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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1330

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UNION OF TRANSYLVANIA WITH ROMANIA HAILED BY ROMANIANS

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 3, May-Jun 76 pp 44-57

/Article by Viorica Moisuc: "The Treaty of Trianon--International Confirmation of the Legitimacy of the Union of Transylvania With Romania"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics/

/Text/ The achievement of Romania's sovereignty within its national territory and in international relations, and the political and diplomatic struggle to consolidate this sovereignty, on a legal plane, through the basic acts of the Paris peace treaties in 1919-1920, represent a positive historical experience and, by this, a contribution to international theory and practice in the political, diplomatic and legal field.

The value of this experience resides in the fact that the Romanian unitary national state was the objective and irreversible result of a long process of development and affirmation of the Romanian nation in an economic, cultural and political sphere and was the expression of the struggle and the will expressed by this nation, in its entirety, in 1918. The value of this experience resides in the fact that the decisions with a plebiscitary character of the Romanians still under foreign rule were a materialization of the general, progressive evolution of human society in the direction of establishing a new international political order based on acceptance of the principle of nationalities and self-determination as a foundation for the creation of the unitary and national states, on real equality between states, mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, the elimination of the use of force in interstate relations, and the elimination of secret diplomacy. Such an order should have led, at the same time, to the opening of the era of natural collaboration between all peoples, regardless of their size, within the framework of the application and respecting of international law. The Paris Peace Conference, faced with /faits accomplis/, gave them official international investment. This constitutes, in fact, that /basic positive feature/ of the peace treaties after World War I, a feature that reflects the direction of the evolution of human society. Such a feature made an important breach in the great powers' imperalist policy of force and dictation in international life, a policy expressed, moreover, in numerous aspects and decisions of the same peace treaties.

On 1 December 1918, at Alba Iulia, in the city that symbolized the first union of the historical Romanian provinces, under the scepter of Michael the Brave, "the National Assembly of all Romanians in Transylvania, Banat and Tara Ungureasca, assembled through their official representatives," it says in the record of the debates, "decrees the union of those Romanians and all the territories inhabited by them with Romania."[1] This decision, which marked the final act of the process of forging the Romanian unitary national state, must be judged, from the perspective of history, as an affirmation of the historical rights of the Romanian people over the territory always inhabited by them, a territory on which they built their civilization and culture.

The Romanians, descendants of the great family of Thracians, Romanized Dacians, who lived in the area contained between the Black Sea, the Balkan Mountains, the Carpati Padurosi, the Nistru and the Tisa,[2] were, toward the end of the first millennium, organized into state communities with a feudal character--vaivodeships and principalities--developing a material and spiritual culture with traits specific to eastern Romanity. A people predominantly peaceful, but stubbornly defending their country, the Romanians were the first obstacle of the civilized world in Europe that was struck by the tribes of the migratory populations in expansion toward the center and west of the continent.[3]

Although the military power of the waves of migrators prior to the Hungarians was not able to either dislocate or destroy the Romanian communities organized on the territory of the former "Dacia felix," the latter managed, as a result of bloodly and incessant wars with the Romanian princes, to annex to their kingdom, formed on the Pannonian Plain, vast territories in "the country beyond the forests"; for, as the anonymous clerk of King Bela related at the end of the ninth century in his notes, "that land is irrigated by the best rivers..., gold is gathered from their sand, that the gold from that country is the best gold, that salt and saline substances are taken from there."[4] Like Glad, who ruled a vaivodeship in Banat between the Danube and the Mures, Gelu, "the ultrasylvan duke of the Blahi" (the Wallachians--the Romanians in the region of the Somes), Anonymous says, "with his archers fought stubbornly against the invaders."[5] Menumorut, the vaivode of the Romanians in "Biharea" (Bihor), refused, in his turn, the claims of Arpad, the king of the Hungarians, "to cede to him the land from the Somes River to the edge of the Nir[6] and to the pass of Mezesyna."[7] Responding with dignity, Menumorut said that "neither from love nor from fear do we cede to him as much as an inch of land." And his words, the Romanian vaivode added, "it does not worry us that he said to us that he is descended from the people of King Attila, who was called 'the Scourge of God.'"[8] The vigorous presence of the Romanians, organized into strong political formations in Transylvania, disproves the "void" of Roessler[9] and his adherents, which the invaders should have found in the "country beyond the mountains," a "void" against which they sent all their military force in order to conquer it.

Against such alleged historical rights won with the sword the Romanians rebelled over the centuries, against such "rights" imposed through the might of the strongest and defended by such means, the peasants of Horea shed their blood, the Romanian revolutionaries of '48 fought, and the Memorandists protested and braved the prisons.

This is the place to recall that the solidarity of the Romanians on both slopes of the Carpathians, manifested early in many and varied forms, led, in the course of time, to the creation and development of the national consciousness.

In his time, Michael the Brave accomplished a great deed of consolidating his people, a deed especially important since through it the ancient ties between all areas inhabited by Romanians were to be amplified and the power of resistance of the Transylvanian Romanians, oppressed by the privileged nations, was to be strengthened.[10] From the Union of 1600, "this brilliant moment of glory in the midst of our troubles, in the midst of the age-old bondage of the Romanians beyond the mountains, there resulted," Nicolae Iorga writes, "a tradition, an ordeal and a duty for his descendants."[11] The achievement of Michael the Brave was, as Hungarian historian Ianczo Benedek also remarked, "a link in the evolution of the Romanian nation."[12]

Indeed, more and more noticeably, the Transylvanians pursued the objective of /national liberty/. The document of 1791--"Supplex Libellus Valachorum"--which formulates the idea of /Romanian solidarity/, maps out an impressive program of political struggle.[13] It inspired the Romanians' categoric opposition to the schemes to achieve "the Hungarian unitary national state" toward the middle of the 19th century. This opposition was manifested strongly on 3-15 May 1848, on the Plain of Liberty, when the Romanians decided: "The Romanian nation asks that the cohabiting nationalities by no means take under discussion the cause of union with Hungary, until the Romanian nation will not be a nation constituted and organized by a deliberative and decisive vote in the legislative chamber, and, on the contrary, if the diet of Transylvania would wish nonetheless to sit to discuss the same union without us, then the Romanian nation solemnly protests...." [14] "The Romanian nation based on the principle of liberty and fraternity claims its national independence in the political regard, so as to appear on its behalf...."[15]

The Union of the Principalities concretized in a viable form the application, in the middle of the 19th century, of the /principle of nationalities/. The act accomplished by the Romanian nation in 1859 also brought a new element to international theory and practice with regard to the application of the principle of nationalities: "peoples had rebelled even before then, had demanded their right," Nicolae Iorga writes. "But they are obliged, in accordance with the custom at Vienna, as Europe constituted there, to analyze their process and to give a decision before which all of them had yielded, accepting it as it was. Now, however," the great scholar correctly remarked, "there appeared a people supported by their only /right/, and against the formal clauses of the newest treaty, which had barely recognized

their existence, /they imposed the fait accompli of their solution/, brought immediately to fruition, instead of presenting a mere petition for revision. It was a new element in the development of the national principle. And we had provided it."[16] It was a question of a clear manifestation, in forms specific to the stage of sociopolitical development of the Romanian nation, of their national right, a right until then so rarely invoked in the political life of Europe.

Naturally, the Union of the Principalities--an important stage in the forging of full national unity--produced, both through the very fact of the application of the principle of nationalities and through the prospect of the support that the great national struggle of the Romanians gained, an intensification of national feeling in the Romanians in Transylvania. Their just legal and political view that the territory of Transylvania belonged to the Romanian nation took on a clearer appearance after 1859 and acquired an even more solid foundation.[17] The dualism of 1867--a hybrid political form contrary to the most elementary principles of government of a state that was a complex of 9 nationalities,[18] but with the Austrians and the Hungarians having dominance--helped to intensify the national movement, especially since in the second half of the 19th century a harsh policy of stifling the national consciousness, of repressing the struggle for freedom, of denationalization was put into practice through various laws and measures.[19]

Under these conditions, the /national resistance/ of the Romanians was amplified and the organized struggle for national and political emancipation was diversified. The proceedings instituted against the Memorandists, in May 1894, by the dualist authorities and resulting in decades of imprisonment to which they were sentenced[20] meant a new and strong compromise of the regime of oppression in the two-headed empire. The impressive statement of Dr I. Ratiu before the jury in Cluj, that "the existence of a people is not being debated, it is being affirmed," proved that the Transylvanians' struggle for rights was no longer able to be viewed, outside, as an "internal" question of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Beyond the mountains, in the free Romanian state, despite the maintenance of official political relations of alliance with Austria-Hungary and Germany, relations imposed by the czarist expansionist policy in southeastern Europe, the cultivation of the national question led to the formulation of the policy of the /national ideal/ of preparing for the union of all Romanians living under foreign rule into a single homeland, whose polarizing nucleus was the state organized in 1859 and consolidated in 1877, through the gaining of full independence. From the principle of /national liberty/, set forth by Simion Barnutiu, there had been a logical transition to the principle of /national independence/, and now, at the start of the 20th century, the principle of /concluding the process of forging the national state/ was affirmed.

The complete application of the principle of nationalities to the Romanian nation had become an imperative, demanded by the entire historical

development of the Romanian people and by the ethnographic structure of the Daco-Getic territory, because, despite the vicissitudes of history and the policy of denationalization applied by the invading empires, in the historical provinces under foreign rule the Romanians continued to be the dominant element, developing a culture proper, with common traits.[21]

The Transylvanian Romanians made a major contribution to the historically important process within which operated the /idees forces/ applied to the realities in central and southeastern Europe, to which international law did not hesitate to given express confirmation. On the basis of a strong /national consciousness/, the Transylvanians prepared for /separation/ from Hungary and /union/ with Romania, through the manifestation of /their collective will/. There was thus created the /legal basis/ that legitimized the form of unitary national state toward which the entire age-old development of the Romanian nation was leading. The express manifestation of the /national collective will/ of the Romanians in 1918 constitutes the apogee of their struggle for social, political and national emancipation, a struggle that always reflected the community of origin, of will, of aspirations.

The Transylvanian Romanians' right of self-determination was clearly expressed in the historic Declaration of Oradea (12 October 1918), drawn up by Vasile Goldis, which proclaimed: "On the basis of the natural right that each nation can by itself and freely determine and decide its fate--a right that is now also recognized by the Hungarian government through the armistice proposal of the monarchy--the Romanian nation in Hungary and Transylvania wishes to now make use of this right and consequently claims for it too the right to decide by itself, free from any foreign influence, its placement among the free nations, as well as the establishment of the connection for coordinating it with the other free nations.... The Romanian nation that is living under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy awaits and requests--after much suffering for centuries--the affirmation and valorization of its invariable and inalienable rights to a full national life."[22]

Under the conditions in October and November 1918, the right of self-determination took on more and more concrete forms: on 10 November 1918, the Romanian National Council claimed the right of government in the 26 counties with a Romanian majority, promising at the same time to the other "peoples on Romanian territory the respecting on our part of the principles of Wilson."[23] On 20 November, the newspaper ZIARUL in Arad published the historic declaration by means of which Transylvania's break from Hungary was achieved. The Romanian nation thus regained possession of its natural rights, there being annulled by means of this /collective decision the abusive decision/ of 1 May 1969 for annexing Transylvania to Hungary. On 21 November, the Romanian National Council convoked in Alba Iulia the representatives of the Romanian nation to "decide its fate forever." Thus, the Grand National Assembly proclaimed on 18 November/1 December 1918 the union of Transylvania, Banat and Maramures with the country. "There were gathered at Alba Iulia," the eyewitnesses say, "100,000 Romanians, to decide the fate of the Romanian people.... Like a storm the voice of the people broke out at Alba Iulia:

'We want union with Romania!' The decisions at Alba Iulia are the new decalogue of the Romanian people."[24]

The assembly had a /national/ and /representative/ character, which resulted from the fact that each electoral district and each provincial, departmental or communal administrative nucleus sent its delegates, empowered with an express mandate; 1,228 mandates from 130 electoral districts were validated. Besides this, more than 130,000 peasants, coming from 5,000 communes, participated in the assembly, imparting to it a true democratic character. By means of its structure, the National Assembly at Alba Iulia was the legal manifestation of the inalienable will of the Romanian nation.[25] In the light of international law, the National Assembly at Alba Iulia has the value of a veritable plebiscite, a manifestation of the collective will that constitutes the most solid foundation and the strongest legal title of a state. The decision of the National Assembly at Alba Iulia has a higher value than those decisions resulting from consultations imposed by means of a previous commitment. The fact that the western borders of the Romanian state were defined in general, in accordance with national criteria, constitutes another highly important aspect of the General Assembly at Alba Iulia.[26]

Romania's participation in World War I for the declared purpose of fulfilling the national desire of uniting all Romanians into a single state was another factor of basic significance in the accomplishment of this process. This objective stayed continually in the center of the foreign policy of the country during the difficult years of war. The enslaving peace imposed on Romania by Germany and Austria-Hungary in May 1918, under the conditions in which the Allies had not honored their promises made to it by means of the military convention of August 1916 and, in eastern Europe, Romania, although isolated, was the only one that was maintaining a front against the Central Powers and their allies, was followed by a new rise of the Romanian army, in October 1918, to fulfill the national ideal. In King Ferdinand's proclamation to the soldiers, on 27 October/10 November 1918, it was again stressed the Romania's goal was the fulfillment of "our dream of so many centuries: the union of all Romanians, for which you fought so bravely in 1916-1917."[27]

It is to be noted that the Entente powers, which, at the start of the war, declared that they were fighting for the triumph of the idea of right threatened by the act of /aggression/ of Germany and its allies, brought a formal recognition of the nationalities' right to self-determination. On 30 December 1916, in the note addressed to Germany and Austria-Hungary, it was stated that "peace is not possible so long as the restoration of the violated rights and freedom, /the recognition of the principle of nationalities, and the free existence of the small states/ (our italics) are not provided."[28] Similarly, in the response given, on 12 January 1917, to President Wilson with regard to specifying their war aims, the Entente powers stated that they were pursuing "the reorganization of Europe, guaranteed by means of a stable regime based both on /respect for nationalities/ (our italics) and on the right to full security and to the freedom of economic development that all peoples, great and small, possess and also on territorial

agreements and international regulations suitable for guaranteeing the land and sea borders against unjustified attacks," stressing that they were not fighting "for egoistic interests but above all to safeguard the independence of the peoples, the law and humanity..., to restore Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro, to liberate the Serbs, Romanians and Czechoslovaks from foreign rule, and to resurrect Poland."[29]

These declarations, which did not annul the imperialistic goals pursued equally by the great powers, must be regarded as a recognition, intentional or not, with regard to the revolutionary effervescence in Europe where the oppressed nationalities, impeded in their free affirmation, were applying the right of self-determination over the head of the governments and imperial chanceries, subverting an international political order based on the right of might.

