organizations and school leaders in enrolling the party members, up to the last ones, who must complete their studies in general school and they will keep a daily record of the schooling situation of the ones enrolled and participate in the forms of training at the exam sessions under good conditions and without delays. In this regard, in order to ensure appropriate mastery of the knowledge necessary as provided by the plan and instruction program, the party organs and organizations will be concerned that all leaders of schools and the social and economic units establish the programs of training and consultations and the place they will take place and announce them on time, taking into account the working hours of those who will be attending and other conditions in which they live and work, thus solving the problem of presentation at the exams in the best way, effectively yet not formally, with an appropriate amount of scientific, ideological and cultural knowledge. Thus, depending on the conditions and on demand, it would be good for the training centers to operate in schools or socialist units, with production specialists also being involved in carrying out the particular actions--consultations, meditations, laboratory projects and so forth--along with the teaching cadres.

In order to have precise fulfillment of this important task which the party has placed before all its organs and organizations, before the communists taking action at various levels and those in schools and economic units, it is required that a sustained activity of guidance be exercised, which should begin with a knowledge of the measures established by all those called on to contribute to implementing them and continual, careful control, with periodic analysis of the way the schooling of this category of students is going and implementation of the measures specified in this regard.

It should be said that there still are counties where the action for the schooling of party members is not comprehensive enough and is not taking place in conformity with the decisions adopted. The fact that there still are party organizations in Bacau, Ialomitza, Ilfov, Mures, Neamt, Prahova, Suceava counties as well as some sectors in Bucharest where conditions have not been ensured which permit party members with the appropriate studies to enroll in order to complete their general school proves that the concerns in this direction have not risen to the proper level everywhere.

Thus, in the period still remaining until the opening of the new school year, it is necessary that the necessary actions be undertaken in all party organizations so that no party member who has not finished general school remains unenrolled in order to finish his studies.

In accordance with the indications of the party leadership, the county party committees are obligated to examine in bureau or secretariat meetings the way in which the party organs and organizations are aiding the party members in completing general school and the way that the county school inspectorate and activists appointed to the collectives to coordinate schooling are fulfilling their duties, effectively intervening whenever shortcomings are found so that this job takes place everywhere in conformity with the indications established by the party leadership. Also, concern with including and training the students must be the object of the information presented by the instructors to the county party committee and the secretaries and deputy secretaries of the village party committees.

Periodically the general meetings of the base organizations in schools and social-economic units will discuss the bureaus' concern with fulfilling the tasks in this direction and the contribution made by the teaching cadres to carrying out the preparatory activities in the best way and made by each communist with good school training from the base organization to aiding the comrades who are completing their studies in grades 5-8 in mastering the knowledge in the subjects.

The goal of great political and social importance--that of having all party members complete their studies--must be at the center of the concerns of the party organs and organizations which aim at raising the level of general culture of the party members and broadening their horizon of knowledge in order to assert themselves even better as leading elements in the struggle for steadfast achievement of party policy.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

ROLE OF WORKERS' COMMISSIONS IN HANDLING COMPLAINTS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 78 pp 18-21

/Text/ Within the improvements demanded by successfully implementing the historic decisions of the 11th party congress and the provisions of the party program, an important place belongs to the development of socialist democracy, to ensuring all the necessary conditions for the participation of all the people in leading the political, economic and social life and for the total demonstration of the spirit of initiative and civic responsibility of working people.

Seen from this viewpoint, the letters sent by workers to the party leadership, to party and state organs, to the press and to public organizations are a form of their direct participation in conducting state and public affairs and in exercising control over the activity of party and public organs and organizations, a powerful expression of the affirmation of the citizens' rights and freedoms as laid down by the country's constitution and of the continued development and deepening of socialist democracy, a way to utilize the masses' experience and intelligence and for openly demonstrating the workers' opinion without regard for nationality.

Making the improvements in this important area of our social-political activity as demanded by the overall activity of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and heading Romania toward communism, through the decision of the 22-23 March 1978 plenum, the party's Central Committee established that all the activity of examining and solving the proposals, letters, complaints and requests of workers take place under the direct leadership of the party organs and organizations. This measure taken in the spirit of the 11th party congress decisions, the party program and the indications of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, means special concern of the party and state leadership with continually improving this

activity and raising responsibility for examining and solving the problems of personal or general interest so that they are an important means of strengthening the party's tie with the masses and contribute to eliminating the shortcomings and to improving work in all areas.

