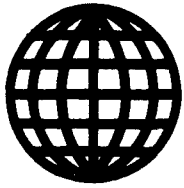


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17 JANUARY 1990



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# ***JPRS Report***

# **East Europe**

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# East Europe

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Draft of CPCZ's New Statutes

90EC0100A Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
31 Oct 89 pp 3-4

[Statutes of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: Proposal for All-National Discussion, approved by the 15th Session of the CC CPCZ]

[Text] The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] is the trained fighting leader of the working class and of all workers. Since its formation it has always stood in the vanguard of the battle for social progress and for the resolution of the social, economic, and political problems of society. After the conclusion of the struggle against the fascist occupation and the liberation of Czechoslovakia, it led our people, by means of the Soviet armada, to a renewal of the national economy and a victory in February 1948, to the unification of the exploited classes and the building of a socialist society. In its activities it draws from the revolutionary traditions of the labor movement and joins them to the values and results obtained by the peoples of our country in years gone by. It uses and continues to develop all that is positive, takes an open and critical stance toward flaws and errors, and creates conditions that prevent them from recurring. It exercises care to see that socialist and proletarian internationalism, socialist ownership of property, fraternal relations between the Czech and Slovak peoples, and all other nationalities living in our country are maintained. It was created to fight on behalf of the people, and it serves the people. For this reason, it is acknowledged as the leading political force in socialist society.

The CPCZ is governed by a scientific, worldwide model, the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which it develops creatively. It brings together on a voluntary basis, the most mature citizens of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Its program goals and everyday activities express and unite the most important interests and needs of workers, cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, social groups, peoples, and nationalities in our country. It points out the directions and tasks of socialist development for broad participation by workers and other citizens. It depends on their political, social, and working initiative when resolving all of the basic questions of society's life. It is an example of a high level of activity and organization, the initiator and guarantor of revolutionary social transformations.

The party fulfills its social task and develops its internal life on the basis of the creative implementation of Leninist principles and standards. It renews and strengthens the unity, fighting power, and activity of its rank and file in harmony with the principle of democratic centralism, intraparty democracy, and equality among members. It parts company with those who break the party's statutes, who unite in opposition to its program, to communist morality, or the socialist rule of law, or who sully the good name of a communist. It

considers any manifestations of fractious activity to be inconsistent with membership.

It implements the methods and forms of political leadership relative to the National Front and to state, economic, or social bodies or institutions. It conducts its politics openly, consults with workers, and develops an ideal form of educational, political organizing, and cadre work. It stands up in opposition to everyone who hinders or threatens the development of socialism and the political system in our country. In this it gets active support from workers and from all citizens.

The CPCZ is an integral part of the international communist and revolutionary labor movement, a broad front of progressive leftist and democratic forces. It fight for peace, for socialism, and for social progress, against militarism, anticommunism, dogmatism, revisionism, opportunism, and nationalism. Creatively, and with an eye toward our own conditions, it uses the experience of the Communist Part of the Soviet Union and other fraternal communist and labor countries.

The CPCZ, closely linked to the people, strives for the further development and strengthening of socialism, whose goal is the building of a communist society.

### I. MEMBERSHIP IN THE PARTY

1. A citizen of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic who governs himself by its program and statutes, who fulfills the party's resolutions, takes an active part in creating and implementing the party's policy in the building of a socialist society, who works in a basic party organization, and who pays membership dues may be a member of the CPCZ.

2. There is no place in the CPCZ for anyone who has misappropriated the program and statutes of the party, who has seriously violated the socialist legal order, or who has helped conceal acts in violation of resolutions and laws.

3. Everyone accepted into the party shall prepare for membership during a two-year candidacy period, which may not be extended. Any citizen who has reached the age of 18 years may become a candidate.

The basic party organization has the obligation to prepare the candidate for acceptance as a party member. If, over the course of the candidacy period, the candidate has not shown that he will be a good party member, the basic organization will remove him from the list of candidates.

4. Party members and candidates will be accepted by the basic organization. The recommendation of three sponsors, who have been party members for no less than 3 years, and who are supervisors of working collectives and social organizations, is required for a start. Membership in the party, or the candidacy period, are figured from the date when the new member or candidate is accepted by the meeting of the basic organization.

Acceptance is confirmed by the district party committee or a committee at the same level.

5. Members of the Socialist Youth Association [SYA] may be accepted as candidate members of the CPCZ on the basis of a recommendation from a basic SYA organization, which is equivalent to the recommendation of one of the sponsors.

6. Candidates for membership in the CPCZ have the same duties and rights as party members. They have an advisory voice on party committees, but are not allowed to vote for members of party bodies or for delegates to party conferences or congresses.

#### 7. Duties of a CPCZ member:

a) to know the program, statutes, and political line of the party, to participate in their creation, and to implement them actively and consistently at one's workplace and place of residence; to explain systematically the party's policy to workers and other citizens, and to recruit them in implementing these; to accomplish everything progressively, to be an example at work and in one's personal and family life, and in solicitude for the education of one's children;

b) to contribute to reinforcing the party's authority and to strengthening its unity and fighting power; to take initiative in participating in the activities of one's basic organization, to share responsibility for the results of its work; to take an active part in preparations for and the proceedings of meetings and in creating and fulfilling resolutions; to see to it that the Leninist principles and standards embodied in the party's statutes are implemented; to observe the discipline of the party and the state;

c) to adopt Marxism-Leninism and a creating manner of using it in practice; to promote the ideas of proletarian and socialist internationalism and socialist ownership of property; to speak out against manifestations of anti-communism, revisionism, opportunism, dogmatism, sectarianism, nationalism, and other phenomena foreign to Marxism-Leninism;

d) to participate in upholding the Leninist principles of cadre work; to assist in ensuring that appropriate offices be entrusted to people who have the requisite political, moral, and professional qualifications and authority in Party, workers, and citizens' collectives;

e) to fight against shortages and negative phenomena that damage the interests of the party and the state, against attempts to exalt local, group, or personal interests above the interests of the whole of society, against indifference, ostentation, bureaucratism, self-satisfaction, and petty fastidiousness at work; to implement the principles of criticism and self-criticism at party meetings.

#### 8. Rights of a CPCZ member:

a) to vote, to run, and to be elected to party bodies; to recommend candidacy for leadership offices in party, state, economic, or social bodies and organizations; to express views on cadre proposals within the competence of the basic organization and about members nominated for higher offices; to take a stance regarding the activities of leading officers and other workers;

b) to participate in discussions of the party's policy and activity in party committees and the party press within the spirit of the party's statutes; to submit proposals for discussion and to defend them until action is taken; to propose and demand, through intraparty channels, changes in party resolutions that no longer meet the developmental needs of the party, society, workplaces, or cities;

c) to judge an action of one's organization, a committee of it, or of other party bodies and their officers, as provided in the party line and statutes; to criticize any member, irrespective of his office, at party meetings; to demand that persons who suppress or aid in suppressing criticism to be called to accountability to the party, even to the point of expulsion from the party; a member has the right to the protection of higher bodies of the party against persecution for criticism; to participate personally in meetings of party organizations, bodies, and commissions convened by them, at which his activity and behavior are discussed;

d) to be informed about the basic questions of party policy with which party bodies are concerned, and about the means and results of their decisions; about the meeting program of party organizations and bodies of which he is a member; to participate in meetings about any question under discussion with the consent of the pertinent party body.

e) to address any party body up to the Central Committee with motions, queries, topics, advice, and constructive criticism, and to demand concrete responses to these; to query party and other invited officers at party meetings and to lodge motions;

f) to demand the meeting of the basic organization to cancel his membership in the party if there are serious grounds for doing so.

9. Party members and candidates are expected to report to a new basic organization at their workplace within a month and to register with their city organization a permanent residence where they will connect, according to their needs, with political and public work. The local party committee has the right, upon consultation with the basic workplace organizations, to decide to transfer certain members from those organizations to those of their place of residence, preserving their rights to participate in the life of the party at their workplaces.

10. A member or candidate can be called to account before the party for failure to fulfill party duties, for

infractions of the party statutes, or for breaking the law. The following party sanctions can be imposed on him: warning, reprimand, reprimand with admonition, and expulsion from the party, which is the highest party sanction. Resolutions of expulsion from the party take effect after confirmation by higher party bodies. A member or candidate who is commissioned by the party to hold some office and has been sanctioned by the party can be recalled from that office. Party sanction is applied after all means of education and influence by the party, fraternal criticism, warning, or instruction have been exhausted.

If a party body deems it necessary, it can decide to announce the application of a party sanction or a revision of an unwarranted sanction in the party press.

If the extent of the member's or candidate's infraction is unknown, he may be allowed to keep his membership in the party until the investigation. During this period, he will not participate in the internal life of the party and will not pay membership dues.