In this war, Romania lost more than 300,000 soldiers, to which the losses of human life among the civilian population were added. The destruction caused to Romania by the war, by the German invasion, more than half of the territory of old Romania being occupied, and the direct and indirect damage that resulted for the country's economy and finances from the Bucharest Peace Treaty, imposed by Germany, and from the evacuation to Moscow, as a result of the occupation of Bucharest, of the country's treasure valued at more than 1.5 billion lei in gold represented the enormous human and material sacrifices of the Romanian people.

The Romanians' heroism in the struggle for union, and the combined action of all the political forces, received the appreciation and praise of the political figures in the Allied countries. On 6 November 1918, on behalf of the government of the United States, the secretary of the Department of State, Robert Lansing, wrote in Paris to Take Ionescu, the chairman of the National Council of Romanian Unity: "The president wishes to inform you that the government of the United States is not disinterested in the aspirations of the Romanian people.... It was witness to the Romanians' struggles, to their suffering and to their sacrifices for the cause of their liberation from the yoke of their enemies and aggressors, in a spirit of national unity and in accordance with the aspirations of Romanians everywhere. The government of the United States sympathizes deeply with you and will not neglect--as soon as the time comes--to use its influence so that the just political and territorial rights of the Romanian people are obtained and secured against any foreign aggression."[30]

On behalf of the French government, S. Pichon addressed himself on 12 October 1918 to Take Ionescu, in the same terms. Mentioning "the age-old aspirations toward freedom and toward the union of all the Romanian countries," Pichon stressed that "at the time when the victories of the Allied armies herald the approaching triumph of the principles of justice, which will ensure the liberation and recognition of Romania, those who, like you, never despaired and those who are coming in greater and greater numbers to enlist to fight by our side, causing the national colors of the Romanian countries

to once again wave over the battlefields, will prepare together with us, in steady collaboration, a future from which our two countries will emerge more closely united by the common trials...."[31] Later, Clemenceau, the president of the French Council of Ministers, referring to Romania's reentry into the war on the side of the Allies, wrote to Ion I. C. Bratianu: "The French government, which an old and trusting friendship unites with Romania and which sympathized with it during the trials through which it passed, is pleased to see it entered into the alliance, working to achieve the unity of the Romanian areas."[32]

On 11 November 1918, the foreign minister of Great Britain, A. J. Balfour, expressing his sympathy for those who did not lose their faith in "the final triumph of the just aspirations of the Romanian people," assured the National Council of Romanian Unity of his cordial collaboration and his support for "developing relations of warm friendship between Great Britain and Romania, whose effort and suffering for the common cause are so deeply appreciated in this country."[33]

Consequently, at the opening of the Paris Peace Conference, Romania was /de facto and de jure a unitary national state/, constituted on the territory always inhabited by Romanians. The basic acts, equivalent to law, that legitimized this state were the plebiscitary collective decisions of 1918, as well as the treaties of alliance in 1916 on the basis of which our country had participated in the war and which promised the fulfillment of the national desire.

Along this line of thinking, American historian Charles Seymour stated: "At the time of the opening of the peace conference, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was no longer but an institution belonging to the past.... In less than a month, the artificial cement that united the disparate elements of the empire had crumbled, the loyalty to the emperor had disappeared and the supremacy of the Germans and the Hungarians had been swept away."[34]

As in 1859, the Romanian nation, which had decided its destiny by itself, confronted the international community with a fait accompli. The peace conference was thus called upon to give legal confirmation to the new territorial and political status of the Romanian state, by recognizing the principle of nationalities and of the self-determination of the peoples. Moreover, the repeated confirmation by the great powers of the Entente of the Romanian people's legitimate rights of national and state unity, and the poltical principles set forth by Wilson in his "14 points," on the basis of which the postwar organization of the world was outlined, entitled the Romanian people to aspire to the natural confirmation, in international treaties, of the new states of affairs in central and eastern Europe.

At Paris, however, the peace conference, which should have discussed, in the spirit of international equity, all the problems involving the peoples, great and small, raked up the old "Holy Alliance." The Council of Four, behind soundproof doors, decided the fate of the world with an eye to the

interests of the great powers.[35] Hence, the small states' struggle to protect their own interests, a struggle that, this time, the big and little Allies waged. "The great powers took a position that did not correspond at all to their declarations of principles with regard to the rights of the small states," Ion I. C. Bratianu wrote in Bucharest on 9 February 1919. "In fact," he judged, "they tend to form themselves into a tribunal to decide the fate of everyone."[36]

Nicolae Iorga, referring to the same inequity that governed the relations between the great powers and the other states, wrote that "from the start the conference and then the Four were intractable. No affront was spared the small ones. Unappealable decisions were communicated to them a few hours beforehand, with the duty to sign them."[37]

Although all the premises, de facto and de jure, were created for recognition of the legitimacy of the acts of the union, in the spirit of international equity, by respecting the Romanian people's legitimate rights over their national territory, the action for obtaining this recognition had to overcome many difficulties.

Thus, with regard to central Europe, for some it still was an axiom that "if Austria had not existed, it would have had to be invented," in the sense that the Austro-Hungarian conglomerate would have been an essential factor of so-called political stability and economic prosperity in central and southeastern Europe. The new national and unitary states were confronted with formulas by means of which the circles involved were trying to obtain the perpetuation, in central and southeastern Europe, of the anachronistic conditions in the dual monarchy. Such formulas undermined, in essence, the independence and sovereignty of the recently constituted or united states, returning them to the old economic, political and financial subordination to Hungary.

The well-known plan of the so-called "Danubian Confederation," which aroused much anxiety in Bucharest, Prague and Belgrade, tried to resolve, at the expense of the states in central and southeastern Europe, certain interests of the big monopolies in France and Great Britain, attracted by a number of proposals of the representatives of Hungary with regard to capital shares and economic and financial control in some important branches of the economy of the countries in the Danube basin.[38] The leading role that Hungary was to play in such a "union," on both an economic and a political plane, and the direct and almost unlimited interference of France and England in the economy of the above-mentioned states would have, in fact, abolished their independence and sovereignty, returning them, by means of a new formula, to the old state of affairs under the dual monarchy.[39] The economic and political "integration" of the independent and sovereign states in the Danube basin had acquired, at the start of January 1920, a precise content through several phrases that were to be inserted into the peace treaty with Hungary: the states, according to the promoters of these theses, "enlarged by the territory of the former Hungary," would be obliged to guarantee the furnishing

of all raw materials necessary to the industries of any sort remaining in Hungary, established by treaty (metallurgy, textiles, milling and so on); the price of these raw materials would be established by a joint commission with headquarters in Budapest; and the above-mentioned states would "guarantee" for these raw materials priority and special rates on all lines of communication.[40]

On 10 June 1919, the Council of Foreign Ministers of the peace conference convoked the representatives of Romania and Czechoslovakia in order to communicate to them the borders established between these countries and Hungary by the Supreme Council. On 13 June, a note signed by Clemenceau and addressed to the Romanian government made known officially the border between Romania and Hungary.[41] On 12 October 1918, the Supreme Council notified the Romanian government that the border with Hungary was final, with the exception of small changes made by the inter-Allied commission for border delimitations.

The debates regarding these specifications aroused discussions, with the Hungarian delegation, supported by representatives of political and financial circles in England, France and Italy, maintaining bitter opposition to the breakup of old Hungary.[42]

Representatives of political, financial and diplomatic circles strongly connected with the old states of affairs in Austria-Hungary, in Great Britain, France and other countries, were for amending the draft of the peace treaty with Hungary in the favor of hybrid formulas and retracing the borders between the states that had forged their national ideal and Hungary, to the advantage of the latter. Such positions were taken by lords Bryce, Newton and Asquith, who, not wanting to understand the inexorable course of history and denying the right of peoples to self-determination, argued for the interests of the former dual monarchy, with which they were connected by many threads.[43]

The discussions regarding the draft of the peace treaty with Hungary, which had brought out the determination of the states that had achieved their national political unity in 1918 to impose on the peace conference legal recognition of the new states of affairs in Europe, but which, at the same time, had also proved the existence of reactionary forces hostile to this recognition and favorable to the perpetuation, in new forms, of the old situations in Austria-Hungary, came to an end, in essence, in the first 10-day period of March 1920. The Conference of Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors, chaired by Lord Curzon, decided on 8 March that the draft treaty with Hungary remained final with regard to the territorial, military, financial and transit clauses, there being rejected at the same time the demands of the Hungarian delegation. The problems that were still, after this date, under discussion in the expert committees were not of a nature to prejudice the basic interests of Romania.[44] It is important to mention that the idea of economic and political integration was also given up, the representatives of Romania, Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes managing this as a result of sustained joint action.

The injunctions of the Hungarian delegation at the peace conference, which requested "popular consultations" (plebiscites) in the hope of creating possibilities for satisfying the territorial claims of Hungary, were also rejected.[45]

In reality, the collective decisions, equivalent to a plebiscite, in October, November and December 1918, had established even before the opening of the peace conference, irrevocably, the breakup of the Hapsburg Empire, including Hungary, into its component parts. The authors of the peace treaty with Hungary accepted exactly the indubitable value of these plebiscitary decisions. The observations of the Hungarian delegation at the conference on the above-mentioned question produced a justified reaction on the part of the representatives of those nations that had /never/ been consulted when the governments in Budapest or Vienna decided their fate, when the territories that legitimately belonged to them were dealt away in treaties, agreements and conventions on territorial division and redivision.[46]

The peace treaty with Hungary was signed on 4 June 1920. On Romania's behalf, it was signed by Dr I. Cantacuzino and N. Titulescu.[47] N. Iorga noted the fact that "through the treaties in 1920, at St. Germain for Austria and at Trianon for Hungary, there were established for the Romanians, if not on the basis of the opinions of expert geographers, borders including Transylvania, the western plain up to beyond Oradea and Arad, and most of the Romanians in these regions."[48]

Romania's Assembly of Deputies ratified the Treaty of Trianon on 26 August, and the senate on 17 August of the same year.[49] The question of the ratification of the Treaty of Trianon by the legislative forums in Great Britain and France was an occasion for new attempts on the part of reactionary circles in these countries, supporting the old states of affairs in Europe, to undermine the decisions of the peace conference. Despite them, lucid opinions, in accordance with historical reality, were expressed in the House of Commons. Thus, presenting the draft law for ratifying the Treaty of Trianon, Secretary of State Harmsworth correctly specified that, in fact, "the kingdom of Hungary was broken up to a large extent into its component parts before the start of the proceedings of the peace conference," because Hungary, he said, "was nothing but an artificial and forced conglomerate of dissimilar and, in some cases, hostile races."[50] In his turn, Sir Samuel Hoare stated that "peace will not be possible in central Europe until the Hungarians understand that the new Hungary is totally different from the old one. They can no longer hope in the future to dominate nationalities and to exploit the industrial and agricultural resources of central Europe for the benefit of Budapest and a certain number of owners."[51] Lord Curzon, with whose name the very appearance of the borders established by means of the Treaty of Trianon is connected, supported the legitimacy of the formation of the national states on the ruins of the former dualist empire: "It was inevitable," he said, "for the elements of the former Hungary to be united with their brothers in the neighboring countries and to form new states," the old state of affairs "is no longer entitled to continue, it being clear that it is contrary to justice."[52]

In May 1921, England ratified the Treaty of Trianon, and in June 1921, France also announced ratification of the treaty. Here too, some deputies and senators--such as from Monzie--tried to obtain modifications of the borbers in the favor of Hungary. Aristide Briand, combating these formulas, assured Romania that "it has nothing to fear," that "France will never intervene with the Allied and friendly governments to cause any harm whatever, no matter how slight it may be, to its rights of national sovereignty."[53]

Of course, the inexorable course of history was not able to be stopped by any sort of political formulas, no matter how stubbornly they may have been supported by the propaganda of the reactionary circles in different countries. With good reason, the former president of France, Raymond Poincare, had the following thought concerning the debates on the Treaty of Trianon: "While we are crying over the ruins of the past, the new states and the enlarged states that followed Austria-Hungary are building the present and preparing for the future."[54]

An example without precedent in history, the Paris Peace Conference, which was, in fact, a discussion behind closed doors between the "Big Four," was put in the position of recognizing the legitimacy of the formation of the independent and sovereign national and unitary states on the ruins of the former multinational empires. "The composition of the unitary national Romanian state," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "is thus not a gift, the result of international conferences, but the fruit of the tireless struggle waged by the most advanced forces of society, by the broad popular masses, for union, the lawful product of the historical, social and national development of the Romanian people."[55]

For the first time in history, the will of the peoples, expressed in decisions made apart from and over the head of the great powers, asserted itself on an international level, at the Paris Peace Conference, as a decisive factor in a new political and territorial configuration of the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Marea Adunare Nationala Intrunita la Alba Iulia in Ziua de 1 Decembrie 1918. Acte si Documente" /The Grand National Assembly Meeting at Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918. Acts and Documents/, f.a., f.e., Vol I, p 10. Also see: Gheorghe Zaharia and Mircea Musat, "The Struggle for State Independence and Unity--a Permanency of the History of the Romanian People," ANALE DE ISTORIE, Year XXI, No 1, 1975, pp 58-80; and Ion Popescu-Puturi, "From the Romanian People's Past of Fighting To Defend the Sovereignty and Independence of the Homeland," ANALE DE ISTORIE, Year XXII, No 1, 1976, pp 16-38.