Clearly defining the duties and responsibilities of the leadership cadres from the social-economic units and the party, state, and public organs and organizations in villages, cities, municipalities and counties for the specific leadership of this activity and for the objectivity of the research, correctness of the conclusions drawn, legality of the measures established and the efficiency and exactness of the answers given to the citizens, the RCP Central Committee Plenum Decision of 22-23 March 1978 also creates the organizational framework needed to solve the letters under better conditions. Thus, in accordance with the decision, along with the party committees or bureaus of the base organizations in enterprises, the institutes, people's councils, ministries and other socialist units have organized workers' commissions which give help in organizing, coordinating and conducting the entire activity of resolving the letters and receiving workers in audiences, thus placing this concern on an increasingly broader and democratic base in consensus with our entire social-economic system and with worker self-leadership.

The party organs and organizations have carried out a broad activity, which has ended with good results, in the action of establishing the workers' commissions which aid in resolving the letters and problems resulting from audiences and in guiding and organizing their work. Actually there now are commissions both at the level of party committees by enterprises and institutes as well as of the base organizations. As we know, they are made up of three to nine members, depending on the number of worker personnel in the particular units, and they include a deputy secretary of the party committee or bureau of the base organization who becomes the executive of the commission, one representative each of the workers' council, trade, youth and women's organizations and other workers enjoying the masses' respect and faith. In some units with factories and large sections--such as the Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise, for example--besides the workers' commission established at the party committee by unit, commissions also have been organized at the party committees by sections. At the Bucharest 23 August Enterprise such commissions were formed both at the party committees by sections as well as at the bureaus of the base organizations directly under the party committee by enterprise. In many villages, besides the workers' commission at the village party committee, commissions at the party committees of the agricultural production cooperatives also were formed.

The time which has passed since creation of the commissions has shown that these organisms have fully proven their usefulness and they are a real help in carrying out with a high sense of responsibility the activity of resolving the problems raised by the worker personnel in letters and during audiences. Primarily this is due to their broadly representative nature, the higher spirit of responsibility which animate their members and the seriousness with which the activity has been organized, which are a sure guarantee of their good operation. For example, in order to know what they have to do, the majority of commissions have drawn up plans comprising the specific tasks and responsibilities. Their members have been assigned to workshops, sections, factories, directorates or services where, depending on the preparation and place of work, they watch over the thorough and efficient resolution of letters. Thus, they have received specific tasks in following up on application of the measures established following research done by the party organ and in some cases on the express order of it they check on or actually participate in the resolution of certain of the more important proposals or letters and discuss with the people in connection with the problems raised and the way to resolve them. For example, the party committee at the Bucharest Vulcan Enterprise entrusted its commission with reexamining some letters on the inadequate usage and maintenance of certain equipment, with the resulting conclusions then being broadly discussed with worker personnel from those sectors.

Since it was found that in most enterprises the worker personnel use the means of letters less and, in exchange, frequently have audiences with the unit's leadership, some commission members received the task of following up weekly on the way the problems addressed to the enterprise leadership by the workers are solved, as was the procedure at the Aiud Metallurgical Enterprise in Alba County. Another working method, in full agreement with the demands of life and local peculiarities, appeared at the Pipera Wood Processing Combine in Bucharest, where commission members periodically participate in audiences given by the unit's leadership cadres precisely in order to learn the problems raised from the source and follow up on them, as commissioned by the party organization, until they are completely resolved. Along the same line is the practice used at the Bihor County Communal and Living Management Enterprise where, with the agreement of the party organ where it operates, the commission, besides following up on the way the problems raised in letters and audiences of worker personnel of the enterprise are solved, also has in view solving the requests sent to the enterprise by citizens for whom these units provide various services. Naturally, in this way the workers' commissions at the party committees of some ministries working with the public also adopted this way of proceeding along the way.

A duty clearly rising from the demands which the decision of the party leadership places at the base of work with letters and which has been established as a valuable control method is that of the bureaus of the base organizations in enterprises and institutes monthly informing the general meetings of the letters received and the way action was taken to resolve them and quarterly analyzing how the activity is going with the letters as well as the conclusions resulting from checking them. So that the discussion of these aspects each time is a powerful means of political and moral-civic education and of promoting the standards of socialist ethics and equity through the power of example, of eliminating the lacks and shortcomings found and of firmly respecting the laws, the bureaus of the party organizations in a number of enterprises, such as 23 August in Bucharest, Solidarity in Oradea and others, found it necessary to call together the commission members bimonthly, while those from the Ardeleanu Enterprise in Alba Iuliu--weekly. In this way, the particular party organs are succeeding in bringing up the major problems from letters and audiences for analysis and conclusions and in having detailed knowledge of the causes of certain shortcomings in order to be able to establish the measures which must be taken to improve their own activity and the general activity of the enterprise.