11. A party member or candidate once sanctioned by the party has the right to appeal, within a month, to the central control and review commission of the CPCZ and to demand review of the resolution. Upon appeal by a candidate or member, the sanction resolution will remain in force until the higher party body reaches a decision.

12. The party body or basic organization that imposed the sanction shall discuss the possibility of expunging it in one to two years. Eradication shall not apply to expulsion from the party.

13. If a party member cannot fulfill his party duties and has not committed an infraction against the party statutes, his membership in the party may be cancelled. This move is not a party sanction and is imposed by a meeting of the basic organization.

14. CPCZ membership cards are the property of the party. If lost, a party inquiry shall be conducted, and disciplinary proceedings instituted as appropriate. Upon termination of membership of the candidacy period, the membership card is surrendered to the Central Committee of the CPCZ via party organs.

## II. STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY—DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM AND INTRAPARTY DEMOCRACY

15. In carrying out its social tasks, the CPCZ implements the principle of democratic centralism in its intraparty and organizational relationships. This principle encompasses the party's unity of action, its organizational structure, party discipline, and the broadest possible intraparty democracy and initiative for Communists.

Implementation of this means:

a) every party and communist body or organization, shall actively, creatively, and independently effectuate the party's policy under the concrete conditions of its

capability; it will govern its activity by the principle of collective decisionmaking and personal responsibility for the fulfillment of party resolutions;

b) party bodies will conduct an open politics and will base their activities on close ties with workers, citizens' collectives, and organizations affiliated with the National Front; they will ensure that communists and other citizens are well informed and will ensure their active participation in creating and implementing party resolutions; they organize intraparty and public discussions on important questions of party and public life; depending on the nature of the questions under discussion, they will publish conclusions and other documents from their meetings;

c) every party body shall be elected from the bottom up, their members and officers elected by secret ballot by basic organizations with more than 20 members; they will select from a larger number of nominations, leading officers being elected, as a rule, from among more candidates; those who receive a simple majority of the votes from the members or delegates present are elected;

d) leading officers from district committees on up to the Central Committee may hold office in the same body for no more than 10 years; the term of office for other members of party bodies up to the level of basic organization committees, including chairmen, is regulated by actual conditions; during elections for party bodies, care will be taken to ensure a healthy turnover in their makeup and to prevent an excessive accumulation of offices;

e) party bodies and their officers shall render accounts and submit reports of their activities to the party organizations and bodies that elected them, and to higher party bodies; party organizations and party members may demand the recall of party officers who do not fulfill their duties or who compromise themselves;

f) when more than half of the members or delegates are present, party bodies at all levels may pass resolutions that have binding force; a decision is in force if a simple majority of the members or delegates present vote for it; in questions of accepting a candidate or member of the party, of rejecting a candidate, expelling a party member or candidate, or cancelling membership, at least two thirds of the votes of the members or delegates present are required;

g) the minority is subject to the decision of the majority; resolutions by higher party bodies are binding on all lower party bodies, organizations, members, and candidates;

h) a higher party body is obligated to discuss motions from a lower body or organization and to produce a response to it; it has the right to overturn a resolution of a lower body or organization if it is contrary to the program, statutes, or resolutions of higher party organs;

i) disruption of the conceptual, organizational, or active unity of the party, failure to uphold party discipline, and fractious activity are incompatible with intraparty democracy.

16. The party is structured on the principle of territorial committees. Basic organizations are constituted, as a rule, by workplace and place of residence of Communists. They are affiliated with all-factory, enterprise, local, city, district, regional, and republic organizations. Territorial party bodies are, as a rule, superordinate to all party organizations within their jurisdiction. The establishment and dissolution of basic organizations is the domain of the district committee.

It is within the competence of the Central Committee to constitute other party organizations and bodies as well, and to endow them with the requisite powers to perform their tasks.

If the activity of a basic organization contradicts party policy and the organization violates the statutes, if it fails to fulfill resolutions of the congress or of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, or if it is deeply passive, the district committee can dissolve that basic organization. The dissolution of basic organizations is confirmed by the regional committee. The district committee shall adjudicate the status of individual members and candidates, will draw conclusions according to the party's statutes, and will determine their incorporation into other basic organizations.

17. Party bodies that are elected at conferences and congresses will complement their members from the elected candidates during the course of the electoral period. In exceptional cases, they have the right to co-opt up to 10 percent of the total number of members elected. Co-optation takes effect after confirmation by a higher party body. The Central Committee of the CPCZ and the central control and review commission of the CPCZ decide on the co-optation of their members, and their decision is final.

18. By means of intraparty democracy and the activity of communists, party bodies and organizations ensure the conditions under which the party's task of leadership can be fulfilled. They create the atmosphere for an open and matter-of-fact exchange of opinions at meetings and basic party bodies. They constantly renew their unity and exhort to discipline in implementing the congress line. They oppose reconciliation with shortcomings and fight against bureaucratism and other negative phenomena. Party bodies and organizations conduct a consistent cadre policy, and they consult with workers and other citizens on cadre questions.

19. Basic party organizations and bodies assume broad participation by workers and other citizens by means of timely and active monitoring of the fulfillment of party resolutions, anticipate shortcomings, and create active defenses against subjectivism and voluntarism. On the basis of this participation they take concrete steps to resolve problems. Important statements and findings

from party monitoring are published in the party press and discussed with workers' and citizens' collectives.

20. The plenary meeting, party conferences, and congresses are polled by the control and review commissions, which work according to the party's statutes and directives from the Central Committee of the CPCZ. They report to them on their activities. They submit the findings from the control and review to the party organs at the level at which it operates. Relations between the control and review commission and the appropriate committees are developed on the basis of mutual cooperation in the fulfillment of the party's political tasks.

21. Party bodies work systematically with the active membership, leading it to substantive discussion of tasks, to the development of practical measures, and to assured implementation of resolutions adopted. They make use of the experience and advice from the active membership and inform it of their activity. It polls its members, candidates, and commission activists who by their activity aid the party bodies in developing and implementing the party's political line in all areas of social life.

22. Party bodies create an apparatus to aid them in fulfilling their political and organizational tasks; this apparatus works according to their instructions and answers to them for its activity. It actively assists in preparing, implementing, and monitoring the fulfillment of resolutions. It accepts experienced, politically and professionally qualified party members as political workers.

### III. PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AT WORKPLACES AND LOCALES

#### Basic Party Organizations

23. Basic organizations are established by workplace and place of residence of party members and candidates wherever there are at least 5 party members. Where local conditions permit, they are established on the principle of one organization to one enterprise, factory or locale. Basic organizations that have a larger number of members may create suborganizations and party groups. District committees may give suborganizations certain of the rights of a basic organization.

24. Basic organizations are governed by the program and statutes of the party, by conclusions of congresses, and by resolutions of higher party bodies. They independently and on their own initiative implement the party's policy under their own conditions. They develop their activity directly among workers and citizens whom they recruit to fulfill the tasks of building socialism. They unite and guide individual and group interests with the needs of society as a whole. They lead their members to exemplary fulfillment of tasks at their workplaces and places of residence.

25. The rights of basic organizations:

a) to accept candidates for memberships and members of the CPCZ;

b) to participate in working out the party's policy and expressing their views on its implementation; in harmony with the party's policy to decide independently on the methods of accomplishing tasks and solving problems of a local nature; to submit to higher party bodies proposals and motions for the resolution of important questions of significance to the whole of society;

c) to exercise the right to monitor, at scientific-technical or industrial facilities of the national economy, in associations, services, trade, schools, cultural, educational, and health facilities, how Communists in leadership at an enterprise, factory, or institution, and in the self-governing entities of worker's collectives are carrying out the political tasks of the party and the state, how they are assuring further development for that business, factory, or institution in harmony with the interests of all of society, without replacing the activity of state, economic, or societal bodies or organizations;

In state or societal organs or institutions, on the boards of directors of state enterprises and other organizations, to exercise the right to monitor how communists are maintaining the directions and fulfilling the resolutions incumbent on their workplace; to operate to raise the level, quality, and efficiency of the work of bodies and institutions with the intention of implementing, in a complex way, the intentions and goals of all of society; to react to new tasks and demands and to actively pursue their resolution; to submit proposals and motions for improved activity to leading workers and pertinent party bodies;

d) to take an active part in ensuring cadre policy; to nominate its members to self-governing bodies and other offices in state, economic, and social bodies; to recommend them to the cadre reserves for elective party bodies and their apparatus; to express their views on all cadre proposals within their jurisdiction, including those affecting members of basic organizations who are nominated by party bodies to higher office; to submit proposed cadre changes;

e) to grant concessions to party members regarding their duties to attend meetings and other party activities, especially in the case of communists with long-term disabilities or aging.

f) to address higher party bodies for aid in resolving weighty problems.