2. See: R. Vulpe, "La Valachie et la Basse Moldavie Sous les Romains," DACIA, No 5, 1961, pp 365-393; C. Daicoviciu, "Roman Slave Dacia," in "Din Istoria Transilvaniei" /From the History of Transylvania/, Vol I, 3d Ed, Bucharest, 1963, pp 44-57; and D. Protase, "La Permanence des

Daces en Dacie Roumaine," REVUE ROUMAINE D'HISTOIRE, No 2, 1964, pp 193-211.

3. Also see: St. Olteanu, "The Evolution of the Process of State Organization East and South of the Carpathians in the 9th-14th Centuries," STUDII. REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Vol 24, No 4, 1971, pp 757-776; and Const. Giurescu, "Transylvania in the History of Romania. An Historical Outline," London, 1969.

4. G. Popa-Lisseanu, "Izvoarele Istoriei Romanilor" /The Sources of the History of the Romanians/, Vol I, Bucharest, 1934, p 95.

5. Ibidem, p 96.

6. A forest on the left side of the Tisa.

7. The pass of the Mezes on the Somes--the passage from the west into Transylvania.

8. G. Popa-Lisseanu, op. cit., p 91.

9. See: A. D. Xenopol, "Teoria lui Roessler" /The Theory of Roessler/, Iasi, 1884.

10. See the analysis of the significance of the union of the Romanian countries by Michael the Brave, from the viewpoint of the development of the national consciousness in the Romanians, in: Manole Neagoe, "Mihai Viteazul" /Michael the Brave/, "Scrisul Romanesc" Publishing House, Craiova, 1976, pp 274-290.

11. N. Iorga, "Istoria Romanilor din Ardeal si Ungaria" /The History of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary/, Bucharest, 1915, p 218. Also see: N. Iorga, "La Politique de Michel le Brave," Iasi, 1918, p 22.

12. Apud: George Sofronie, "La Position Internationale de la Roumanie," "Etude Juridiaue et Diplomatique de ses Engagements Internationaux," Centre de Hautes Etudes Internationales, Bucharest, 1938, p 28.

13. D. Prodan, "Supplex Libellus Valachorum," Stiintifica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1967.

14. G. Baritiu, "Parti Alese din Istoria Transilvaniei pre Doua Sute de Ani din Urma" /Selected Parts of the History of Transylvania for the Past 200 Years/, Vol II, Sibiu, 1890, p 124.

15. Ibidem, p 120. Also see: Cornelia Bodea, "Lupta Romanilor Pentru Unitatea Nationala, 1834-1849" /The Romanians' Struggle for National Unity, 1834-1849/, Bucharest, 1967; and Stefan Pascu, "Ties and Traits of Unity of the Revolution of 1848 in the Romanian Countries," ANALE DE ISTORIE, Year XIX, No 3, 1973, pp 61-73.

16. Nicolae Iorga, "The National Principle," NEAMUL ROMANESC, No 58, 1971.

17. See: George Sofronie, "L'Autodetermination des Roumains de Transylvanie en 1918 Comme Fondement Juridique de l'Unite National," REVUE DE TRANSYLVANIE, Vols VII-IX, Sibiu, 1941-1943.

18. See: Aurel C. Popovici, "La Question Roumaine en Transylvanie et en Hongrie," Lausanne-Paris, 1918, p 18.

19. In 1861, the Hungarian parliament empowered a commission set up especially to establish the principles according to which the problem of nationalities was to be "solved." The principle adopted was formulated as follows: "The citizens of Hungary, regardless of what language they speak, form, from a political viewpoint, a single nation, the Hungarian nation, one and indivisible"--"Romanii si Maghiarii" /The Romanians and the Hungarians/, Brasov, 1885, p 20. A few years later, in 1868, the same parliament passed "The Law on the Nationalities' Equality in Rights," which stipulated: "All citizens of Hungary form, from a political viewpoint and according to the basic principles of the constitution, a single nation, the Hungarian nation, one and indivisible"--ibidem, p 21; also see: Z. Paclisanu, "The Hungarian Law for Equal Entitlement of the Nationalities (1868)," REVISTA FUNDATIILOR REGALE, No 4, 1936, p 114. This law, far from ensuring the equality in rights of the nationalities contained within the Hungarian state, permitted the institution of a regime meant to lead to the breakup of these nationalities. Through the church and the school, through the administration and other means, the Transylvanian Romanians were subjected to intense and continual actions of denationalization.

20. George Moroianu, "Les Luttes des Roumaine Transylvains Pour la Liberte et l'Opinion Europeenne, Episodes et Souvenirs," Librairie Universitaire, Paris, 1932, pp 140-178. See the text of the Memorandum and the acts of the trial in: I. P. Pop, "Procesul Memorandumului Romanilor si Actele Procesului (Acte si Date)" /The Trial of the Memorandum of the Romanians and the Acts of the Trial (Acts and Data)/, Vols 1 and 2, Cluj, 1933-1934; and Aurelia Bunea, "The Problem of Transylvania in the Debates of the Parliament of Romania During the Memorandist Movement (1892-1895)," STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS "BABES-BOLYAI," Historia, 1969, No 1, pp 74-94, and No 2, pp 93-105.

21. In a remarkable work published in Paris in 1849, French jurist E. Lateritius foresaw the creation of the unitary Romanian state, from Transylvania (with Banat, Maramures and Crisana), Moldavia (with Bucovina and Bessarabia) and Wallachia (including Oltenia and Dobruja)--E. Lateritius, "Resultats du Retablissement des Nationalities Europeennes," Paris, 1849, Ch XVII, Par 7.

22. Ion Clopotel, "Revolutia de la 1848 si Unirea Ardealul cu Romania" /The Revolution of 1848 and the Union of Transylvania With Romania/, Cluj, 1926, p 38.

23. Ibid. Also see: "Desavirsirea Unificarii Statului National Roman" /The Achievement of the Unification of the Romanian National State/, Bucharest, 1968; St. Pascu, "Marea Adunare Nationala de la Alba Iulia, Incununarea Ideii, a Tendintelor si a Luptelor de Unitate a Poporului Roman" /The Grand National Assembly at Alba Iulia, the Consummation of the Idea, of the Trends and of the Struggles for Unity of the Romanian People/, Cluj, 1968; and "Unirea Transilvaniei cu Romania. 1 Decembrie 1918" /The Union of Transylvania With Romania. 1 December 1918/ (under the editorship of Ion Popescu-Puturi and Augustin Deac), 2d Ed, Bucharest, 1972.

24. Roman Ciorogariu, "Zile Traite" /Days Lived/, Oradea, 1926, p 305.

25. See: Titu Onisor, "Alba Iulia in the Light of Legal Technique," REVISTA DE DREPT PUBLIC, 1935, p 281. It was judged in the specialized literature that a spontaneous plebiscitary manifestation occurred through the enthusiastic reception of the Romanian troops by the Romanian population and other nationalities (see, in this regard: E. Hasas, "La Revision du Traite de Trianon et les Dificultes Suscitees par la Hongrie, en ce qui Concerne son Application," Paris, 1928, p 73. Proportionately speaking, evidently, the manifestation to which Haras refers expressed the adhesion of the masses of Romanians to the liberating mission of the Romanian army.

26. N. Dascovici, "Principiul Nationalitatilor si Societatea Natiunilor" /The Principle of Nationalities and the League of Nations/, Bucharest, 1922, p 89.

27. Ion Rusu-Abrudeanu, "Romania si Razboiul Mondial" /Romania and the World War/, Bucharest, 1921, pp 245-246.

28. George Sofronie, "Principiul Nationalitatilor in Tratatele de Pace din 1919-1920. Frontierele Romaniei Sint Intangibile pe Baza Principiului Nationalitatilor. Netemeinicia Actiunii Revizioniste Maghiare" /The Principle of Nationalities in the Peace Treaties in 1919-1920. The Borders of Romania are Inviolable on the Basis of the Principle of Nationalities. The Groundlessness of the Hungarian Revisionist Action/, "Universul" Publishing House, Bucharest, 1936, p 44.

29. Ibidem, pp 44-45.

30. "Transilvania, Banatul, Crisana, Maramuresul, 1918-1928" /Transylvania, Banat, Crisana, Maramures, 1918-1928/, Vol III, Cultura Nationala, Bucharest, 1929, p 1462.

31. Ibidem, p 1461.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibidem, p 1462.

34. Charles Seymour, "La Fin d'un Empire. Les Debris de l'Austriche-Hongrie," in "Ce qui se Passa Reeliement a Paris en 1918-1919. Historie de la Conference de Paix. Par les Delegues Americains," publiee par le Colonel House et Charles Seymour, Payot, Paris, 1925, p 81.

35. Mircea Musat, "The Accomplishments of the Popular Masses in Romania in 1918 and Their Confirmation on an International Level," ANALE DE ISTORIE, Year XXII, No 2, 1976, pp 62-63.

36. "Arhiva CC al PCR" /The Archives of the RCP Central Committee/, Sec 103, File No 17 (The letter sent by Ion I. C. Bratianu, from Paris, on 9 February 1919, to Misu Pherekide, interim chairman of the Council of Ministers).

37. N. Iorga, "Memoorii--Insemnari Zilnice (Mai 1917-Martie 1920)" /Memoirs--Daily Notes (May 1917-March 1920)/, Vol II, "Nationala" Publishing House, Bucharest, 1935, p 272.

38. Eliza Campus, "Mica Intelegere" /The Little Entente/, Stiintifica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1968, pp 40-44; "Reprezentantele Diplomatice ale Romaniei" /The Diplomatic Representations of Romania/, Vol II, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1971, pp 190-192.

39. V. V. Tilea, referring to this plan, wrote: "It is easy to foresee what a dominant role the Hungarian policy would have played in central Europe and the Balkans when their industry would have been financed by English capital, possessing at the same time the raw materials from nearby and being the center of this industry so favorably located on the Danube" (V. V. Tilea, "Actiunea Diplomatica a Romaniei, Noiembrie 1918-Martie 1920" /The Diplomatic Action of Romania, November 1918-March 1920/, Sibiu, 1925, p 52).

40. "It is easy to understand," V. V. Tilea wrote, "what consequences the fulfillment of this truly monstrous plan would have had for us and the other succession states" (ibidem, p 53).

41. H. W. Temperley, "A History of the Peace Conference," Vol IV, London, 1924, p 230. Also see: Eliza Campus, "Recognition on an International Level of the Achievement of the State Unity of Romania," STUDII. REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Vol 21, No 6, 1968, p 1174; and Boris Ranghet, "Relatiile Romano-Americane in Perioda Primului Razboi Mondial (1916-1920)" /Romanian-American Relations During World War I (1916-1920)/, Dacia Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 1975, p 188.

42. Regarding the difficulties encountered by the small states in defending their rights, see: "Documents Diplomatiques Relatifs aux Convention d'Alliance," Pt 2, Politika Publishing House, Prague, 1923, p 15 ff.

43. Roland E. L. Vaugham Williams, "The Hungarian Question in the British Parliament. Speeches, Questions and Answers in the House of Lords and the House of Commons From 1919 to 1920." With an introduction by Roland E. L. Vaugham Williams, KC. London, Grant Richard, 1933, p 235. "Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Official Report," Vol 125, No 3, pp 267-268 (The speech of Sir Donald Maclen in the session of the House of Commons on 12 February 1920).

44. See: the DAILY TELEGRAPH, 9 March 1920, and the TIMES, 10 March 1920.

45. "Les Negociation de la Paix Hongroise (Compte Rendu sur les Travaux de la Delegation de Paix de Hongrie)," Vol I, Budapest, 1920, pp 31-32.