Along with the valuable experience accumulated in the short time which has passed since the commissions were established, some shortcomings also have been found in the activity of some of them, mostly due to a certain mistaken understanding of their duties. As, for example, at the Bucharest Readymade Clothing and Knitwear Enterprise, clearly contrary to the decision's provisions the commission at the party committee was given the task of resolving the letters sent to the enterprise leadership, thus substituting for the responsible factors in the units which by law have this duty. In other enterprises, the commissions understood that they have to keep records of the letters and audiences, an activity which, in conformity with the decision and the law, enters into the task of the party organs and leadership of the particular enterprise or institution. Others felt that they had to follow up on only resolving the letters sent to the party committee.

In some enterprises and institutions, the workers' commissions, instead of being established at the party committee or bureau of the base organization and approved by them, were created on the basis of a decision of the administrative leadership, as was the procedure at the Viitorul Plastics Enterprise in Oradea. There also have been cases where leadership cadres were named to the commissions which, by the nature of their job, actually have the obligation to be involved with solving the problems of all the worker personnel in the particular unit. For example, at the

Grivita Rosie Chemical Equipment Enterprise in Bucharest the director general of the central, his deputy and other leadership cadres from the central and from enterprises were included in the workers' commission.

On the basis of the experience obtained up until now by most of the party organizations and the lessons learned from the shortcomings found, it is necessary that each party committee and bureau of the base organization establish the specific tasks for the particular commissions.

First, as also is seen from the Central Committee Decision on the activity of resolving proposals, letters, complaints and requests of the workers, the commissions' main role is to continually follow up on the way that matters raised in letters and at audiences are examined and resolved. This means that they should watch that problems are resolved within the terms established by law and check whether the measures established were applied precisely and that answers were given to those concerned within the legal term.

It is their duty to organize discussions with the personnel sending letters and having audiences in order to document and better know the way in which the aspects they have raised have been resolved.

Along the same line, they are required to check the way in which the audiences are organized and follow up on how the program for the enterprise leaders and public organizations receive the workers, precisely in order to watch from the beginning up to finalization of the problems they have sent.

In the situation where the party organ feels that certain proposals and letters sent to the general meetings of workers and trade union organizations have not been resolved in conformity with the decisions adopted by the particular meetings, the commissions also may be concerned with following up on them.

Commission members may reexamine those letters and complaints of worker personnel regarding general or personal problems about which those concerned come, with the party organ where the commission operates to decide on the conclusions and measures required. They also should examine individually or in the collective the letters with a more unusual content, with the result of the investigations made to be subject to the party committee or bureau of the base organization in order to decide on the measures to be taken.

At the same time, as the experience of the best commissions has shown, it is necessary for their members to aid the committees

and bureaus of the party organization in preparing information and analyses regarding the activity with letters and audiences.

For this purpose, it seems to be very useful that monthly or as many times as necessary there be a discussion in the commission plenum of the problems which are the subject of its activity, the causes for the letters and complaints and that the particular party organs be informed of the conclusions, at the same time advancing proposals of measures to improve work with letters.

Closely concerned with guiding the workers' commissions and periodically instructing them and regularly checking them and giving them every aid they need in order to improve their way of working, the party organs and organizations may make these organisms valuable instruments everywhere, organs which actually contribute to solving proposals, letters and requests of workers more promptly and efficiently and to raising the entire activity in the industrial and agricultural, construction and transport units and educational, cultural and health institutes to the level of current demands.

CSO : 2700

ROMANIA

MORE MILITANCY NEEDED IN PUBLICATIONS FOR YOUTH

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 78 pp 36, 37

/Article by Alecu Popovici/

/Text/ Analyzing all the great literary and artistic works dedicated to children and youth, we see from the start their special value lies in the close cohesion existing between the ideological message, educational nature and artistic craftsmanship. Any citizen artist, any creator makes his primary goal, the only "reason" for his future work precisely the wish to make it equally an emotional and formative achievement.