26. The main tasks of the basic organizations:

a) to be in the forefront in carrying tasks affecting the whole of society, the development of socialist democracy, and self-government; through the mediation of communists to unite the efforts of the economic leadership, social organizations, and self-governing bodies in fulfilling those tasks; to support enterprise and initiative

in workers' collectives and their leading workers; to analyze systematically how economic and other organizations are fulfilling their tasks in the context of an active social policy, with the promotion of the principle of social justice and in the context of ensuring the future development of enterprises, factories, cities, and the countryside, and to analyze how they are harmonizing the interests of society as a whole with local interests;

b) to bring about methods and forms of political leadership; to be in constant contact with workers and citizens, to hold counsel with them, to explain the party's policy and to recruit them to implement it; to react to current questions and to see to it that they are solved; to organize public party gatherings as needed;

c) to develop the activism of their members and candidates in fulfilling the tasks of the basic organizations in creating, implementing, and monitoring the fulfillment of party resolutions; to approach with urgency the fulfillment of tasks assigned by higher party body; to discuss prepared resolutions, measures, and methods for implementing them in workers' collectives and with citizens; to apply fully the collective knowledge founded on their experiences, proposals, and suggestions to the decisionmaking process;

d) to take care of the ideological, organizational, and active unity of the party, to strive to have its members ideologically educated and armed and well informed; to orient ideological, and especially mass political work to join with the tasks of the workplaces and locales; to set concrete party tasks for Communists at their workplaces and places of residence, and to demand accounts of their accomplishments;

e) to see to the exemplary morality of Communists, to reinforce party discipline, to call to account its members and candidates who unite to oppose the party line and statutes or who ignore the positions or opinions of the basic organization; to draw conclusions in keeping with the party's statutes;

27. The highest body of the basic organization is the meeting. It discusses the basic tasks of the party's policies, concretizes it to its own conditions, and adopts resolutions about its realization. It is held as needed, as a rule once a month. The meeting is prepared by the committee for active participation by members and candidates, workers, and other citizens within its jurisdiction.

The basic organization committee can invite nonparty members, especially leading industrial workers, officers of self-governing, state, and economic bodies, cooperatives, and other institutions to the meeting according to the nature of the problems under discussion.

Within the basic organizations, members of the suborganizations hold a meeting on the date set by the basic organization committee or at the request of the suborganizations, but in no case less than one every 3 months.



Suborganizations hold meetings during the period between meetings of the basic organization, as a rule once a month.

28. The annual meeting of the basic and suborganizations is held once a year. Its task is to evaluate the activity of the organization and of communists within the past year and to set the most important political tasks for the coming period.

The basic and suborganization elects a committee for a term of two to three years. The committee elects a chairman who must have been a party member for at least 3 years. The number of members on the committee is determined by the meeting. An organization with up to 10 members elects a three-member committee or, as conditions dictate, a steward and his deputy. It elects one to three members to monitor accounts, to keep membership records, and for party administration. It elects delegates to party conferences according to guidelines set by the pertinent party body.

29. The board of the basic and suborganization guides the work of the party organization between meetings, organizes the implementation of resolutions, and renders an accounting of the activity and status of the organization. It confirms the leaders of party groups in their offices.

#### **All-Factory, Enterprise, City, Local, and Other Party Organizations on a Par With Them**

30. The basic organizations in a single enterprise, factory, institution, in a city, or in a locale affiliate into an all-factory, enterprise, city, or local party organization, or into an organization on a par with them, which operate within the territory of a single city, rural area, or district. The Central Committee may endow their bodies with certain rights of district party committees.

31. The highest all-factory, enterprise, city, local, or equivalent party organization is the plenary meeting of Communists or the conference of delegates from all of the basic organizations, elected according to guidelines approved by the district committee for all-factory, city, local, or equivalent party organizations and by the regional party committee for enterprise organizations. It evaluates the activity and the results of work during the past period and sets basic tasks for the future plenary meeting or conference. It elects committees and a control and review commission for a term of two to three years. The commission elects a chairman from among its members, who must have been a party member for no less than 5 years. In particularly large and numerous party organizations, it elects a presidium, with the approval of a higher party body. The control and review committee elects a chairman from among its members, who is confirmed in his office by the pertinent committee.

32. All-factory, enterprise, and equivalent committees unite and coordinate the action of the basic organizations in implementing the party's policy under the conditions of enterprises, factories, and institutions, ensuring their active participation in the fulfillment of tasks and problems of an all-factory or all-enterprise nature. Together with the basic organizations, they ensure harmony among the interests of society as a whole, enterprises, and factories as a whole. They exercise the right to monitor how Communists in economic leadership, in self-governing entities of workers' collectives, social bodies, and the apparatus of state, social agencies, or other organizations are bringing about the fulfillment of resolutions and staying on course.

City and local committees direct the activity of party organizations in cities and localities, and unite their action while exerting the party's influence on the complex economic, cultural, and social development of a given area, while designing and implementing the electoral programs of the National Front. They encourage the initiative, activity, and participation of Communists and all citizens in administering and guiding public affairs and in developing the life of society in harmony with the needs and interests of society as a whole.

33. All-factory, enterprise, city, local, and equivalent committees cooperate actively with district committees to guide the basic party organizations, but do not bear coresponsibility for the level and activity of their work, assist them in developing their life within the party and in developing work among workers and citizens.

In the course of the election period, they consent, according to the needs of the plenary meeting or with the approval of a higher party body, to extraordinary conferences to monitor the fulfillment of party resolutions and to discuss important questions of the activities of party organizations.

#### **Party Committees in State Enterprises and Other Economic Organizations**

34. Party committees in state enterprises, cooperatives, and other economic organizations that have intraenterprise organizational units with basic party organizations in several districts or regions are established with the consent of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. They may be accorded certain of the rights of district party committees.

The party committees unite the action of Communists in economic leadership, socialist self-government, social organizations, and workers' collectives. They exercise the right to monitor how Communists in leadership and self-governing bodies are implementing the party's policy and bringing about the development of enterprise collectives in harmony with the interests of society as a whole. They coordinate the activity of the basic organizations and of the all-factory and enterprise party committees in all of the intraenterprise organizational units of a state enterprise, while exerting the party's influence on the economy.

#### IV. TERRITORIAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND BODIES AT THE DISTRICT, REGIONAL, AND REPUBLIC LEVELS

35. The territorial organizations of the CPCZ are the district, regional, and republic party organizations in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic.

The Central Committee of the CPCZ may also create further territorial party organizations, and decides on their establishment in the period between congresses.

36. The highest bodies of the territorial organizations of the CPCZ are the district and regional conferences and the republic congresses:

a) they discuss and approve reports on the activities of the pertinent territorial party organizations and their bodies;

b) they concretize the party line and decide regional questions;

c) they elect the pertinent committees and the control and review commission of the territorial organizations.

Only someone who has been a party member for no less than 4 years can be a member of the district committee or the district control and review commission. Only someone who has been a party member for no less than 5 years can be a member of the regional committee or the regional control and review committee. Only someone who has been a party member for no less than 8 years can be a member of the republic committee or the republic control and review committee.

Delegates are elected according to rules set by the pertinent party bodies.

Extraordinary conferences or congresses can be called by the Central Committee of the CPCZ, the committee of the Czech Socialist Republic and Slovak Socialist Republic committees, or a regional or district committee, or an organization comprising no less than half the party members in the pertinent territorial party organization may request one.

37. The territorial party bodies:

a) guide the work of the party between conferences and congresses; concentrate the efforts of party organizations, all communists, and other workers on the consistent implementation of the party's policy by developing ideological education, political organizing work, and cadre work; and control the fulfillment of party resolutions;

b) resolve regional questions independently and in harmony with party policy; take the initiative in submitting proposals for the resolution of serious political, economic, social, ecological, and cultural development problems at the district, regional, and republic level to higher party bodies;

c) unite, direct, and coordinate the activity of party organizations and communists operating in state and economic bodies, national committees, in National Front bodies, and social organizations, in cultural, school, and educational facilities, and in the communications media;

d) dispense financial and other means as they are able; approve budgets and monitor their observance; guide and foster stewardship in their institutions.

#### District Organizations and Party Bodies

38. All of the party organizations in a district form the district organizations. The highest body is the district conference, or the district party committee in the period between conferences. The district conferences are held once every two to three years.

On a par with district organizations are the obvod organizations in Prague and Bratislava and the city organizations in large cities, as decided by the Central Committee of the party.

39. The district party committee guides, directs, and monitors the activity of the basic, city, local, all-factory, enterprise, and equivalent party organizations. It helps them implement the party's policy, especially by personal contact. It performs tasks independently and on its own initiative and resolves concrete problems within its jurisdiction appropriately and in a timely manner. In addition, it leads and prepares the party organizations and their officers.