46. George Sofronie, "Principiul Nationalitatilor in Tratatele de Pace din 1919-1920," pp 101-104.

47. "Tratat de Pace Intre Puterile Aliate si Asociate si Ungaria. Protocol si Declaratiuni din 4 Iunie 1920, Trianon" /Peace Treaty Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Hungary. Protocol and Declarations of 4 June 1920, Trianon/, State Printing Offices, Bucharest, 1920.

48. Nicolae Iorga, "Histoire des Roumains et de la Roumanite Orientale," Vol X, "Les Realisateurs de l'Unite Nationale," Bucharest, 1945, p 509.

49. See: MONITORUL OFICIAL, No 136, 21 September 1920.

50. Roland E. L. Vaugham Williams, op. cit., p 348.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibidem, p 419.

53. LE MATIN, 14 November 1920, the article "La Paix de Trianon n'Apporte pas la Paix Dans l'Europe Centrale."

54. Raymond Poincare, "Histoire Politique," "Chroniques de Quinzaine," Vol III (15 March-1 September 1921), Paris, Plon, 1921, p 223.

55. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Expunere cu Privire la Activitatea Politico-Ideologica si Cultural-Educativa de Formare a Omului Nou, Constructor Constient si Devotat al Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate si al Comunismului in Romania" /A Speech on the Political-Ideological and Cultural-Educational Activity for Forming the New Man, a Conscious and Devoted Builder of the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and of Communism in Romania/, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1976, p 18.

12105
CSO: 2700

DISSIDENT WRITER DISCUSSES HARASSMENT METHODS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 20 Oct 76 p 3

[Article by Dr Guenter Zehm, cultural affairs editor: "We Must No Longer Put Up With Anything"]

> [Text] This is the story of Siegmar Faust, the young writer from Dresden: He wanted to write "what I see, what I know, what is true." The "GDR" State Security Service made him pay for it in the penitentiary.

We had made a date to take an extended walk in the Berlin Zoo. In the nocturnal animal house, I showed him the delightful fennecs, tiny desert foxes from Tunisia, with eyes like buttons and overdimensional bag-like ears. "Ah, you know," he said, "I like cats better than dogs, cats cannot be trained to guard human beings."

For scarcely a month now, Siegmar Faust has been in West Berlin, for scarcely half a year he has been out of the Cottbus penitentiary. The new environment still seems completely unreal to him, he measures it by the experiences which he gathered over there, and those are exclusively--prison experiences. This young 31-year-old writer from Dresden has spent most of the last years behind bars, in the cellar of the State Security Service (Stasi) on Beethovenstrasse in Leipzig, in the cold bunkers of various "GDR"-prisons, in the "psychiatric unit" of Waldheim, where--following the Soviet example--he had been shipped "for observation." His face is marked by the traces of the suffering which now lies behind him.

Siegmar Faust is a "case" which triggered excitement and indignation inside and outside the "GDR." On his behalf, Robert Havemann addressed a bitter letter to Honecker, Wolf Biermann celebrated him in song on the guitar, the Frankfurt Society for Human Rights and Bonn's permanent representative in East Berlin, Guenter Gaus, have interceded on his behalf. Now he is in the West, and the thought which dominates him above all others and which he immediately brings up in his conversation with me is this: What will happen to those, who have not had the good fortune of becoming a "case"? What will

happen to Wolfgang Defort, with Peter Polenz or Volker Boericke? With all the others who, like him, Faust, completely innocently sit in the bunker of Cottbus and for whom no one cares two hoots?

I have some trouble in steering the conversation back to the "case," viz., the case of Siegmar Faust. I am wondering how it all began, how he got into difficulties with the party for the first time, although he was of pure-blooded proletarian origin and a hope of the Bezirk Association of Dresden Writers.

Well, it began with the Leipzig Literature Institute "Johannes R. Becher." This is where the bezirk associations send their young talents, and this is where a goodmany "GDR"-prison careers had their beginning. Under the superintendence of Director Max Walter Schulz (a man who in the West, by way of example, is praised as liberal in the illustrated magazine STERN), a team of Marxist university lecturers and literature functionaries are busily engaged in turning the rough diamonds into polished jewels, i.e., "dehorning" the talents. Whoever entertains any hope of becoming a poet (licensed by the state) bends early. However, disaster threatens those who, like Siegmar Faust, attract attention through "formalistically overloaded" poems or time and again want to borrow [Guenter] Grass or Albert Camus from the library.

They made short work of Faust. He was "sent into production [work] to prove himself." In and around Leipzig, there are many machine construction plants in which an intellectual nut can be made to feel the power of the working class directly. But what do you know, Faust, the son of a worker, showed little evidence of being impressed by it. He continued to write impudent poetry. He has read the communist lyric poet Paul Eluard and, like him, he would like to write "what I see, what I know, what is true." And he even read to the workers what he had written. That could not be tolerated. The party struck out hard and removed the "unreliable element" from its ranks.

Shortly afterwards, the cadre leaders of the Leipzig enterprises entered a large question mark in their files next to the name Faust. The young literature student no longer found work for which he was qualified, he hired himself out as an elevator operator, street sweeper, and newspaper carrier. Finally, he found a job which he describes today as the most beautiful job anyone could possibly find in the "GDR": he became night porter at the German Library in Leipzig.

"Just think, at midnight the whole library virtually belonged to me alone," he said; and when he recalls this, his eyes shine with satisfaction even today. The German Library collects one copy each of all publications appearing in the German-speaking areas. That means it has become a gigantic poison cabinet in the course of the years; everything one is not allowed to read over there is stacked in that library, and the midnight porter may read it! More precisely, he is, of course, not allowed to read it, but, on the other hand, no one prevents him from reading during the night. In this way, Faust got acquainted at that time with Ortega y Gasset, Sartre, Pasternak, and Solzhenitsyn. And Solzhenitsyn, it turns out, proved fatal for him.

For Siegmar Faust did not find it in his heart to keep his treasures to himself. He passed samples of them to his friends, and they in turn passed them to their friends. Among them was a theology student, and he turned the night porter in to the Stasi for "illegal circulation of Solzhenitsyn's novel 'Cancer Ward." Faust was arrested for the first time. Then followed 11 months of solitary confinement in the "Beethoven loft," exhausting months in a cell with a walking space measuring 1 by 2 meters, with no contact to the outside world other than to the State Security Service interrogator. However, no trial resulted. Faust was set free again.

He was prohibited from living in the city of Leipzig. His identity card was confiscated; instead he received a so-called "PM-12," which must be renewed every 2 weeks by the local police. As elevator operator in Dresden he earned a few hundred marks with which he had to support a family of five. At night he worked on a novel. His marriage went to pieces over this.

One day the Stasi announced itself again. They complimented him on his unquestionable talent and then came up with a "request": Would he not be willing to work as an informer for the State Security Service? After all, "He is one of us," and he knows so many writers in Dresden and Leipzig. A little signature--and he is rid of his worries, is able to develop his talent without interference.

Faust begged for additional time, consulted with his friend, Volker Braun, the prominent Dresden writer. The latter advised him urgently: "Hands off!" And Faust turned down the offer. He was now finally sick and tired of the eternal fawning around him. He did not want to put up with anything any more. He applied for release from his "GDR" citizenship, for emigration to, and resettlement in, West Germany. He saw to it that his fate became known in the East as well as the West. He "molested" the authorities with all sorts of petititons--and was again arrested. And this time he did receive a sentence: Four years in the penitentiary for instigating a boycott.

But the battle went on. "Once you have overcome fear," says Siegmar Faust, "they can do you harm only on the outside." He would not be silenced even in prison. He began a hunger strike. The prison authorities reacted with solitary confinement, with incarceration, with refusal of mail and visitation privileges, with commitment, from time to time, to the "psychiatric unit" of Waldheim. Soon, however, they had to move him to a regular medical center, for physically Faust was only a shadow of himself. In the meantime, 2 years had passed, and 2 years of Waldheim or else Cottbus under sharpened conditions would ruin even a stronger physique than that of Faust.

In March 1976 the dissident Robert Havemann wrote a letter to his "dear comrade and Brandenburg prison brother" Erich Honecker--during the Third Reich Honecker and Havemann spent time in prison together in Brandenburg--in which he called upon the first secretary of the SED in concise language to release Siegmar Faust from prison. He intimated that it was shameful how

the "GDR" was treating the young socialist, worse than what was happening in Chile. A short time later, Faust was indeed released from prison. And, oh wonder, he was even allowed to move to Gruenheide near Berlin to live with his mentor Havemann, he received a regular identity card and, a few months later, permission to depart for West Berlin.

"I don't know," says Siegmar Faust today, "whether it was specifically the intervention by Havemann which resulted in my freedom. But I am not an individual case. I know that Havemann and Wolf Biermann use their influence tirelessly on behalf of those who are innocently persecuted in the GDR. This should be taken into consideration by those who sometimes criticize them because of their philosophy."

Has he, Faust, then indeed remained that "socialist in spite of everything" pictured by Havemann in his letter? The writer hesitated with the answer. "For the time being, I have it up to my throat to be stamped as something or other," he asserts. "I must now observe with complete detachment, listen, and learn. Everything else will come later."

In fact, at the moment Faust stands, so to speak, at the nadir of his existence. Most of his manuscripts were taken from him by the Stasi. His family is destroyed. His education is fragmentary. The wide world, he knows only from books. Much in the West strikes him as incomprehensivle or utterly ridiculous, for example the Marxist-Leninist courses of instruction at the "Free University" in Berlin, the dogmatic hairsplitting exercises--completely alienated from life--of the Left-Radical grouplets. I'll take Guenter Grass, he says. "He talks almost like you," he says innocently, "only not so aggressively."

One thing he cannot imagine: that he could even become indifferent to what is happening in the "GDR," that he could ever forget his comrades over there. He complains bitterly about some West German book publishers (for example, Hanser), which, out of fear, refused to accept manuscripts secretly sent to them because they did not wish to endanger their official relations with GDR publishers. "Believe me," he asserts, "the difference between Russian samizdat and the underground in the GDR is not at all that great. Over there, too, there are already a great number of completely uncompromising, acutely critical young writers who reject Reiner Kunze as being too lame and who would rather accept a life-long martyrdom than duck or bend...."

We have in the meantime arrived at the cormorants, which are drying their clipped feathers in the fall sun. "A good symbol," says Siegmar Faust. They have had their wings clipped, but the pinions keep growing back."

8970
CSO: 2300

PCI WANTS POLAND TO 'SPEAK FRANKLY' ABOUT UNREST

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 21 Nov 76 p 19 LD

[Silvio Trevisani Warsaw dispatch: "Massive USSR Aid to Poland"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 20 Nov--One thing is certain: Poland will have to gather all its strength to overcome this moment of crisis and reestablish at a higher level the relationship of trust which the events of 25 June somewhat damaged. There are many differing opinions and evaluations of those days and in particular of the motives which led the workers to say no to the decree. In recent months the newspapers have stressed the value of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] decision to withdraw the decree (approved by Parliament) and that this shows that the PZPR realized specifically the principle that nothing can be done against the people, without the people.

There is no lack of criticisms, however, with regard to official propaganda; and in particular because it is never explained exactly how that point was reached and why now, albeit in tones considered more subtle, the objective is still rosy versions of the truth. On the other hand, the criticisms add, why are strikers sacked: The Ursus workers' letter states this clearly; the trials of "hooligans" continue and the sacking or re-employment of workers on a lower salary is demoralizing people, ruining their trust. Why, it is also asked, can the solidarity campaign (composed of 18 intellectuals of heterogeneous intellectual origins) collect so much money (there is talk of 0.5 million zlotys) for the families of those sacked and enjoy a certain influence among young people, intellectuals, and the population? The whole of Poland, the criticisms conclude, is aware of the existence of this committee, and yet it has not even gained a mention in the newspapers. The committee has called for recognition as an association, but this has been refused: Would it not be better to speak frankly and to acknowledge that a mistake was made over the sackings? The debate is going on among the people but for the moment no official stance has been adopted. Meanwhile, there is news of a communique from the solidarity committee, which has reached the Western press agencies and which states that the Polish Parliament has been presented with a request to set up a committee of enquiry into the events of 25 June, on the sackings, and the police violence. Public opinion, the communique also states, fears the return of past methods, and that, therefore, all violations must be publicly condemned and those responsible punished.

CSO: 3104

'L'UNITA' NOTES POLISH CHURCH OPINION ON 'SOCIAL PEACE'

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 21 Nov 76 p 19 LD

[Unattributed report: "Bishops Express Solidarity With Convicted Polish Workers"]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov--The solution of the Polish economic difficulties is only possible if civil freedoms are extended and guaranteed. This is stated in a communique from the Polish Episcopate which reports on proceedings at the Bishops' plenary conference in Warsaw on 17-18 November.

The communique recalls the work done by the Polish Catholic hierarchy since the summer for the release of and the granting of amnesty to the workers arrested and convicted following the 25 June agitations against the hike in food prices.

The Polish bishops, after asserting that a letter containing these demands, which was sent to the government authorities, "never received a reply," state that they consider it essential to approach the authorities once again "for them to take more suitable steps to reestablish social peace."

The Episcopate's communique was released almost at the same time as a press conference was held by the government spokesman Minister Janiurek, who launched a harsh attack on the Western press for its articles on the Polish crisis since 25 June. The government spokesman polemicized against accusations which he defined as "defamatory," adding that "the affair is now closed."