Especially we, who have the great joy of being creators of works for children and youth, this wonderful revolutionary youth, proceed on the road of artistic creation with the responsibility of the role which our work has in social life. The audience, our readers, as citizens of a country which ensures them liberty and gives certitude to the achieving of dreams, protecting them from the poisonous and grevous moral and material influences of the capitalist world, live with pride the feeling of being strugglers of tomorrow for building socialism. We writers are in the position of a propitious ideological platform filled with the responsibility of our work and understanding our role more and more actively and militantly. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his recent speech to the party and state aktiv, we must raise ideological activity to an ever higher level in order to combat and defeat any idealist, obscurantist, mystic theories, any backward thinking in order to ensure the triumph of the progressive and revolutionary concepts of the world."

In this light it is possible to more clearly understand the tasks of those who dedicate their souls, our pens and scenic vibrations to those whom Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has called the country's "golden future."

Ideological and artistic value is decisive in evaluating a work of art. Unfortunately, there still are puppet theaters and dramatic theaters for children and youth which numerically fulfill their plans for premieres-- sweet and rosy little plays without artistic and educational power, simple amusements more or less colored with ingredients specific to the medium. This shows that those conciliatory and indulgent opinions have not been completely eliminated according to which literature, poetry, prose and theater dedicated to youth and the very young can subsist in the shadow of a certain coefficient of critical good will and a value "allowance," thus also making room for some pseudocreations. Clearly, place must primarily be made on the stage dedicated to the young generation for those dramatic texts which bring the great thinking and feelings of the socialist era. Recently, at the welcome festival of theater for youth, organized by the Union of Communist Youth Central Committee in Costinesti, a number of plays dedicated to youth were analyzed with the critical participation of the audiences (surveys, discussions with the actors), drawing the necessary conclusions connected with enriching the repertoire and with anchoring it in immediate life. At that time it was found that the defects of most of the plays have their roots in the lack of deep knowledge of the youths' life, work and concern. Undoubtedly, especially for audiences at the age when they ask the big questions and have the desire for knowledge, writers have at hand a great variety of subjects which can be treated with a rich spread of specific forms, forms whose originality must be placed in the service of the content of the particular work.

Through their intrinsic definition and through their substance and finality, literature and art dedicated to children and youth have a deeply formative nature without being didactic. They are and must be basically more and more educational! Literature "hour" or theater, film and television "hours" can become just as valuable as those within the school program. From here we clearly see the major role which creation has through showing the big problems troubling the young generation, the tragic conditions in which the children and youth in the capitalist world are struggling, the morbid influences to which they are subject, from vices to drugs, from unemployment to acts of terrorism. Unmasking this "closed world" and one which is repulsive for the young generation and the harrowing feeling of alienation can and must be pulverized by the unmasking force of literature, film and art in general. The children and youth hope to find in our plays and books a reflection of the moral superiority of the socialist world, the spiritual force which animates the young people of Romania, who are celebrating their work through a new concept of life, having the prospect of The Future on their side.

We can find out which plays the theaters need so much by better and better knowing children and youth, their spiritual world which is so complex, their dreams, their hopes (for the fulfillment of which they themselves are not merely spectators, but active factors through learning and work).

We met some of the best Pioneers at the forum which took place recently at the platform in Magurele. They were our heroes--lively, intelligent, spontaneous, enthusiastic, hardworking, filled with ardent patriotism and devoted to the party. We must write more and better for them, using metaphors to take a firm stand on the influences of backward, obscurantist, mystic concepts. Children especially can be subject to such influences, which can mark their later mental development and it is the duty of the creators to respond to this high social command. Last year, for example, the Ion Creanga Theater, together with young amateur artists from Scornicesti, put on a play which sought precisely to unmask some mystic, backward concepts pitted against the achievements of modern science and the dialectical materialist research and thought.

At the meeting of the central party and state aktiv this August, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that increased attention must be given to stimulating and evaluating scientific-technical creation. How educational childrens' achievements would be put on the stage or in books: for example, that wonderful "Mini-tehnicus," the competitions for the leaders by trades, and so forth. The excitement on the national job sites offer a special source of inspiration, with everything these sites offer as acts of labor, but also as places for the profound transformation and education of human consciousness.

That is why the theater for the young generation can and must be a launching pad which sends forth the great ideas of our socialist era with the wings of fantasy and talent.

I think place should be made more powerfully in the editorial plans and in the theater repertories for the plays with real heroes, both from past history and, especially, from present life--those heroes who would become models to emulate. The fact that some creators have treated these categories of readers or audiences with superficiality, with "superiority," has led to the appearance of some false books and plays, without a true breath of life and, clearly, without any educational, convincing force. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to organize a national playwriting competition for children and youth, the results of which could be shared by a whole series of artistic institutes.