The district party committee meets as necessary, but no less than six times a year. It elects a presidium and a district committee secretary from among its members. The leading secretary must have been a party member for no less than 8 years.

The work of the district party organization between meetings of the district committee is guided by the presidium. It organizes and monitors the fulfillment of resolutions and the work of the apparatus. It renders an account of its activities to the district party committee at regular intervals.

#### Regional Organizations and Party Bodies

40. All of the district party organizations in a region form the regional organizations. The city organizations in Prague and Bratislava are equivalent to the regional organizations and are formed by the obvod organizations on the territory of the cities of Prague and Bratislava.

The highest body in the regional organization is the regional conference, or the regional party committee in the period between conferences. The regional conferences are held once every 5 years.

41. The regional party committee guides the district party committees. It unites, directs, and coordinates their action in implementing the party's policy and in the

resolution of questions of regional significance. It guides the work of selected party organizations in institutions working on broad questions at the regionwide level. It renders concrete methodological and practical help to lower territorial party organizations, their bodies, and basic organizations.

The regional party committee meets as necessary, but no less than four times a year. It elects a presidium, a secretariat, and a regional committee secretary from among its members. The leading secretary must have been a party member for no less than 10 years.

The work of the regional party organization between meetings of the regional committee is guided by the presidium. The secretariat guides the work of the regional committee apparatus and handles current organizational tasks. The presidium and secretariat render an account of their activities to the regional party committee at regular intervals.

#### **Organizations and the Highest Party Bodies in the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics**

42. The republic organizations comprise the party organization in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. The highest body in the republic organization is the republic congress, or, in the period between congresses, the republic committee of the CPCZ in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia in the Slovak Socialist Republic. The congress is held once every 5 years.

The republic organizations are territorial organizations of the unified CPCZ. Their activity is guided by the program and statutes of the party, resolutions of the congress, and by the Central Committee of the CPCZ and its bodies.

43. The republic organization committees implement the resolutions of the highest bodies of the CPCZ and the republic party congresses.

They resolve the political and organizational questions for the party independently and on their own initiative, develop tasks of a national and regional nature in harmony with the interests of the entire state and all of society. They direct and monitor the work of Communists in national assemblies, government, National Front bodies, social organizations, and other institutions. As directed by the Central Committee of the CPCZ it participates in guiding and monitoring the work of the regional party organizations. It reports on its activity to the Central Committee of the CPCZ on a periodic basis.

The republic organization committees meet as needed, but no less than three times per year. From their members they elect a presidium to guide political, ideological, educational, and organizational work, a secretariat to provide operational guidance on current work and the apparatus and to organize means of monitoring the fulfillment of resolutions. It elects a first secretary and

secretaries. The first secretary, secretaries, and chairmen of the republic control and review commissions must have been party members for no less than 10 years. The presidium and secretariat report on their activities to the republic organization committee.

#### **V. THE HIGHEST PARTY BODIES**

44. The highest body in the CPCZ is the party congress. The advisory congress is convened by the Central Committee once every 5 years. An extraordinary party congress is called by the Central Committee on its own initiative or is requested by organizations comprising no less than half the members of the party. The congress may adopt binding resolutions if a simple majority of party members is represented by their delegates there. The Central Committee of the CPCZ [CC CPCZ] sets the rules for the representation of party members and the method of electing delegates. Members and candidates for the CC CPCZ and members of the Central Control and Review Commission of the CPCZ [CCRC CPCZ], if not elected as voting delegates, attend the congress as advisory delegates.

The Central Committee informs the party membership and civilian public of the convening and program of the congress no less than 8 weeks before the congress. It organizes intraparty and public discussions about proposals for important congress documents.

45. The party congress:

a) discusses and approves the report of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and the report of the Central Control and Review Commission of the CPCZ;

b) approves the program and statutes of the CPCZ;

c) establishes the line for the further development of socialist society in questions of domestic and foreign policy;

d) elects the Central Committee of the CPCZ and the central control and review commission; only someone who has been a party member for no less than 8 years may be elected a member of the central committee or of the central control and review commission of the CPCZ.

46. The central committee of the CPCZ guides all of the work of the party between congresses. It performs these tasks, in particular:

a) it works out and assures the implementation of the resolutions of the party congress and monitors their fulfillment; it involves its members and candidates, as well as the members of the CCRC CPCZ in preparing materials and in implementing and monitoring the fulfillment of resolutions;

b) it directly guides the republic, regional, and city committees of Prague and Bratislava and other selected party bodies and organizations, and adopts resolutions about the work of lower party bodies and organizations; it focuses their activity on the consistent implementation

of the established line; it assists them in developing their political, ideological, and organizational work; it informs them periodically of its activities;

c) it directs the activities of federal state, social, economic, and other agencies through the Communists who work in them: the officers and party members entrusted with work in these agencies and institutions render an account of their work to the CC, submit initiative proposals and recommendations for the solution of important tasks and problems to it;

d) conducts the cadre policy and monitors its fulfillment in lower party bodies and organizations; approves nominations for first secretary and secretaries of the republic party bodies, leading departments of the CC CPCZ, leading secretaries of the regional party committees, editor in chief of RUDE PRAVO, and other leading officers of central agencies and institutions;

e) guides the people's militia, which serves to protect the achievements of the working class and the socialist system;

f) represents the party in contact with other parties, organizations, and institutions;

g) creates and guides various party institutions and enterprises; approves the party budget and monitors its observance; raises membership dues;

h) interprets the statutes of the CPCZ.

47. The CC meets as needed, but no less than three times a year. Candidates for the CC and for chairman of the CCRC CPCZ participate in its meetings with an advisory voice. Depending on the nature of questions being discussed, other officers may be asked to attend the meeting.

48. From among its members, the CC elects a presidium to direct work between meetings of the CC and to draw up proposals for the solution of conceptual questions in particular; a secretariat to handle current work, mostly concerning the organization of means to monitor the fulfillment of resolutions and to select a cadre; a CC general secretary and secretaries; the general secretary, secretaries, and CCRC chairman must have been party members for no less than 10 years.

The presidium and secretariat render an accounting of their activities at meetings of the CC. The CC elects its members, candidates, and commission activists from the rank and file and approves the principles under which they act.

49. During the period between party congresses, the CC may, or an organization encompassing no less than half the party membership may request it to convene a nationwide conference to discuss urgent questions about the policy and further action of the party.

The number of delegates and the method for electing them is set by the CC. Resolutions of the nationwide conference

are approved by the CC and are binding on all party bodies, organizations, members, and candidates.

50. The CCRC CPCZ:

a) participates in fulfilling the party's program and tracks the observance of its statutes and principles and of the standards of party life; monitors the fulfillment of congress and central committee resolutions; aids in reinforcing the ideological, organizational, and active unity of the party; strives to improve the effectiveness of party monitoring methods; sees to the timely and proper disposition of suggestions and grievances submitted to the CC; on the basis of the results of its monitoring and review, calls to account communists who have violated the statutes of the party, the laws of the socialist state, or party morality;

b) audits the stewardship of party bodies and organizations, institutions, facilities, and enterprises at the countrywide level, in republic and regional party organizations; it monitors member and candidate records and affects the qualification level of the party administration;

c) based on decisions by bodies within the CC, conducts disciplinary proceedings; investigates the recall of party members and candidates against the decision of lower party bodies in membership matters, and rules on them;

d) provides methodological assistance to control and review commissions at lower levels in the party structure;

e) elects, from among its members, a chairman, a deputy chairman, and a leadership commission to conduct its work between meetings and to resolve membership matters; the chairman is confirmed in office by the CC CPCZ.

The CCRC CPCZ works according to the party's statutes. It reports to the congress on its activities, and to the CC and its bodies on the results of its control and review activity.

## VI. THE PARTY AND SOCIETY

51. The CPCZ operates in harmony with the Constitution and the lawful government of the CSSR. It outlines the political program for the socialist development of society. In developing, implementing, and monitoring the party's policy and in implementing the tasks of leadership, its point of departure is always close ties to the people, political initiatives by communists, an open policy, informing the public, and active tasks for all constituents of the political system.