CSO: 3104

POLAND

REFORM OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FACES DIFFICULTIES

Interview with Institute Director

Warsaw NOWA SZKOLA in Polish Jul/Aug 1976 pp 36-38

[Interview with Dr Professor Tadeusz Nowacki, director of the Institute for Vocational Training, by Irena Olecka: "Vocational Training Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] You are a professor trained as a psychologist and the author of the first post-war manual of psychology (Zarys psychologii [Outline of psychology]), from which many throngs of students have studied (and I was once one of them). At the beginning of 1976 the eighth, updated edition of the manual appeared, as well as the fourth edition of "Elementow psychologii [Elements of psychology]." You are also the author of several versions of "Teczki biograficzna ucznia [Biographical portfolio of learning]."

Your answer to the following question will certainly interest our readers. Which psychological problems interest you most, and which post-war contribution of Polish psychology do you think merits special attention?

[Answer] There are too many interesting problems for one to be able to absorb attention for a lengthy period of time as most interesting. In general I think that the main area of my interest in psychology is personality functioning. But this is not really a problem but rather a whole enormous group of problems illuminated by philosophy, psychology, sociology, and obviously pedadgogy. Within this enormous group of problems I am always drawn by the effect of work on personality development. But again this is a field unusually rich and diversified, and therefore more accessible to literary penetration than to psychological research. This is because a person is influenced differently by work in a coal mine than by work as a gardener or as a worker on a shoe factory belt line system. The reason is that in each of these cases it is not only the work in the narrow meaning of vocational activity which affects the worker, but the entire situation in which the work is being done.

What appears to me particularly worthy of attention in the achievements of contemporary post-war Polish psychology is the theory of activity formulated

by Prof Tomaszeweki, which corresponds very closely to the thesis advanced by me on knowledge as a central motion for didactics, particularly in the formulation of tasks for individual subjects of teaching.

I think that psychology in Poland has made great accomplishments in many other fields. Work on the subjects of personality, attitudes and the field of clinical psychology is interesting.

Unfortunately too little study has been devoted to the psychology of work. As a result of this, for example, in vocational study we are not able to enrich vocational characteristics by information from the area of psychology, which would explain the psychic aspects of the vocational situation.

You mentioned my manuals. Actually both manuals have a rather large circulation, and both also cost me a great deal of work because each edition is actually preceded by a new and painstaking revision of the text. "Zarys psychologii" is a popular manual with the major goal of clarity and precise description. I devised several notional situations, such as the relationship between knowledge, habit and proficiency, and introduced several new ideas, such as directed imagination, which quite simply explained what pragmatic thought is.

"Elementow psychologii" has become a manual for undergraduate students, and as such is found interesting, undoubtedly helped by the effect of the pretty cover which Ossolineum gave the book.

On the other hand "Teczka biograficzna ucznia" is a manual of exercises intended for teaching candidates. Perhaps someday a method of mass student diagnostics will develop from the proposals contained there.

[Question] You have been concerned for many years with the problems of so called polytechnical training. Your publication entitled "Tresc i proces ksztalcenia politechnicznego [Content and process of polytechnical training] has appeared in the Teacher's Library. It seems to me that today polytechnical training is being discussed less than in previous years. Can this mean that it is already an outdated phrase and that the problem of making schools polytechnical is obsolete?

[Answer] Your question hits one of the matters requiring development. Obviously it is necessary to make a distinction between name and fact. The name "polytechnical training" aroused opposition and a great deal of misunderstanding in the beginning. I remember that after my book "Politechnizacja—zywy problem pedagogiki socjalistycznej [Polytechnicalization, a lively problem of socialist pedagogy]" was published, a certain well-known professor with an unusually lively intellect and dynamic activity asked me if I really intended "to automate" education. I answered literally, "I think that it is up to you to read my booklet."

We have changed the name to "technical education," but the material has been kept. There is also quite a bit of backwardness in it. For a long time the

content of mathematical programs and natural subjects has been maintained in socialist countries in the sense of requirements for polytechnical training. Here the matter of illustrating scholarly rights through collision with production is not at all most important. In later years of training the content will be adapted to distinct directions of training, for example, biology for farmers, physics for architects, and so forth.

The capitalist countries are taking advantage of the tremendous experience of the socialist countries. Thus, for example, under the undoubted influence of the theory of polytechnical training in Soviet and East German solutions, the "science of work" (Arbeitslehre) has appeared in West German schools, and the experience of the socialist countries in this area is scrupulously studied and thoroughly known there.

However we have designated the problem, it is necessary to prepare students for a changing reality, which is changing violently under the effect of the stormy acceleration of progress in science and technology. There is a need to separate the school from the verbal and intellectual tradition and to fill it with the content and tasks of modern times, and this is exactly where polytechnical training can help.

In the modern school room should be found for the practical activity of students and for the most important of all exercises, productive practice. This must be prepared for through dexterity, and exercising the hands in executing simple tasks. The aim must be to acquaint youth with simple machines and control of basic productive operations.

[Question] We are currently facing school reform. A basic 10-year school system will begin to function in our country in a few years. You hold the position of director of the Institute for Vocational Training [IKZ], which has the leading role in establishing the vocational school system in the new reformed school. How do you see the role of vocational training in the 10-year school? What demands would you like to make in regard to the structure of this school?

[Answer] This question is connected with the previous one. Theoreticians of vocational training know, and this has been confirmed by research, that after 15 years of age young people lose interest in practical work. Therefore we are afraid that if the 10-year school retains the nature of the 8-year school, we would not find candidates for many practical lines.

In this connection I think a complete program of education by work should be devised, one which would permit youth in the 10-year school to make direct contact with practical and useful activity, and with the world of production, tools and machinery. I have no doubt that the Institute for School Programs has this in mind in working out documentation of the 10-year school.

In addition we make the demand that evaluations of students in school not be worked out exclusively from the point of view of mastery of verbal and

theoretical skills, but also consider the practical and manual skills and abilities of the student, organizational skills and others. Perhaps then the general, but erroneous idea that the talented should be directed toward studies and the dull toward vocational schools will disappear. As a matter of fact those who are talented in the area of practical activity should be directed toward vocational schools.

Reform of the vocational school system is waiting for us. How extensive this work will be can be easily realized if we consider that the last reform of the vocational school system was carried out by the Central Training Agency, which at that time had about 800 workers, and twice as much in the field directing local vocational training. A total of 1600. At present the department in the Ministry has 22 workers and the Institute 120. The disproportion of resources in relation to tasks fills me with misgivings.

[Question] We, practitioners, psychologists and pedagogues, have quite often met the situation where a certain group of children and young people in the 8-class school cannot master, even today, the program of this school. The Ministry of Education proposes the formation of so called vocational sequences for these children. However, the following problem presents itself: young people who are already too old, with a certain lack of social conformity and sometimes with a shortage of motivation for study, are often found in these sequences or classes. This presents the school with exceedingly difficult didactic and educational problems. What solution would you propose for these problems?

[Answer] This is one of the most difficult problems. If there is a lack of positive motivation for studies, and if we have not been able to arouse this positive motivation during many years of study, the situation seems to be almost hopeless. It is also true that the vocational schools, and particularly these "vocationalized sequences" get exactly this kind of young people.

I think that a feeling of justice commands all children to be assured of equal possibilities for learning. At present some of the young people at 15 years old, for example, in the vocational schools at factories begin to work 3 days per week, and get vocational work at the age of 17. Some of their contemporaries study until they are 24 years old, and those who are accepted for doctoral studies even until they are 28. This means that some are completely supported by society up to 28 years of age, while others only until they are 15. I think that individual people develop and mature equally in different phases of personality. In general I do not like a system of long preparation for life without any elements of work, filled only with study.

I am convinced that the time will end when life is divided into two parts: one a period of study passing without work, and the other devoted only to work. In conformity with the requirements of statutory education, the life of everyone should be filled by study and work in the first phase, and by

work and study in the second. Then young people will be real partners in building a socialist society for adults, and adults will be partners for young people. Then perhaps if it does not completely disappear, the very painful phenomenon which you mentioned rightly will at least become weaker.

[Question] Another difficult question with which the school is struggling is so called vocational preorientation, the preparation of young people for a choice of vocation. You write about the mistakes committed in this field by young people and parents in your book "Wybieramy zawod [Let us choose a vocation ." Quite a few years have passed since this book was published, the problem of parents dominating in the choice of vocation and school, and the lack of conformity of a choice with the intellectual and manual capabilities of young people is still a current problem. Just how can this situation be corrected?

[Answer] This question primarily indicates the very essential need in our pedagogy, and strictly speaking in work pedagogy, which we are practicing in IKZ. This is a lack of research in vocational studies. Our knowledge of vocations is in bits and pieces. Actually we once issued a complete set of characteristics of school vocations, but there still exist large fields, almost uninvestigated, for the analysis of existing vocations and changes occurring in vocational tasks and vocational preparation under the effect of the scientific and technological revolution.

Abroad I have seen resourceful toys with the aid of which students follow a programmed path and determine for themselves the vocations which would satisfy them from the point of view of interest and capabilities. Another programmed path directs them to define the routes leading to vocational status and entry, and the requirements which they must fulfill.

We are still far from such books and toys which fulfill important orientational functions. In this area our literature has a nature which is very traditional, not to say dull at times. This testifies to the lack of research, because interesting texts and entertaining teaching can be developed only on the basis of extensive and rich knowledge about vocations.

This is not a matter of every child becoming a vocational expert, but of his being able to reveal his real capabilities and to determine his probable chances for success in various vocational fields.

[Question] We would also like to ask you on what problems you are currently working and what your scholarly and educational plans are for the coming years?

[Answer] This year Ossolineum is bringing out "Teoria opracowan metodycznych [Theory of methodological studies]." The purpose of which is to facilitate teachers' work in this area. "Dydaktyka doskonalenia zawodowego [Didactics of vocational improvement]" is also to appear this year with those already rather well-known solutions of the four functions of vocational improvement and a draft of a step system for vocational improvement.

The idea of a step system has aroused the interest of the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] and of some ministries. There is already thought and testing to put this idea into practice.

For some years I have been working on a book "Wychowanie mlodego robotnika [The education of the young worker]." The book is still in the initial stage, because I do not have much time for work outside of the IKZ, which completely absorbs me. I have already mentioned some fractions of these reflections.

In addition after a 3-year interval we are resuming the health library of Vocational Training, which has served the vocational school and the vocational training teacher well.

We are also beginning a new educational series, the Library of Labor Pedagogy, still not approved by the Central Educational Administration. All of this activity has been possible because of the Ministry of education and training.

Role in New Educational System

Warsaw NOWA SZKOLA in Polish Jul/Aug 1976 pp 5-10

[Interview with Dr Prof Tadeusz Nowacki, director of the Institute for Vocational Training, Doc Dr Stanislaw Kaczor, vice director of the Institute for Vocational Training on scientific research matters, Ludwik Janicki, Dr Eng, vice director of the Institute for Vocational Training for scientific research matters, Jerzy Kurjaniuk, Dr Eng, scientific secretary of the Institute for Vocational Training, and Dr Feliks Polaszek, pedagogical worker in the Institute for Vocational Training by Doc Dr Stanislaw Frycie, editor in chief of NOWA SZKOLA and director of the Institute for School Programs and Master Ryszard Rembiszewski, secretary of the editorial staff of NOWA SZKOLA: "The Place of Vocational Training in the New Educational System"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The discussion on the draft of a program for the 10-year secondary schools is continuing. So far we have presented the program concepts referring to individual subjects in the new reformed general education school. Now we are publishing an editorial conversation on the subject of the work of the Institute for Vocational Training on some problems concerning vocational training and its place in the new educational system.

Dr Frycie: The editorial staff of NOWA SZKOLA would like to dedicate part of this number to the working problems of the Institute for Vocational Training. Of particular interest to us are the problems of vocational training and its place in the new system of education. We would be very grateful if you, Prof Nowacki, would be kind enough to inform our readers about the work of the Institute on these important problems.

Dr Nowacki: The work of the Institute can be divided into permanent work, independent of reforms, and work associated with reforms.

Permanent work has to include service to the existing school system, since this is to last until 1986, and requires permanent regulations in regard to program provisions, manuals and all scientific and technological services. In this connection we continue to complement programs for more than 2,500 subjects and satisfy the needs of this school system in the textbook area. This is a large part of our continuing work.

At the same time the Institute, as a new post, has had to undertake research in order to begin constructing a theory of vocational training, labor pedagogy. These matters are in process and development. Here we are greatly aided by the critical problem which animates the environment and is not a random matter, namely that our Institute was the first to become involved with this critical problem since we undoubtedly felt the lack in theoretic basis the most.

Perhaps Docent Dr Stanislaw Kaczor, who is directly connected with research in the framework of this critical problem, will express himself on this subject.

Dr Kaczor: The IKZ, on the recommendation of the Pedagogical Research Institute as first degree coordinator took on research referring to the essential problems of the vocational school. This was done within the framework of the critical problem entitled: "modernization of the educational system in a developed socialist society." For the first time vocational schooling has become the object of research embracing entire complexes of problems, systematically worked on for 5 years and taken on as team work by the most competent school circles. The basic task of this research is modernization of the vocational school system, with the special aim of achieving the following goals:

Initiation in development of basic research and total examination of the main problems of the vocational school in all its complexities and variabilities,

Scientific preparation of basis for modernizing and reforming the vocational school system,

Experimental verification of the effectiveness of the theoretical assumptions for reforming the vocational school system,

Preparation of model team research enabling future organization of mass research on the functioning of the vocational school,

Emulation in the introduction of the educational system and the creation of premises for its progress and self-improvement, and

Acceleration of the formation of teaching cadres in the field of labor pedagogy, and the development of new means of research involving the vocational school system.