Specialized critics could make a more substantial contribution through fervent analysis with serious argumentation and, in particular, with useful suggestions. Perhaps from laziness and perhaps from a condemnable snobbism, plays for children and youth are scornfully ignored with a "hyperaesthetic" superiority. An exaggerated analysis of formal aspects, praises often made of those plays with a less clear educational content have not at all had the gift of stimulating creation and creators for children and youth. It is rare you find theater critics in the theaters for children and youth and, unfortunately, when there are many reviews they are merely informative little notes. Few playwrights for children have had space in the central press for concrete analysis on the subject and of critical opinions, not matter how sharp they would have been. In exchange any "experiment," the more "unprecedented" it is and the more obsolete its innovation is, enjoys much space in critical evaluations. A revolutionary literature and art cannot develop without a criticism filled with the ideals of the socialist revolution which would promote the true socialist values.

There is not even a corner of a column in our publications which analyzes the innumerable books of poetry, prose and printed plays; prolific, talented authors remain unknown, lacking the critics' contribution, critics from whom they await confirmation of their work and the way in which their modern heroes were understood!

Accompanying the tours of some Romanian theatrical collectives abroad, I was emotionally a witness to the way in which valuable works were received by the public. Plays which presented the thoughts and the souls of children and young people in plays of a high artistic level made the theaters resound. The audiences shouted from their hearts, "Bravo, Romania," along with their applause. Increasingly broader dissemination of more and more plays in all directions--with the contribution of various authors, directors and actors--will contribute to knowledge of the achievements of our art and the superiority of the creations of socialism and to strengthening friendship among peoples.

Now, when the balance of the summer is a prologue to the coming season, we are thinking more deeply, more responsibly, more in a partylike way to the future plans, to the themes, to the repertoires.

A creator for children and youth is and must be equally not only the artist of his era but also a parent and teacher. We will raise the offsprings of the Romanian land like intelligent, sensitive young people, strugglers and poets, clear masters of the tools and dreaming travelers toward the stars and other galaxies. That is why I constantly recall the words of a great director:

"A play for children must be just like the one for adults, only better."

We will diversify the theater activity, joining it with that of the amateur artists. All actors in the collective are continually present in schools, where they directly participate in educating the children, alongside the teachers, through poetry, music, dance and theater during the "Song of Romania" festival. During this festival they must give increased attention to the ideological education of all ages of children and find those specific forms in order to make them true citizens, trustworthy cadres of socialism. They--the children and young people--have the great privilege of living in the world of socialism and of feeling the care, love and protection of the entire country for their fates. As a writer, I want to greet "The International Year of the Child" with a play which paints the wonderful world of our little ones, a play with and about today's children who are tomorrow's adults (literally and figuratively).

The smallest of them have the symbolic name of "falcons." The words of our party's secretary general always have given us wings with which we can rise up in order to be closer to the flight toward the young generation's future.

8071

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

ABSENCE OF PUNGAN--A new case of the disappearance of a close associate of Ceausescu--Vasile Pungan, one of the closest advisors of Ceausescu. He disappeared at the same time that the Pacepa affair broke. It is not known if he has left Romania or if he has been arrested and questioned by the Securitate. There is no answer at his home. [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Oct 78 p 1]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Rada Mocanu is appointed deputy minister of education and instruction, Comrade Nicolae Ionescu is released from his position as deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee and Comrade Ion Galatean is appointed state secretary in the Council for Socialist Culture and Education. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 84, 11 Sep 78 p 4]

ATTACK ON MILITIA BUILDING IN TULCEA--One night in June a number of youths attacked the militia headquarters in Tulcea, overpowering the militia men on duty. After destroying the dossiers they stole all the weapons which were in the building and disappeared. [Text] [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANIA IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Sep 78 p 7]

HARASSMENT OF ISRAELI TOURISTS--A group of 100 Israeli tourists arrived in Romania on 1 August. On 20 August they went to Brasov and attended a Romanian folklore performance in the Club Carpatina in Brasov on 21 August. By 2230 hours most of the tourists had left the club and only 26 persons remained. The remaining tourists began to dance the hora when the orchestra played "Hava Naghila." Some began to cough, others experienced burning in their eyes and they went outside for air. A tourist said that he saw a young man releasing a container of tear gas. He was apprehended by the tourists and questioned by the militia but the tear gas container was not found. The tour guide said that the investigation showed that the individual acted on orders from the Arabs. [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Sep 78 p 7]

CSO: 2700

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