### The Party and the Political System

52. Through communists, party bodies and organizations:

a) unite, direct, and coordinate the action of all social forces toward the fulfillment of social tasks and goals; inspire and encourage the development of independent and responsible activities on the part of all state and

social agencies and organizations, interest groups, and other organizations on the political platform of the National Front; do not replace their missions or activities; contribute to the ability of organizations affiliated with the National Front to be the basis for the further development of socialist democracy and to take the initiative in coming with encouragement and alternative proposals for the solution of current problems;

b) in the economic sphere, take the initiative in promoting progress toward safeguarding the missions of the party's economic policy; unites the efforts of leading economic workers, the self-governing bodies of workers' collectives, and social agencies in the development of socialist entrepreneurship and an increase in its contribution to satisfying the needs of all of society on the basis of scientific and technical progress and work that is high in quality and highly efficient; lead it toward the solution of social and ecological problems; affect the fulfillment of economic aims and goals in an ideologically educational, organizational manner, by means of party monitoring and cadre policy; do not substitute for the powers and responsibilities of the economic leadership;

c) consult with workers and other citizens on important current and future questions about the development of society, of regions, of workplaces, and of cities, submit proposals for initiatives to solve them; organize meetings and lectures by their representatives to workers and citizens collectives; call in workers and other citizens to their meetings depending on the nature of the questions being discussed;

d) propose and promote the best party members and nonmembers for leadership office; lead Communists to fulfill party resolutions in a disciplined way, to affect all sectors of social life by their political commitment, their example at work, and their moral example; demand an accounting of work accomplished, and draw conclusions from the nonfulfillment of assignments;

e) implement a method of mutual consultation and exchange of information in relationships with other political parties, both under the aegis of the National Front and in reciprocal talks as well;

f) operate within legislative bodies through the Communist deputies' clubs; and through party groups in national elections, social agencies and organizations, and in self-governing bodies of workers' collectives.

The activities of Communist deputies' clubs and party groups are governed by the policy and statutes of the party, are subordinate to the pertinent party bodies, and are obligated to govern themselves by its resolutions in all matters.

#### The Party and Youth

53. Party bodies and organizations make an effort to expand the active participation of young people in fulfilling tasks affecting all of society in the political, economic, social, ecological, and cultural domains and in

defense of their socialist homeland. They take pains to see to it that socialist society and the entire political system operate effectively on the education of the younger generation in the spirit of the scientific, worldwide model, socialist internationalism and socialist ownership of property. They see to it that increasingly better conditions are created for the life, work, and social attainment of youth and for an increase in the numbers of young people who possess the political, professional, and moral qualities and capabilities to put them into practice.

In its work with the younger generation, the party relies especially on the Socialist Youth Association. Representatives of the younger generation and of this close comrade-at-arms organization to the party are solicitous for the SYA's development and for the success of its mission. SYA members who fulfill the statutory requirements are accepted for candidacy in the CPCZ.

Party organizations lead young party members and candidates to be the most active members and officers of the Socialist Youth Association and the Pioneer organization of the SYA.

#### The Party and the Armed Forces

54. The activities of party bodies and organizations in the armed forces are governed by the program and statutes of the party, by the conclusions of congresses, and by CC CPCZ resolutions. They lead their members to active political work among the pertinent armed forces and to exemplary fulfillment of their combat tasks and political training. They maintain close contact with territorial party bodies. They cooperate with each other and exchange information on political activities. They take the initiative in participating in preparing the civilian population to defend their socialist homeland.

### VII. STEWARDSHIP OF THE PARTY

55. The party, its bodies and organizations, develop their activity on the basis of their own means, which are acquired through membership dues, contributions from party enterprises, and other sources. Party bodies and organizations see to it that they are used efficiently and effectively.

## HUNGARY

### Pozsgay Supports, Gains Credibility of Entrepreneurs

90EC0143A Budapest *MAGYAR HIRLAP* in Hungarian 21 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by Lahowszky: "Pozsgay Supports Entrepreneurship"]

[Text] The Artisans' Club was filled to capacity Sunday evening. The artisans, merchants, and small- and medium-scale entrepreneurs met with Imre Pozsgay, who had just arrived at Wesselenyi Street from a visit to

Baranya County. But this was not the only reason the debate stretched into the wee hours.

After introductory remarks by the minister of state, several who sought the floor emphasized that this social stratum certainly wants to pay taxes, and if the government, as it claims, really counts on them, then it should prove this by establishing tax and social insurance rates which do not destroy the enterprises. Nowadays the state demands for itself 80 fillers out of every single enterprise forint.

Imre Pozsgay emphasized in his reply that he felt the remarks delivered were profoundly genuine, and if he is now unable to answer every question, he is ready to help solve the problems through further cooperation. He considered legitimate the remarks that were critical of the financial administration and economic policy which impede entrepreneurship, but he defended the government which, caught in the trap of accumulated debts, is forced to drag its feet. He criticized the economic structure in which the stock of fixed assets, other resources, and part of the work force are still administered and owned by the state, and in which the government is compelled to act like an enterprise's board of directors. In such circumstances, only production-centered decisions can arise, and to the detriment of production at that. As he said: The policy had to take off with radical initiatives as soon as possible, because this production-oriented structure sucks the oxygen out of entrepreneurs and initiators.

Following the discussion which ran late into the night, I asked the minister of state just one question:

"Do you find it conceivable that the demands and arguments formulated by representatives of the three agencies which safeguard interests will be disregarded by the current session of Parliament, and that the hopes of entrepreneurs will thereby be dashed?"

"I can't imagine that, because if these expectations are not fulfilled now, then the entire country will lose hope."

I then turned to the chairmen of the three business federations. "What did you expect from this discussion? Did it meet your preliminary expectations?"

Zsigmond Kurucz (KIOSZ [National Organization of Artisans]): "For my part, I didn't, and I don't, expect anything. I've already been so disappointed by discussions of this kind that I have little confidence in their success. But at least there's one statesman, one high-ranking politician, who listened in person to the problems of entrepreneurs. That's fine, but I don't entertain too many illusions regarding him."

Dr Gyorgy Baradlay (KISOSZ [National Alliance of Industrial Cooperatives]): "In the matters discussed here—by dint of their nature—we should not have too high expectations. We're delighted by the plainspoken

human voice and answers, but it would be an enormous mistake if we were to abandon this trust in order to solve our problems."

Janos Palotas (VOSZ [National Association of Entrepreneurs]): "I expected three things. One, to shake loose Imre Pozsgay's biased information. As became apparent from his answers, this succeeded. Second, we can't count on success if we don't give an atmosphere of trust a chance to develop. The welcome received here by both sides confirms the idea of building up trust. Third, Imre Pozsgay's customary good sentence: You can hold him to what he says and promises. As I expected, this sentence was spoken. I would like to tuck away this trump card and live with the possibility of calling him to account when the occasion arises."

## POLAND

### Mazowiecki Visit to USSR Viewed as Successful

*90EP0201A Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish  
No 48, 2 Dec 89 pp 1, 13*

[Article by Jacek Poprzeczko: "We Differ, but We Understand Each Other: Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the USSR"]

[Text] During a conference at the Moscow Press Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a TIME correspondent, meaning one of those who find it easier [to ask probing questions], asked Premier Mazowiecki, "When you had been interned in 1981, was it conceivable to you that 8 years later you would be coming to Moscow as the premier of the Polish government?" "I can answer it briefly," rejoined the chairman of the Council of Ministers, "No."

When I, in my turn, at a reception at the Polish embassy, asked Minister [Without Portfolio (for Political Parties)] Aleksander Hall whether this was his first visit to Moscow, he answered, "Of course, it is my first. Not so long ago I had not even been eligible for a passport."

Until recently even people gifted with a fanciful imagination would have found it difficult to conceive of it all. That Tadeusz Mazowiecki would travel to Moscow as the premier of the Polish coalition government had been unimaginable to so-called realistic thinking about the modern world, just as unimaginable as the opening of the Berlin Wall, the mass demonstrations in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, or, say, the televised critically minded debates about the role of the KGB in the Soviet Union. The fact that all this is happening simply demonstrates that the world has changed very deeply. And the torrential flow of events confirms that these changes are irreversible, although their ultimate outcome is still difficult to foresee.

The schedule for the visit by Tadeusz Mazowiecki was crowded. On the first day: talks with Mikhail Gorbachev

and Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov; on the second, continued talks with the premier and a meeting with Poles residing in the USSR, and subsequently with representatives of Soviet intelligentsia; on the third day, a trip to Zagorsk and then to Smolensk and Katyn. On the fourth, a visit to Leningrad.

At the aforementioned conference, on the second day of talks, Tadeusz Mazowiecki characterized his visit as unconventional to both the visitor and his entourage and the hosts. Various factors accounted for this unconventionality. First of all, of course, the fact that previously Poland used to be represented in Moscow by spokesmen for other political forces. In this connection, a variety of apprehensions gripped both sides. Given the new alignment of political forces in Poland, will Polish-Soviet political and economic relations change, and how? How will the dialogue unfold? Will a common language be found? Supposedly, it was known that since the visit was taking place at all, the matter would be resolved successfully, and previous declarations by both sides were known, but still, despite everything....

#### 'Very, Very Satisfied'

The Polish reporters watching the visit awaited its outcome somewhat tensely. But already after the first talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov, Minister [and Press Spokesperson Malgorzata] Niezabitowska declared, smiling radiantly as only she could, "Premier Mazowiecki is very, very satisfied." That double "very" was significant testimony to the atmosphere of the visit. Many more such proofs followed.