Dr Frycie: What research subjects has the IKZ undertaken in this critical problem?

Dr Kaczor: Research was undertaken in two areas. The first area includes subjects associated with the vocational school system reform, while the other involves the basic problems of vocational education. It is well known that in the area of modernizing vocational education it is necessary to work out organizational and program assumptions for the basic types of schools, the nomenclature of vocations and specialities, and to determine the principles of preparation of vocational characteristics in teaching programs, including organizational and program assumptions for manual training in shops and laboratories. New concepts are also being worked out for vocational subject textbooks.

In determining the theoretical basis for vocational training, we have proposed research on the system of vocational education in the socialist countries and in the highly developed capitalist countries. Worthy of special attention is research referring to technological progress and its effect in changing the nature of work and the role and place of the factory in the vocational training system. Methodological attitudes toward research on vocational knowledge and the vocational suitability of graduates are also being formed.

Research has been undertaken on the system of vocational improvement for workers, as part of the research on the problem of continuing education.

Dr Frycie: With what teaching centers has the Institute established contact for the purpose of accelerating realization of these matters?

Dr Kaczor: A considerable part of these problems is being solved in the IKZ, but some subjects are prepared outside the Institute, namely in the Warsaw Polytechnical Institute, in the Czestochowa Polytechnical Institute, the University in Silesia and in the University in Poznan. Almost the entire teaching potential in the area of labor pedagogy has joined in solving these problems, either as subject directors and executives or as reviewers. So far cooperation has been obtained from about 30 professors and docents, more than 100 doctors and many teams of teachers.

Solution of this critical problem referring to vocational schooling began this year, and is expected to be concluded in 1980.

Dr Nowacki: From the very beginning of its existence the Institute has joined in the problem of school reforms. Although the formation of a system of educational schooling occurs chronologically after the introduction of the 10-year school, it is this task which should be elaborated into the

form of a finished concept quite a bit earlier. It should be said that certain work on some problems has been not only begun, but already been finished. Here we might mention preparations for a considerable reduction in the number of school vocations. The current system of school vocations embraces about 580 directions of training, while the system prepared by us will embrace about 200 directions of training.

Dr Frycie: I understand that work on reducing the number of vocations and the great achievements which the Institute has in this field (I know that the nomenclature of vocations has already been worked out by the Institute) is associated with the transition from narrow specialization to training in widely-profiled specialization. How does the Institute see possibilities for preorientation of the current system of vocational training, in regard to training in widely-profiled vocations. After all we do know that we are being prepared for reforms by improvement in the current system of education and the functioning of the currently existing schools.

Dr Nowacki: The numerically reduced system of school vocations is forcing a transition from narrowly specialized vocations to widely-profiled vocations, but this does not mean that only the widely-profiled vocations themselves will be found in the future system. Here we must look at economic necessities, and in some fields these may require widely-profiled specialists. Preparation of the future system already requires certain changes in the current system, and this is being done by introducing some widely-profiled vocations into selected schools.

Dr Janicki: In May 1974 we began to prepare for the introduction of 14 widely-profiled vocations in 53 schools throughout the entire country. The vocations selected correspond to 89 current narrowly-profiled vocations, and the problem involves about 50 percent of the vocationally trained youth in our country. Here I am thinking of a group of engineers, since of these 14 vocations 13 are on the secondary school level and one vocation on the elementary vocational school level, involving about 10 percent of the vocationally trained youth on the elementary level. In achieving these widely-profiled vocations we decided to depart from the current configuration of vocational subjects accepted by all educational institutions. We have adopted a linear structure, thanks to which it has been possible to integrate content and at the same time to reduce the number of subjects taught in given vocational specialties. So called integrated subjects were developed, and it is precisely this integration which was the most difficult problem on the technical institution level. On the other hand it plays a lesser role on the level of the elementary vocational school. A model of the didactic process was worked out for programs prepared in this way, and they will begin to be introduced on 1 September 1975.

One new thing is the full involvement of teachers in working out the didactic system model. In all work the teachers came forth and functioned as co-authors and co-organizers of the entire system. We have given up anonymous programs. The programs are signed by the teachers, consultants

and reviewers. The model of the didactic process was created jointly with teachers and discussed at four successive teaching seminars, in which more than 300 persons took part. These were both teachers from the initiating schools and representatives invited from the world of science and industry.

Dr Frycie: If possible, I would like to return to the beginning of the talk. I would like to present to our readers the effects of the work and consideration of the Institute on the subject of division of vocational training within the compass of the 10-year school. What concept did the Institute work out? We would be grateful for a presentation of the vision of the vocational school which the Institute has already worked out on the foundation of the 10-year school.

Dr Kurjaniuk: We presented the first version of the vocational training model to the teaching council which was held in March of this year. On the one hand discussion indicated the complexities of the problem and on the other the need for performing further research. We made use of the suggestions of the teaching council and at this time we are collecting opinions from scientific and technological associations, the Chief Technical Organization, Polish Economic Society and Central Council of Trade Unions. We are also asking for the opinions of staff and training departments in economic ministries. In this way and with these opinions we are preparing material to work on a second version, which will still not be a final version, but which will bring us closer to our goal. The Institute intends to present its final view of this matter to the Ministry of Education and Training no later than mid-year.

Dr Nowacki: We wish to introduce into Poland a graded system of vocational training and improvement, which there has not been but which does exist in other countries. In connection with this we must determine which grade of qualification can be developed by year-long, half-year or 2-year school following the 10-year school. At the same time we would like to propose theses for uniting school vocational training and later improvement in a factory, that is, that the graded system of training would begin in the school and would later be conducted in a factory up to the highest level of vocational skill designated by various titles, qualifications, wages and so forth. In this connection, not only must the new schools themselves be built, but also models for further training, since this has to be a complete whole. This is the first task.

The second task involves wide profiles, and in this connection the development of 2-stage vocational training. A wide profile is a greater degree of skill and a wider theoretical base. At the same time we must remember that our graduates are to take their places in definite work environments, where they will have to meet definite norms, which means that we have to reconcile two apparently different matters: a wider and deeper theoretical base, and wider qualifying preparation with narrow specialization and possibilities of performing work. Therefore we divide training into two stages: the first stage embraces wide theoretical and practical preparation

and the second is a specialty stage. In the first stage the school may guarantee practical activity within the framework of its shops, but as soon as the second stage begins the pupil must be located in a factory. In this connection the factory environment for the students must undergo radical change. If they do not adequately organize practice and do not assure specialization for the vocational school students, then they will simply not get well prepared workers.

Dr Frycie: The problem of vocational courses in the 10-year school is very interesting to representatives of all economic ministries. Such course functioning would certainly be very useful if, at the same time, it guaranteed students suitable contacts with factories and created a corresponding system of workshops and laboratories. It seems to me that such courses would not be formed in all 10-year schools, but according to the needs of the national economy in environments which possess suitable staff and reserve conditions. Here another problem comes to light, that of the change in the relation of factories to the problem of apprenticeship, which very often is not work of regular value.

Dr Nowacki: In the entire purview of the future vocational school system, vocationalized courses will not be the most important part. Therefore it seems to me that the problems which crop up there can somehow be solved. We see a possibility of organizing practice for 10-year school students, who are in vocational courses, in workshops and in vocational school experimental facilities. In this way we should partly solve the matter of practice, but would not solve all matters of the responsibility of economic life for the organization of further specialized practice.

Dr Frycie: Vocationalized courses would create an opportunity for the development and intellectual opportunities of young people particularly gifted in definite fields, not necessarily those in which another group of young people, going through the 10-year school in a general education course, will specialize. Do I understand correctly?

Dr Nowacki: Very correctly. But the situation is quite different. It is not only the manually or practically talented students who are discarded to vocationalized classes, but also students who are simply weak, and not only weak from the point of view of program achievement. I think that sooner or later the school administration in the Ministry will have to settle this matter. Selection should take place according to the kind of talent, and not according to a declaration of ability or its lack in general education. There are simply other kinds of talents.

Dr Frycie: There are frequent complaints from the economic ministries that education does not really prepare for national economic needs the cadres on which the economy relies. In your opinion are these complaints justified? Often there is a lack in agreement between economic needs and what is done in the school system.

Dr Nowacki: I think it is necessary to distinguish between quantitative and qualitative lack of conformity. Quantitative lack of conformity is a result of inaccuracies in our planning. The economic ministries and the planning commission should do the planning. We take the need and educate according to it. Then it happens that, for example, 300 mechanics trained by us do not have any work and are employed some place else. There are even more formidable situations. It is well known that enterprises are powerful financial and social organizations. The personnel manager of an enterprise does not seek a real specialist for a given position, but engages any qualified worker who is on the market, even outbidding neighboring factories. As a result of this a lathe hand takes the position of a millwright, an electrician gets the lathe hand's position, and a good salary with it. The activity of staff cells would intensify the quantitative shortcomings.

It is necessary to distinguish quantitative shortcomings from qualitative shortcomings, when a graduate does poor work in the position intended for his specialty. We have no direct indications of this. There are certain gaps in the preparation of our graduates, but in general they receive praise. Our research demonstrates that the vocational school is suited to the needs of the economy with one small "but," namely: the school shops rarely have such modern techniques and technology as do large enterprises, because there has to be a certain adaptation time. A period of specialization in factories would prevent this.

We are in contact with various economic circles and ministries, and we would like to get into some factories, especially those with leading technology, giant factories, but we find in our contacts that ministries are usually not interested enough in this matter. Therefore I think that we shall look for some ways of activating and animating ministries in work both on the nomenclature of school vocations and on school models and directions. Factories should enter into real and close cooperation with the schools, which obviously does not mean that there are no such plans. We have many factory schools which are well fixed in factories, and in their needs and which function within the framework of their activities. There may be difficulties with schools which are outside of factories.

Dr Frycie: Sir, throughout the country there is a continuing discussion in educational circles on the program and organizational assumptions and on the initial versions of the program of the 10-year secondary school. In truth the introduction of the idea of a vocational school system is a rather long-range perspective because, as is well known, we shall have the first 10-year school graduates in 1986-1987, and it must no less be considered that work on the content of vocational education, and therefore on vocational school programs and on its organizational and program assumptions, must be finished well ahead of time in order to have time to arrange work on textbooks, didactic covers and so forth. When does the Institute anticipate that discussion will be organized on the program and organizational assumptions of the vocational school system and on the initial program versions of vocational training in this school system?

Dr Nowacki: Here we are subject to the plans of the Ministry of Education and Training. Minister Jerzy Kuberski anticipates that at the Pedagogical Congress in October, when final confirmation of the 10-year school will take place, the first version of the organizational and program assumptions of the vocational school system will be published. This is already the near future. On the other hand, the initial versions of the training programs for vocational subjects will be published after confirmation of a model. Then we shall proceed to the construction of the first program models for 200 training courses. Obviously we shall begin in some mass directions, so that we can determine on their basis whether it is possible to introduce the assumptions of which we are speaking, so-called gradation, 2-stage essence and wide profiling into the future model of the vocational school system.

Dr Frycie: I understand that this is the perspective for 1978. By that time the Institute will already have worked out the first initial versions for wide profile vocations. Later these programs will be subjected to verification in society-wide discussions.

The introduction of new program concepts requires definite new didactic facilities. I know that precisely to introduce these things the Institute has elaborated theoretical visions of new textbooks which are the basis for work by definite teams of authors. It seems to me that this is a very interesting idea. I am convinced that this is the proper role of a scientific research institution which should work out these theoretical assumptions and textbook concepts so that definite teams of authors, appointed by the School Pedagogical Publishing House, in consultation with the Institute can produce them. I would very much like to ask for information on the part of our readers on the subject of the theoretical vision of the new textbooks for vocational training.

Dr Janicki: In answering this question I would like to stress that the assumption worked out for the widely-profiled training was worked out in IKZ and, embodied with content for individual vocations, has become the basis for working out a wide profile vocation model. For these wide profile vocations, models were then worked out for the didactic process of individual subjects. In the didactic process model we considered all factors which enter into the composition of the model, thus the content configuration, the methods and the didactic means. Vocational textbooks also found their place in this group. Independently of theoretical works, which had been produced in our Institute under the direction of Dr Feliks Polaszek, we have also begun some work in the area of textbook preparation for wide profile vocations. Combining the content of several subjects would require the students to make frequent use of 3, 4 and even more textbooks. Under these conditions we made selections from previous textbooks for these integrated subjects. Naturally this is a substitute form which makes it possible to act in the closest time, but in the very near future we would like to produce textbooks with teachers teaching integrated subjects as the producers. Materials worked up by them, treated as reproductions, would be

would be sent to schools, and would be checked every year or two during normal school teaching. The material selected in this way will make it possible to develop a proper textbook. Obviously we would like to make the material of our theoretical solutions and methodological indications available to teachers approaching the formation of textbooks for integrated subjects. The item "Wskazania methodyczne. Poradnik dla autorow i recenzentow podrecznikow dla szkol zaqodowych [Methodological indications. Handbook for authors and reviewers of textbooks for vocational schools]" (WSiP [expansion unknown], 1975) enjoys a great deal of interest and is currently being sent to all potential authors of vocational textbooks.

Dr Frycie: Does the Institute consider the fact in vocational education there should be at least two variations of textbooks available for the choice of the teacher, since one or the other might be more fit than a unified shape of one textbook for students. In your theoretical and planning work do you see a need for developing such textbooks for teachers? If so, in what respect should these textbook variations remain different, a textbook for the student and a textbook for the teacher?

Dr Polaszek: We want to develop a model of the future textbook for the student, and at the same time develop a corresponding textbook for the teacher. But at this moment we do not have a clearer concept. Following the model of English textbooks, we would like to present some explanations and interpretations of the student textbook in the textbook for the teacher. On the other hand we would not like to become involved in the area of didactic means. We believe that it should treat broadly the same problem of content which should be expanded in comparison with the student handbook and suitably interpreted.

Practice thus far has indicated that one textbook is enough for one teaching subject. Recently the idea of creating, not single-element, but multi-element textbooks has gained ground. However, if the vocation is a narrow specialized one, there are not many students and one textbook should be enough here, and this view is also favored by economic considerations. On the other hand, we have textbooks which are published in 200,000-300,000 copies reprinted every two years, then different didactic solutions should be used in them.

Dr Frycie: We know that young people have different perceptive and intellectual capabilities. It is a well-known fact that different scales of value are compulsory in school. Do you think that the textbook should point out what a student should learn from it in a fairly good manner and what should be learned thoroughly? Should a differentiation be made in the graphic contribution and in the format of the textbook?

Dr Polaszek: This matter was discussed in the last meeting in Zlotow. The majority of participants, because of the differences in pupil capabilities, favored having the main current of textbooks consider the average student, but felt that a certain area of information should also be included in the area of problems and exercises in order to stimulate more ambitious students to work.

Dr Nowacki: I think it should be added here that the problem of differentiation in the mass of information of a textbook in vocational training only refers to certain subjects, and is not as general as in other areas of the school system. For example, if shop practice is involved, differentiation for different areas of content would not be very significant at all. On the other hand, we see a need for every class, every student, in the course of his process of learning to become accustomed to independent use of content sources, with skillful evaluation of content and its use in practice. Therefore we anticipate, for example, that there will not be many students who, in the course of the learning process, would not become familiar in some degree with the program textbook, as a textbook introducing independent mastery of content, and independent verification and use of it. Programmed textbooks and programmed content will have a far broader range in vocational education than in any other educational area.

Dr Frycie: What is your opinion on the question of the need for establishing laboratory schools, closely connected in organization with the Institute, in which the program concepts worked out could be checked and verified?

Dr Nowacki: At this time we have 53 such schools, in which we are introducing 14 widely-profiled vocations. For these 14 vocations in 53 schools we should have at least 100 scientific workers to investigate what goes on there, to collect proper data and to plan what to change, to do things well. In all for this we have only eight workers, and therefore have to limit our concern to only a few selected schools.

Dr Janicki: Of the 53 schools and 14 vocations we have primarily chosen two directions, the so called basic vocational school with a mechanical orientation and the technical construction school, and this is where we hope to carry on some research. A few figures for orientation might show how large this enterprise is. For the first year we had worked out detailed breakdown of teaching material and a complete didactic process for 3,000 hours of teaching. In September we made an investigation to evaluate the degree of preparation of young people for study in the post-elementary school by tests in mathematics, physics, chemistry and with Rybak square tests in all schools, for a total of 3,500 students. We also carried out testing research for the first half-year on the same number of students in order to verify if the teaching results obtained correspond with our assumptions, and to make proper corrections. We would also like to carry out research of this same kind in the month of June. This requires making suitable educational tests for 28 subjects. In October in the IKZ we organized a course for technicians who wanted to take part in making tests, and in February and March the test research had already been completed. At the present time we have opinions about the tests which were made, and I must state that these opinions are positive because, if a teacher has reservations about 2, 3 or 4 questions out of 30 in a nonverified test, we have to consider it a great success. Making these tests, and then analyzing them and drawing proper conclusions is a rather large task. Next year we would like to carry out research in class I and class II at the same time, in class II for the first time and in class I for the second time, after making the necessary program corrections. Thus the double tests would include 7,000 young people.

Dr Frycie: Sir, is work going on in the Institute on the school network of vocational training? It is well known that this is a very important matter for training cadres for the needs of the national economy.

Prof Nowacki: We have many shortcomings here. Our Institute is numerically very small in comparison to the needs. At this time we have about 130 workers. A section for matters of the school network is not set up, which means that the school network problem will be worked on outside the Institute, in connection with which we shall certainly have a great deal of difficulty.

Dr Frycie: The parallel research and work which the Institute is executing is also certainly based on a penetrating examination of the same phenomena in socialist and capitalist countries. How does foreign cooperation between the Institute and similar scientific research posts in socialist and capitalist countries look? To what extent is thorough investigation of the Institute in the matter of the vocational education system and program solutions being used in current work on improving the present system of vocational education and on developing the vision of the future vocational school?

Dr Kurjaniuk: It must be noted that we primarily cooperate closely with socialist country institutions. This cooperation is based for the most part on bilateral agreements which anticipate concrete activity in the area of joint scientific research, exchange of materials, participation in symposia and conferences, and also concerns the exchange of workers, usually of a student nature. Our cooperation with institutions in socialist countries has already permitted some initial reflections. We have ascertained that the problems which only our Institute deals with in Poland is dealt with by more research units in the majority of socialist countries.

Here we have spoken, for example, about the multitude of professions, the number of subjects the programs needed and the textbooks, but let us again turn our attention to the very expensive research cycle which should certainly begin with research on work content and finish with a check on graduates. Beginning in 1976, the Institute for Vocational Training in the USSR has formally obtained partners in the form of industrial department research institutes, which are carrying out research on work content and are even defining vocational characteristics. In this way the economy determines need, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively, and the Institute only carries out pedagogical treatment of this material.

In regard to capitalist countries, our cooperation is only sporadic.

Dr Nowacki: Our cooperation and knowledge of the work of other institutions in other countries provides us, not only with benefits in the form of better orientation in general problems and problems which others are facing, but also liabilities. We participate in the committee of socialist country experts, formed by the commission of ministers responsible for the division of vocational training and, in connection with this and in

cooperation with six countries, we have produced "Miedzynarodowy slownik ksztalcenia zaqodowego [International dictionary of vocational training]." At present we are preparing a monograph on the effect of technological progress on vocational training. Similarly we also have sporadic contact with the capitalist countries, for example, through UNESCO we are cooperating with France in investigating some motivation in participation of workers in various forms of vocational improvements.

Dr Frycie: I am well acquainted with the excellent accomplishments of the Institute which are expressed, for example, in your many publications and in the publications which you support in the sense of scholarly editing. I am also familiar with the initiative of the Institute in regard to scientific symposia and conferences. I know that the All-Polish Seminar on Labor Pedagogy operates in the IKZ. I would like to ask for information on this subject.

Dr Nowacki: The All-Polish Seminar is another branch of the scientific work of the IKZ. The seminar attracts about 100 persons who meet three or four times during the year and also have a 3-week summer meeting. The results of each of these meetings is a book, a report on the lectures and research of workers. This book is really a survey of everything which happens concerning the problems in our field, although the Institute also has another working level of its own. Many persons in this meeting obtain the doctorate. We had and have foreign guests at the seminar from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary. The seminar is already well known in the international field.

In regard to publications, we were already quite well prepared before the opening of the Institute, since the Library of Vocational Training already existed. At this time it lists over 70 items. This is the greatest series in Europe devoted to vocational education. In addition, in collaboration with Ossolineum, we are currently setting up the Library of Labor Pedagogy. During the next few months the book "Teoretyczne podstawy opracowan metodycznych [Theoretical bases of methodological studies]" should appear in book stores. "Dydaktya doskonalenia zawodowego [Didactics of vocational improvement]" will be the second to appear in this series. The entire series is managed by Dr Jerzy Kurjaniuk as secretary of the publications committee. Among others Prof Dr Habilis Jerzy Wolczyk, Prof Dr Ryszard Wroczynski, Prof Dr Habilis Wincenty Okon and Prof Dr Jan Szczepanski are members of the publications committee.

6806
CSO: 2600

LAW ON RECRUITMENT, ASSIGNMENT OF WORKERS PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 98, 11 Nov 76 pp 1-4

[Text] STATEMENT OF PURPOSES

The rapid development of the forces of production necessitates the taking of measures intended to assure the proper organization of recruitment, training, and distribution of the labor force by sectors of activity and territorially.

For the purpose of creating the necessary juridical framework for the recruitment and distribution of the labor force the present law has been adopted.

The law stipulates the tasks assigned to the ministries, the other central organs, the peoples councils, the socialist units subordinate to them, and to the directorates for labor problems and social welfare in regard to the recruitment of personnel as well as other measures related to the organization and development of recruitment activity.

In connection with the activity of assignment to jobs, the law stipulates the obligation of the directorates for labor problems and social welfare to keep record, with the assistance of local state organs, of able-bodied, unemployed persons as well as of unfilled jobs.

For this purpose, the obligation of unemployed persons to register at the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and to request assignment to jobs is provided for.

Assignment to jobs is carried out, at the request of the persons concerned, directly by the socialist units, under conditions of the Labor Code.

The distribution and assignment to jobs of graduates of secondary school, vocational, and technical education are carried out by the socialist units with which the graduates signed training contracts or by the central and local organs under whose jurisdiction the respective schools operate, in situations in which training contracts have not been signed.

Also stipulated in the law is the contraventional responsibility for the failure to respect the provisions referring to the recruitment of personnel, and for the failure to respect the obligation of able-bodied persons who do not perform a useful activity, to register with the directorates for labor problems and social welfare.

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

On the basis of Article 57 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania we sign and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL of the Socialist Republic of Romania Law No 24 of 5 November 1976 on the recruitment and assignment of the labor force.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 10 November 1976

The Law on the Recruitment and Assignment of the Labor Force

In the Socialist Republic of Romania, the right to work is guaranteed by the constitution, without any discrimination. Each citizen has, in accordance with the Labor Code, the right and the duty to perform an activity useful to society, which provides to him the means of existence and of intellectual development.

The state creates for all citizens the possibility of working in the material-production, scientific-technical or sociocultural field and aids their employment in production, in accordance with the preferences, aptitudes and training of each one.

In view of the rapid development of the production forces, it is necessary to provide in an organized manner for recruiting, training and assigning the work force for all sectors of activity, in relation to the needs of each county and of the national economy in its entirety.

At the same time, it is necessary to create conditions for catering to the citizens' desire to receive the help of the state bodies in their training and hiring.

In order to create the proper legal framework for recruiting and assigning the work force, the Grand National Assembly of the Romanian Socialist Republic adopts the present law.

CHAPTER I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. In the Socialist Republic of Romania the supplying of the work force necessary to the socialist units is done in accordance with the provisions of the single national plan for economic and social development.

Article 2. In order to prepare the draft of the annual and long-term plan for supplying, training and improving the work force, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Education and Instruction, together with the ministries, the other central bodies, and the executive committees of the people's councils of the counties and of the municipality of Bucharest, are obliged to establish:

a) The balance of the work force in the national economy on the whole and according to counties;

b) The labor resources and their structure and degree of employment;

c) The prospective evolution of the work force in relation to the requirements for economic and social development;

d) The correlation between the requirements for economic development and the sensible employment of labor resources according to counties and branches of the economy;

e) The forms and the conditions for organization of the training and improvement of the work force.

Article 3. (1) The ministries, the other central bodies, and the executive committees of the people's councils of the counties and of the municipality of Bucharest are obliged to take steps so that the subordinate socialist units supply the work force necessary to them by means of vocational schools, apprenticeship at the workplace, specialized secondary schools, and schools for post-secondary specialization and by means of assignment of the unemployed work force.

(2) In the case in which the necessary work force is not supplied from the graduates of the forms of education specified in paragraph (1), the socialist units will be able to organize training courses at the workplace.

CHAPTER II. THE RECRUITING AND ASSIGNMENT OF THE WORK FORCE

Article 4. The work force necessary to the socialist units for the purpose of training, retraining or the execution of unskilled work is provided in accordance with the recruiting plan, a component part of the plan for supplying, training and improving the work force.

Article 5. (1) The recruiting of the work force is done by the socialist units on the basis of the permits issued by the Directorate for Labor Problems and Social Welfare.

(2) The recruiting is done from the locality or county in which the socialist unit performs its activity. In exceptional cases, when the work force cannot be supplied from the respective county, the recruiting can also be done from other counties.

(3) The recruiting of persons who are members of agricultural production cooperatives is done only with the approval of the general assembly or management council, given in accordance with the law.

(4) The Directorate for Labor Problems and Social Welfare is obliged to establish the localities that possess unemployed labor resources and to help the socialist units in the activity of recruiting the work force.

Article 6. (1) The hiring is done, at the request of the persons involved, directly by the socialist units, under the conditions of the Labor Code.

(2) Persons who are not employed under the conditions of paragraph (1) will be aided by the directorates for labor problems and social welfare or their offices, with a view to their appointment to work, taking into account the manpower requirements and the training, aptitudes and preferences of those in question.

(3) The assignment order issued by the directorate for labor problems and social welfare and the offices of this directorate is obligatory for the socialist unit which will assure the employment of the person assigned to it, under conditions of the law.