At the Polish embassy reception on the second day of the visit, after the most important talks were over, a GAZETA WYBORCZA reporter told the premier, "I notice that today you look much more relaxed than at the moment when you disembarked from the plane at the Moscow airport." "Of course," answered Tadeusz Mazowiecki. "It is one thing to be generally aware of political acceptance and another to experience this directly."

About that reception (at which cold zakuski [canapes], bigos [hunter's stew], coffee, and spirituous beverages—the latter in tiny quantities considering Soviet conditions—were served) I would like to report more extensively before passing on to more complex political and economic matters. First, the premier talked for an hour with Professor Andrey Sakharov and subsequently the entire Polish delegation held a meeting with the cream of the Soviet intelligentsia. The host was the new Polish Ambassador to the USSR Stanislaw Ciosek, and the guests—often close friends of the premier—were presented to the premier by the Chairman of the Radio Committee Andrzej Drawicz, an expert in Russian literature.

I asked three of the guests their opinion about the events in Poland and the visit itself.

Prof Andrey Sakharov: "I think that Poland is a bit ahead of the Soviet Union in what is happening there. Its problems also are unusually difficult and, if they can be resolved, this will be of tremendous historical significance. The premier's visit is a qualitatively new event, an unprecedented one. It used to be that prime ministers of Western countries came here as representatives of the opposing forces, while premiers of East European countries came here as representatives of subservient forces. Now we are witnessing a visit by a man in whom the future of your country and ours may be reflected. I consider this a historic event."

Andrey Voznesenski: "Poland has always been to us a symbol of renewal. Even in the worst years. The fact that the first foreign publication of my poems took place precisely in Poland symbolized to me the vanguard nature of your country. Our entire intelligentsia has always supported Polish freedom, and now we rejoice at what has happened in your country. It is splendid that completely new people suddenly became ministers of state. Were something bad to happen in Poland, that would be a personal tragedy to me."

Sergey Stankevich, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet, member of the Interregional Group: "I view this visit as having a great symbolic and historic significance. Until now we had been talking a lot about new political thinking chiefly with respect to our relations with the West. Now we should point to new domains of our political thinking with respect to the changes taking place in the so-called Eastern bloc. The fact that we do not object, do not intervene, but on the contrary are gratified to perceive the process of democratic and national renewal in Poland, the GDR, Hungary, and at present also in Czechoslovakia, demonstrates the depth of changes in our policies. I am speaking here of our government and of those democratic circles which undoubtedly are moving much farther ahead than do government declarations. To us what is happening in Poland is a source of highly important political experience. When perestroika began in 1985 we unlocked new prospects for East Europe. Now the process is going the other way. At present the events in Poland and other East European countries are stimulating changes in our country. We can now tell our conservatives, who tend toward traditional coercive solutions, that the road they are proposing is a blind alley."

#### Comrade Mazowiecki

To what extent can these comments be considered representative of the mental state of the Soviet society? I have been in the USSR for nearly a month, meeting with various people and constituencies. What Sakharov, Voznesenski, or Stankevich are saying is surely characteristic of the mentality of that part of the Soviet intelligentsia which has committed all its efforts to perestroika and which is significantly contributing to the surmounting of dogmas and schemas. In these circles Poland has friends who are generally well informed

about the events in our country but not always well-oriented about the complexities of our political alignments. In these circles one can even meet with objections that the changes in Poland are not yet sufficiently radical.

Among the so-called broader public, Poles have a rather equivocal reputation. It is sometimes said that they do not work but only strike; worse even, they travel throughout the world and speculate (I have been asked so many times if I had anything for sale, and when I said no, the reaction was surprise). Another commonly held opinion is that Poles are a rather irresponsible nation of which anything can be expected. Do not we intend to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact perhaps? In public awareness the (probably predominant) sympathy for changes in Poland exists side by side with beliefs developed during trading encounters with Polish tourists and the influence of the propaganda of the early 1980's.

Besides, even now the mass media, while on the one hand displaying astonishing boldness and openness, on the other are still handicapped by using an intricate and formalist jargon, and in sum they hardly provide a sufficiently clear picture of the situation in Poland. The average man does not seem knowledgeable about the nature of the current Polish government. A minor curiosity: On a Vremya television newscast a speaker reciting a TASS communique called the premier "Comrade Mazowiecki," but the same communique as published in PRAVDA the next day omitted "Comrade" and mentioned "Gospodin," that is, "Mister."

Of a certainty much has yet to be changed in the mutual contacts between our two societies before the stereotypes formed over the years can recede. Nevertheless, even now the fact that "Mr" rather than "Comrade" premier has arrived from a fraternal country does not seem to shock anyone. Both during and before the visit both sides exerted fruitful efforts to acknowledge the present situation as normal.

On the basis of both official declarations and less official comments, it is possible to characterize the way of political thinking of both sides which defines the new nature of Polish-Soviet relations.

#### **Better, Cleaner, Healthier**

Following the talks between Mazowiecki and Gorbachev in the Kremlin, TASS published a communique which is worth perusing attentively. It states, among other things, "We appreciate it, M. S. Gorbachev declared, that this broad-coalition government has from the outset voiced its desire to strengthen and broaden Soviet-Polish ties. The development of good-neighbor relations with Poland is one of the constant political lines of Soviet foreign policy. Much has been accomplished in this respect. We owe to the consistent practical pursuit of mutual respect for the interests and views of both sides, and for the principles of equality, noninterference, and mutual advantages, the fact that the relations between our countries have become better, cleaner, and healthier

than ever before. Much of the credit for it," the Soviet side emphasized, "belongs to President of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski, the PZPR, and other Polish political forces and circles, including realistically thinking Catholic Church activists." And further, "We may differ in views, in experience of life, and in worldview and political orientations, but understanding what matters most, namely, that the Soviet Union and Poland share a common interest in good-neighbor relations, provides the basis for mutual accord on a broad circle of problems beginning with philosophical-political ones and ending with the purely practical aspects of cooperation. Basing itself on these principles, and respecting the choice of development roads made by the Polish nation, the Soviet side remains broadly open to close cooperation with the new leadership of Poland, as well as with all Polish forces, social and religious activists, trade unions, and other democratic organizations. Such cooperation, based on respect for the sovereignty, national dignity, and autonomy of both countries, shall continue to promote a successful accomplishment of the difficult tasks facing us."

And Premier Mazowiecki proposed the following toast at the Kremlin: "The alliance linking our countries is of fundamental importance to us. It ensues from the Polish *raison d'etat*. We do not view it opportunistically. On this matter there exists a broad consensus among our various political orientations, and it rests on firm social support. Regardless of the nature of the political camp exercising power in Poland, our country shall fulfill its alliance obligations. And the best partner of the Soviet Union, a reliable partner, is a Poland whose political system suits a majority of its citizens, liberates energies and initiative, respects the rights of man, and supports the aspirations toward solidarity of nations. I feel convinced that the basis for the alliance linking Poland and the Soviet Union is and in the future should be equal and mutual national interests and *raisons d'etat* rather than ideology."

#### **High Class**

Following the official talks I asked Premier Mazowiecki what impression did Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov produce on him. "A very good one," he said. "High class. The great personal immediacy of Gorbachev, his equal-partner attitude, his penetrating intelligence. As for Ryzhkov, he is extremely competent and also highly intelligent. We had very good talks."

I think that these diverse proofs—the official declarations and the premier's private comments—in sum provide a very good picture of the atmosphere and results of that visit. There are no longer any declarations of complete unity on all possible matters; on the contrary, political and world outlook differences are mentioned in the statements. But at the same time mention is made of mutual understanding of each partner's interests and needs as well as of the common interest represented by the adherence to alliance [Warsaw Pact] obligations and the maintenance of political stability in Europe.



The talks in Moscow covered an extremely broad range of problems, both political and economic ones. The premier arrived with a large entourage: the Ministers Swiecicki, Syryjczyk, Osiatynski, and Dabrowski. The plenary negotiations on economic matters also took place in a good atmosphere although they were very exhaustive and, as one Polish participant put it, hard. This is due to the extremely difficult economic situation in both countries. In the USSR during the past year the crisis has demonstrated itself in its fullness: there are problems in buying staple foodstuffs, while manufactured consumer goods such as television sets or washing machines have simply disappeared from the stores.

The Polish side was satisfied with the results of the talks insofar as both sides were in accord on the need to convert to purely market-oriented principles of cooperation, to trade among enterprises rather than between governments. In addition, we obtained confirmation that Soviet shipments of raw materials during the coming five-year plan period will remain at their present level. Other issues raised in the talks, such as the postponement of payments of Polish debt, compensation to Poles for, among other things, forced labor in the USSR, and the rules for financing the cost of the sojourn of Soviet troops in Poland, will be considered by especially appointed commissions.