(4) The person assigned to work is obliged to present himself within 15 days to the socialist unit where he is to work.

Article 7. (1) With the help of the local state bodies, the Directorate for Labor Problems and Social Welfare and its offices organize, in accordance with the law, the records of the unfilled workplaces and of the persons who are not employed and are not attending a form of education or of vocational qualification.

(2) For this purpose, the persons fit for work who have reached the age of 16 years and are not attending a form of education or of vocational qualification, or are not engaged in work in accordance with Article 6, are obligated to register at the directorates for labor problems and social welfare or their offices in whose territorial range they have their residence and to request their assignment to work.

(3) In the case of young people between 16-18 years of age, the obligation specified in paragraph (2) also devolves upon the parents or legal representatives.

(4) The obligation specified in paragraphs 2 and 3 must be fulfilled within 30 days after the date of the appearance of the situation that leads to the necessity for appointment to work.

(5) In fulfilling the duties that devolve upon them from the article, the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and their offices will be aided by the bodies of the militia, which, in accordance with the law, keep the records of the population.

Article 8. (1) The obligation stipulated in Article 7, paragraphs (2) and (3) must be discharged within 30 days from the date of the onset of the situation which necessitated the assignment to a job.

(2) For secondary school graduates who are competing for admission to higher education, the time period stipulated in paragraph (1) runs from the date of the completion of the final session of competition organized in the year in which they graduated from secondary school.

(3) For graduates of the first level of secondary school education, the 30-day period runs from the date of the completion of the final session of the competition for admission to the second level of secondary school education or to a vocational school, organized in the year in which they completed the first level of secondary school.

Article 9. (1) The Directorate for Labor Problems and Social Welfare and its offices have the obligation to monitor the way in which the socialist units provide for the employment of the assigned persons.

(2) The socialist units are obliged to communicate to the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and their offices the changes occurring in the manpower requirements.

Article 10. In order to employ persons who are to be released from places of detention or reeducation centers, the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior are obliged to communicate, before release, to the directorates for labor problems and social welfare in whose territory the persons in question live the data regarding their personal situation and vocational training.

CHAPTER III. THE ASSIGNMENT AND EMPLOYMENT OF GRADUATES OF SECONDARY, VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Article 11. (1) The assignment and employment of graduates of day classes at secondary schools and at vocational schools, of apprenticeship at the workplace, and of schools for postsecondary school specialization are done by the socialist units with which they signed training contracts.

(2) The assignment and employment of the graduates specified in paragraph (1) who did not sign training contracts are ferreted out in accordance with the skills obtained, by the central and local bodies in subordination to which the respective school units operate, within 30 days after the date of graduation.

Article 12. (1) The educational units are obligated to aid graduates of the first stage of secondary education, who do not continue their studies in a higher form of education, with a view to their employment or the obtaining of vocational skills.

(2) For this purpose, the educational units will collaborate with the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and their offices and with the managements of the socialist units in the respective localities.

Article 13. The assignment to production of graduates of institutions of higher learning, in day school, is done in accordance with the law.

CHAPTER IV. Sanctions

Article 14. The violation of the provisions specified in Article 5, paragraph (1) and Article 9, paragraphs (2) and (3) by those who have such official duties, within the socialist units, constitutes a contravention, if the acts are not committed under such conditions that, according to law, they are considered infractions, and is punishable with a fine from 300 to 3,000 lei.

Article 15. The nonfulfillment by physical persons of the obligations that devolve upon them in accordance with the provisions specified in Article 7, paragraphs (2), (3) and Article 8, paragraph (1) is punishable with a fine from 200 to 2,000 lei.

Article 16. The ascertainment of the contraventions specified in Articles 14 and 15, the applications of the sanctions, and the exercising of the lines of attack are done under the conditions specified by the legal norms concerning the establishment and sanctioning of contraventions in the field of labor and social welfare.

Article 17. The provisions of Law No 32/1968 on the establishment and sanctioning of contraventions are also applicable to the contraventions specified in the present law.

CHAPTER V. FINAL AND TEMPORARY PROVISIONS

Article 18. Secondary school graduates who do not continue their studies in a form of higher education or have not been assigned to work, in accordance with Article 6 and Article 11, will be assigned to production by the directorates for labor problems and social welfare or their offices, for the purpose of obtaining of a vocational skill or they will be assigned to administrative functions which persons with secondary school studies are able to execute according to the law.

Article 19. The hiring under the conditions of the present law is done by the socialist units within the limits of the approved number and structure of personnel.

Article 20. The Ministry of Labor and the directorates for labor problems and social welfare provide the guidance of the socialist units and the control of the application of the provisions of the present law, in accordance with the powers that devolve upon them in conformity with the law.

Article 21. Decision No 4457/1953 of the Council of Ministers on the organized recruiting and assignment of trained workers and technical and administrative personnel; Decision No 371/1955 of the Council of Ministers on the organized recruiting and assignment of unskilled labor; Decision No 728/1956 of the Council of Ministers on the employment of seasonal agricultural workers on state farms;

Decision No 1051/1962 of the Council of Ministers on the assignement to work of persons released from places of detention; Article 1 of Council of Ministers Decision No 1375/1967 on some measures for guaranteeing the manpower needed for the execution of agricultural work in the sector of vegetable production, in the state agricultural organizations subordinate to the Higher Agricultural Council; Article 8 letters a), b) and c) of Council of Ministers Decision No 2494/1969 on the determination and penalizing of contraventions in the field of labor and social welfare; Council of Ministers Decision No 947/1970 on the distribution and assignment in jobs of graduates of day education in industrial, agricultural, silvicultural, economic, and health secondary schools and other contrary provisions are abrogated on the date that the present law goes into force.

This law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly
in its session of 5 November 1976

Chairman of the Grand National Assembly

Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 5 November 1976
No 24

CSO: 2700

LAW ON COURT ASSIGNMENT OF JOBS PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 98, 11 Nov 76 pp 4-6

[Text] STATEMENT OF PURPOSES

According to the provisions of the Labor Code, every able-bodied person who is not engaged in a form of education or vocational training, is obliged to carry on, from the age of 16 years to pensioning, a work which is useful to society, which will provide to him the means of existence and of intellectual development.

The state provides for each citizen the opportunity for getting a job, in accordance with his training and preferences, as well as with the needs of the socialist economy.

Nevertheless, there are still able-bodied persons who shirk their duty to carry on an activity which is useful to society, habitually living off the work of others.

The following law has been adopted for the purpose of stipulating the measures necessary for assuring the social integration of all able-bodied persons who are not working in production.

The law stipulates the obligation for persons who are not working and are not engaged in a form of education or vocational training to register with the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and to seek assignment in production.

With a view to creating a mass opinion against any manifestations of social parasitism, the law stipulates tasks for the trade unions, the youth and women's organizations, and other mass and public organizations for carrying on a continuing educational activity for the purpose of making all able-bodied persons carry on a work which is useful to society.

The law provides for the discussion by the citizens' assembly of the case of a person who systematically refuses to work, without sound reasons, leading the

life of a parasite, for the purpose of influencing and convincing the person to go to work or to engage in a form of vocational training.

If, despite the assistance given, the person refuses to work, he will be obliged, by court decision, to work for a year on construction sites, in agricultural and forestry units and in other economic units and, in the case of youths under 18 years of age, in labor and re-education centers subordinate to the Ministry of Labor.

Also, duties have been stipulated for the trade union and youth organizations, for the workers' councils in the socialist units for the purpose of ensuring the training and integration of work collectives of persons employed in accordance with the provisions of this law and carrying on a continuing educational activity in their ranks, with the goal of forming a new attitude toward work and respect for the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

The person assigned to work under conditions of the present law has all the rights and obligations provided for by the labor legislation.

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

On the basis of Article 57 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania we sign and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL of the Socialist Republic of Romania Law No 25 of 5 November 1976 on the assignment of able-bodied persons to useful jobs.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
President of the Socialist Republic
of Romania

Bucharest, 10 November 1976

Law on the Assignment of Able-Bodied Persons to Useful Jobs

In the Socialist Republic of Romania, work is a duty of honor, an obligation of each citizen.

In our society, no one can live without work. The evasion of work, a parasitic life, and the achievement of earnings by other means than by means of one's own labor contravene the principles of ethics and equity and are incompatible with the nature and goals of the socialist order.

The labor of each person represents the basic criterion for judging his conduct and his contribution to the progress of society, and a necessity for the multilateral affirmation and development of the human personality.

In order to provide for the integration into an activity useful to society of all able-bodied persons who are not employed in production, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts the present law:

Article 1. (1) Each citizen of the Socialist Republic of Romania has, in accordance with the constitution, the right and the duty to perform a useful activity for society.

(2) The state provides to each citizen the possibility of performing, in accordance with his training, an activity in the economic, sociocultural or administrative field.

Article 2. The trade unions, the youth and women's organizations and other mass and public organizations will carry on a continuing educational activity for the purpose of influencing able-bodied persons to carry on a work which is useful to society and for the formation of a mass opinion against any manifestation of social parasitism.

Article 3. The hiring is done, at the request of the persons involved, directly by the socialist units or by means of assignment by the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and their offices, under the conditions specified by the Labor Code.

Article 4. (1) An able-bodied person who has reached the age of 16 years and is not attending a form of education or of vocational qualification or is not engaged in work is obliged to register at the directorate for labor problems and social welfare or at its offices, in whose territorial range he has his residence, and to request assignment to work.

(2) The state of total inability to work is determined by the peoples councils of the communes, cities, municipalities, and the sectors of Bucharest Municipality, upon the proposal of the commission on medical examination and recovery of ability to work.

(3) Peasants who work in individual farms, artisans with their own shops, and free-lance professionals who perform activities authorized by law do not have the obligation specified in paragraph (1).

(4) Women who take care of their children or perform a domestic activity, in their own household, also do not have this obligation.

Article 5. The provision of support by parents or other breadwinners cannot constitute grounds for nonfulfillment by able-bodied persons of the duty to perform a useful activity for society.

Article 6. (1) The records of the persons who are not attending a form of education or of vocational qualification and are not engaged in work are organized by the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and by its offices with the help of the militia's bodies and the other local state bodies.

(2) The directorate for labor problems and social welfare and its offices are obliged to assure the assignment of these persons to production or for training, on construction sites, in agricultural or forestry units, or in other economic

units, taking into account their training and aptitudes, as well as the manpower needs of the socialist units.

Article 7. (1) The work-assignment order is mandatory.

(2) The assigned person has the duty to immediately appear at the socialist unit, specified in the assignment order, for appointment to work.

(3) The socialist unit is obliged to provide for the appointment to work, according to law, of the assigned person.

Article 8. (1) A person who systematically refuses, without well-founded reasons, to engage in work, leading a parasitic life, will be discussed by the citizens' assembly of the village, commune or district in which he lives, in order to influence and cause him to engage in work or a form of vocational training.

(2) The discussion by the citizens' assembly is held at the proposal of the directorate for labor problems and social welfare.

(3) The citizens assembly is convoked by the executive committee or bureau of the peoples council, as needs be, within 30 days after the notification.

(4) If minors are discussed in the citizens assemblies, the participation of their parents or legal representatives is obligatory.

Article 9. (1) In the case in which, despite the help given, the person in question refuses to engage in work or a form of vocational training, continuing to lead a parasitic life, he will be obliged, by means of a judicial decision, to perform work for 1 year, on construction sites, in agricultural or forestry units or in other economic units.

(2) The persons specified in paragraph 1 who have reached the age of 18 years will be obliged to perform work or attend a form of vocational training in labor and reeducation centers.

Article 10. (1) The notification of the court is done by the directorate for labor problems and social welfare within 30 days of the date on which the case of the person in question was presented to the citizens assembly for discussion. The directorate for labor problems and social welfare will propose to the court the unit where the respective person will be working.

(2) The court will resolve the case within 10 days after notification, in a panel composed of 1 judge and 2 people's assessors, representatives of the trade-union and youth organizations.

(3) Also, in cases concerning minors the presence of the delegate of the commission for the protection of minors is obligatory and the subpoenaing of the minors' parents or legal representatives is also obligatory.

(4) The decision of the court is final and executory.

Article 11. In the case of failure to respect the decision of the court, the implementation of the decision is executed by the peoples councils and the militia organs which will assure supervision, guidance, and presence at the workplaces or training sites of the persons in question.

Article 12. (1) A person appointed to work under the conditions of the present law has all the rights and obligations specified in labor legislation.

(2) A change in workplace by the persons appointed in accordance with Article 9, before the expiration of 1 year after the date of appointment, can be made only at the proposal of the socialist unit, with the agreement of the directorate for labor problems and social welfare, which will take into account the skills obtained and the applicant's conduct and attitude toward work.

Article 13. (1) The labor and reeducation centers are organized and operate in subordination to the Ministry of Labor.

(2) The Ministry of Labor, together with the Ministry of Justice, provides the guidance and supervision of the activity of the labor and reeducation centers.

Article 14. The working people's councils and the trade-union and youth organizations of the socialist units have the obligation to provide for the training and the integration into work collectives of the assigned persons and to perform a continual educational activity, with a view to their reeducation, the forming of a new attitude toward work, and the respecting of the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

This law was adopted by the Grand National
Assembly in its 5 November 1976 session

Chairman of the Grand National Assembly

Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 5 November 1976
No 25

CSO: 2700

- END -