In general the discussions of economic issues produced the same results as discussions of political ones: the cooperation will be continued and the changes in both countries should promote rather than impede it.

Difficult and sensitive issues were not shirked. One such issue has always been the problem of the Poles living in the USSR. In our embassy was held a meeting—the first of its kind—between the premier and the representatives of probably all the Polish social and cultural societies active in the USSR; recently their number has been growing. The meeting was simply emotionally stirring; much was said about the problems and needs of the Polish communities, about their difficult life so far. The premier and Minister Hall promised help, and on his part this promise was also given by the Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aboimov, who was present at that meeting.

At the press conference in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the premier also discussed the “blank spots” of history. “The issue most painful to us,” he said, “is that of the Katyn murders. We expect its rapid elucidation. Our expectations found their expression in the talks. I met with understanding of the importance of this problem to us and to cleansing the relations between our societies.”

At Katyn the premier laid a wreath under the cross erected in the fall of last year at the place where our compatriots had died the death of martyrs. Even earlier, he laid a wreath at the Katyn Memorial to more than 500 Soviet prisoners of war murdered by the Hitlerites in May 1943.

The new shape of Polish-Soviet relations still contains many obscure and difficult aspects. The situation in both countries is so complex and tense that some disturbing zigzags may be expected. Still, something extremely important has happened, or rather has been confirmed, namely, that the political orientations dominant nowadays in Poland and the USSR have reached an accord on the fundamental issues of the coexistence of both countries. This inspires hope.

### **National Democratic Party Congress Reaffirms ‘Rightness’**

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No 47, 25 Nov 89 p 7*

[Article by (M.H.): “The Nation Is Not a Doormat: Congress of the National Party”]

[Text] Despite the appeals in the press and television for loaning “National” relics, only one ancient banner of the National Party was present in the conference room of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Applications. Hence, the “National” background was chiefly provided by a large tapestry with Poland embroidered in its present boundaries and with coats of arms of 49 voivodship cities and our heraldic emblem, hung on the wall behind the presidium table. A paper crown was glued to the head of the “People’s” [communist, crownless] White Eagle, with the portrait of Jan Poplawski hanging to one side and Roman Dmowski to the other—the fathers of *Endecja* [National Democrats] thought. Next to the White Eagle was hung a cross with Christ, and in the middle of the tapestry there was the motto “I am a Pole....”

The congress began with a mass said at St. Alexander’s Church by the Suffragan Bishop of Warsaw W. Miziolek. Following the episcopal blessing for the propagators of National ideas, 120 delegates and some 15 guests, including the former Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party Professor Edward Kowalczyk, commenced deliberations; only the first 1 ½ hours were open to outsiders.

The National Party resumed its activities in the open on 9 July of this year. That was decided upon by Jan Matlachowski, the only associate of Roman Dmowski still living in this country and subsequently a member of the party’s top leadership, together with the Convention of Seniors of the Polish National Movement. Their declaration stated that the National Party never ceased to exist in this country, and that the 45 year long prohibition against its public activities, ordered by the antinational alien political forces, was an illegal act. It was resolved to reconstruct the structures and organize a congress of the party.

Just before its congress the party suffered a grievous loss, the death of Jan Matlachowski, and its congress began with a narration of reminiscences about him, a moment of silence, and the recitation of “Rest in Peace” by the entire audience.

The guests were given the floor. The representative of the Union for Real Politics appealed to the Nationalists to form an alliance of the Rightist bloc. "The situation before the war, in which yours was the government of souls and somebody else governed the bodies, should not repeat itself." Boleslaw Tejkowski, representing the Polish National Party and the Polish National Community Association, called for the unification of all National Democratic orientations. He declared that the government of Premier Mazowiecki is not a national but a cosmopolitan government [as published], that it contains non-Polish elements (did he have Minister Strykowski in mind?) and moreover that Mazowiecki and Kohl signed secret protocols providing for the surrender of substantial parts of Olsztyn, Wroclaw, and Gdansk to Germans for their colonization.

Not one in the audience protested this, but there was a ruckus following the announcement that the program report would be presented by... Dzierzynski [a reference to Feliks Dzierzhinskiy, the head of the Cheka]. Actually, the presenter was Jan Dzizynski. His speech and the subsequently adopted "Ideological-Political Premises" and "Problem Theses" provide a political picture of the present-day Endecja.

It considers itself to be, among other things, the "inheritor of the Polish League, the National League, ... the Camp of Greater Poland." Nowadays it desires to be "a supraclass political movement aspiring toward control by the Polish Nation of its own and State affairs, so that it may become fully free and independent of foreign forces." "Deprived of its autonomy, the Polish Nation is a doormat to its rulers, the speaker said, "The National Party is opening the struggle for the government of souls, for the liberation of the moral and spiritual forces of the Nation which are being threatened, National Party members claim, by the sale of national wealth to foreign capitalists, laziness, alcoholism, pornography, and loose morals. We are attracted to the rich but at the same time hedonistic West. We should watch out lest we be assigned the role of servants in the united European home.

"The National Party desires to be a political 'secular organization, independent of all outside institutions but acknowledging the authority of the Catholic Church on matters of faith,' and to build together with that church 'the moral strength and good of the Polish nation, ... to educate the nation and future generations in the spirit of Catholic and national values.' Hence also the National Party shall creatively care for 'the family as the guarantor of the proper education of future generations' and 'guard the independent creativity of the Polish spirit and mind.'

"Walesa is usurping for himself the right to speak for the entire nation, because he can speak only on behalf of Solidarity, which should be thanked for its accomplishments. But the cracking of the system is not a result of Walesa's leap across the shipyard fence; it is the result of work done over decades, of the role played by the Catholic Church, and of the reforms of Gorbachev in the

USSR. New legends should not be developed, a new candidate for the Leader should not be introduced, and old methods of stultifying the society should not be restored," Jan Dzizynski appealed.

"As regards foreign affairs, the National Party warns against a reconciliation with Germany as being based on a weak foundation. Every Polish government must be vigilant toward the German nation. The FRG must make reparations for the injuries done to us; we are its creditor and not its debtor. Polish policy should not be a resultant of the policies of Berlin and Moscow but should be independent. We must defend ourselves against economic and civilizational subjugation by Germany. But as for our relationship with Russia, it should be based on its present nature rather than on what that country used to be in the past. There exists a chance for a revival of the idea of Slavic brotherhood. A realistic stage of the entry of fatherlands into Europe may be a union of Slavic peoples."

"We are watching Mazowiecki's government carefully and by now objecting to many things about it. Mr Tejkowski's views are the views of his groupings; perhaps we shall reach an accord with other Endecja orientations," said Zbigniew Jacniacki, vice chairman of the new Main Board, at the press conference concluding the congress. "Within our National Party there is no racial approach to the concept of the nation. To us there is no Jewish, Belorussian, or Lithuanian problem. We shall provide national minorities in our country with the same conditions as those existing for Polish communities in analogous regions of the world. Since the government is going to establish diplomatic relations with Israel, it is to be hoped that this will be in the interest of the Polish nation."

The newly elected leadership was announced. The new chairman of the Supreme Council is Bronislaw Ekert (76 years old); the chairman of the Main Committee, Adam Krajewski (75 years old), and the chairman of the Main Board, Professor Stefan Jarzebski (71 years old), until recently the nonparty minister of ecology in the government of W. Jaruzelski and Z. Messner and, as said at the congress, a member of the National Party since 1938!

Who may nowadays march under the National Party banner? Anyone who pays 150 zlotys, fills out a membership application, pays the 2,000 zloty registration fee, and pledges himself to pay dues of at least 500 zlotys. Next, he has to sign an oath of loyalty to the statute and find two sponsoring members. Thereupon the Board will decide on his admission on scrutinizing the information contained in the membership application, such as citizenship, nationality, name and maiden surname of mother, interests, and religion, as well as past and present membership in social and political organizations. As reported, members of other parties are not eligible.

How many Nationalists are there? The answer to this repeatedly asked question revealed that it is one of the

most closely guarded secrets of the National Party. "Of a certainty their membership is larger than that of the highly publicized parties," said Z. Jacniacki. "Our base is people who think independently and have opinions of their own, the intelligentsia, and the nativist-minded peasants.

"If we had the office space and at least one-tenth of the State budget subsidy allotted to the [Communist] party this year, or even one-hundredth," interjected Chairman A. Krajewski, "in 9 more months we would have 100,000 members."

For the time being it is known that seven National Party regions were formed. The elderly predominated among the delegates, but there also were several young people whose greatest interest was attracted by the book by Kazimierz Snopek, "Zmianianie nazwisk" [Name Changing], a practical guide to and glossary of Polish, Jewish, and German names, first published in 1935 and more recently republished in the underground.

### ZSL Congress: Polish Peasant Party 'Rebirth' Emerges

90EP0203A Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish  
No 48, 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Article by Aleksander Checko: "And the Bulls Are Bellowing.... The Recent ZSL Congress"]

[Text] The Polish peasantry is a major force provided there are no internal squabbles. A word sufficed and the climactic congress turned for a few hours into a noisy bazaar and some people wanted to slam the doors behind them. Ultimately, through joint effort, the ZSL was buried [as a name], the heads of the newly named PSL "Odrodzenie" ["Rebirth" Polish Peasant Party] were elected, and the road to a strong and united peasant movement was not barred. Of a certainty, not everyone likes that.

The Extraordinary ZSL Congress, renamed the Peasant Movement Rebirth Congress (26-27 November) was another in a series of peasant congresses. In the race to change the name of ZSL (to the PSL), various orientations repeatedly put forward the dates of their own congresses. Three weeks ago the [members of the original, nonregime] Polish Peasant Party met in Wilanow upon reactivating it after 43 years (from the groupings of F. Kaminski, T. Bak, and S. Teliga), and at year end the Solidarity PSL will be meeting. However, the key to the future of the peasant movement was to be the aforementioned recent congress of the ZSL, which was at the same time the first congress of the reborn party.

Despite the inglorious stages in its past and the fact that it bore a name associated with years of betrayal of the peasants and the countryside, the ZSL remained the greatest force in the peasant movement, not only in view of its assets, facilities and structure but also because of the size of its membership, a size significant to the present political alignment.

More importantly, a majority of ZSL members transferred PSL ideals (and the younger members, the memories of these ideals) to the until recently sole official avenue of political activity for peasant activists [the ZSL]. The accusations that they are post-Stalinists sounded ridiculous, considering their age and industrious devotion to the Polish countryside. Despite the disputes about the party's new name and the political and personal settlements of accounts among the leadership, essentially no schism, no discord among peasant activists at the local levels, took place.

The program of the original PSL, based on principles of agrarianism and canons of Christian morality, is widely accepted. A total of 2,700 delegates, elected democratically in the gminas [rural townships], thus came not to a funeral but to the 11th Congress in order to finally settle accounts with the past of the ZSL, change the party's name, and elect a leadership that would in a conflict-free manner bring about the unification of all peasant groupings and forces.

At the same time, a major topic of the deliberations was the discussion of the situation of the Polish agriculture, and in particular the great outcry raised by the delegates over its decline. The new government was attacked, accused of an anti-peasant policy. Impulsive comments about the shortages of basic means of production in the countryside and about measures that make farming unprofitable also included voices of caution.

"An attentive observation of the events occurring in our economy," said Jozef Zych, chairman of the ZSL Caucus of Sejm Deputies, in his well-prepared speech, "and in particular of the steadily worsening situation in farming, obligates us to address an unequivocal demand to the coalition government for a rapid presentation of a program for promoting agriculture and feeding the nation. Agriculture cannot remain a field of experiments, and of experiments that are, moreover, conducted in an irresponsible manner."

The delegates applauded the speech of Kazimierz Oleksiak, which struck the most sensitive spot. He said, "There are growing discussions and debates over how many new peasant groupings and parties are yet to arise... but unfortunately this clamor relegates to the background the plight of the countryside. In the past, however bad or good was the situation of the countryside, there at least used to exist stable economic policies on the countryside and agriculture. Now they seem to be nonexistent, as it were and can at best be only deduced from the measures or evasions of the government.... I can imagine what would happen were marketization not introduced: the situation of the peasants would have been much worse than it is at present in the presence of inflation. Unfortunately, the most important thing was forgotten, namely, that marketization should be accompanied by the abolition of State interventionism. Minimum prices guaranteeing production profitability were forgotten. And the consequences? It was declared here that prices lag behind profitability and farmers have

problems in selling their products and even in getting paid for the products delivered. In the not distant future this threatens a collapse of production and, as a consequence, food shortages..... [The government pays no] subsidies for stockpiling [e.g., feed], so that farmers buy only as much [e.g., feed] as they need to sell [e.g., their livestock] at present, and in the meantime the bulls are bellowing ever more loudly, because the winter is becoming ever more severe. At the same time, the countryside is receiving special food assistance: the farmers receive canned butter and at the same time they have growing trouble in marketing their products.

"A strong peasant party is needed by the countryside; it is not desired by the other political forces—I understand why." J. Zych's statement met with full approbation of the audience. "The history of the peasant movement, its history as a political party, has explicitly demonstrated that one is not a valued partner by acting subserviently and patting the hand delicately. The coalition is the sum total of rights and duties which we have so far failed to assure for ourselves in the political coalition."

This being the dominant motif, the other items on the agenda of the congress were relegated to a secondary plane. The dispute about the procedure for renaming the ZSL into the PSL and about the name of the new party at times turned into verbal clashes. It was rightly emphasized that the PSL is the name adopted by the original, reactivated (Wilanow) PSL, and that appropriating this name without tacking on something extra (e.g., Piast, or Rebirth) would be considered as a theft and as barring the road to the formation of a united peasant party in the future.

In such an atmosphere, despite warnings about manipulation by the ZSL apparatus, the congress bid goodbye to the departing leadership and commenced elections of a new leadership. That took half a night and the entire following forenoon.

The nerves of Aleksander Bentkowski, whose political career until then progressed at a breakneck pace, failed him and he withdrew at the last moment his candidacy for the chairmanship. This added to the confusion. In view of his activities in the ZSL Caucus of Sejm Deputies, his contribution to the change in the government coalition, and his good relations with the Catholic Church and Solidarity, A. Bentkowski could have become the liaison in uniting all the PSL groupings (so said even those who had resented his acceptance of a ministerial post).

In that situation, Kazimierz Olesiak could not lose in his competition with Stanislaw Dabrowski for the post of chairman, even though he bore the stigma of having worked for years [at the ministry] on Grzybowska Street [in Warsaw]. Still, the question of the manner in which K. Olesiak will help purge the old apparatus, and above all, of whether he will be acceptable to the other peasant forces and as a partner in coalition talks, remains open.

Despite the threat of a schism within the newly formed "Rebirth" PSL (Wladyslaw Zabowski, who is linked to Solidarity, withdrew his candidacy for chairmanship of the Supreme Council, and Teresa Liszcz simply resigned from the party), the internal crisis was temporarily resolved. The credit for this belongs to the party's Caucus of Sejm Deputies, and primarily to its chairman, Jozef Zych, whom the congress elected chairman of the Supreme Council. The Sejm deputies will be a cementing force in the future. The road to the unification of all PSL groupings leads, however, through the parish in Wilanow.

### Gdansk Congress of Liberals: Party in the Making

90EP0202A Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish  
No 48, 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Article by Robert Samsel: "Demolishing Some Myths"]

[Excerpts] "A light is shining from Gdansk." These words of the pope were received as a motto by the participants in the Second Gdansk Congress of Liberals.

In the beginning it was Krakow. In the 1970's Miroslaw Dzielski illegally published MERKURIUSZ KRAKOWSKI I SWIATOWY, and during the martial law era, TRZYNASTKA, a periodical of Christian Liberals. In Warsaw there is the Office of the Liberals, and, even before August [1980, the rise of Solidarity], Janusz Korwin-Mikke had organized the Movement for Real Politics. Gdansk came after August.

The political program of Solidarity and the Independent Students' Association (NZS) did not suit the Liberals. It was imprecise. They began to publish PRZEGLAD POLITYCZNY during the martial law era. Altogether they numbered 250 persons.

In December 1988 they organized the First Gdansk Congress of Liberals. It was attended by people from the entire country, chiefly those from the economic societies associated with the Economic Action in Warsaw (led by, among others, Andrzej Machalski, Aleksander Paszynski, Tadeusz Syryjczyk, and Ernest Skalski).

They discussed changing the system and privatizing the economy. [passage missing]

However, Economic Action was unable to occupy the spot designated for a liberal party on the political map.

The Second Gdansk Congress of Liberals was to decide on this issue. But the party was not formed.

"We (as the Gdansk community) were reluctant," the Chairman of the "Congress" Donald Tusk explained, "to establish the party now and then wait until others mature and formulate their programs. For the time there was formed the 'Liberals Congress National Alliance.' But that is the last step before the [Liberal] party is formed."

What kind of party will it be?

"No label, please," said Jacek Kozłowski of the PRZEGŁAD POLITYCZNY grouping. "The word liberal carries bad connotations, most of them false, in Poland."

The Liberal tradition to which we harken is associated with freedom, and with private ownership as a safeguard of freedom, along with rule of law and rights of the individual. This is the classic liberalism of the turn of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, of the kind which underlay the birth of the political system of the United States and England.

But we desire to be perceived as different from 19th-century dogmatic liberalism. We call this difference libertarianism, or antidemocratic liberalism. In Poland the closest grouping of the kind is the Union of Real Politics (UPR). When he hears the word democracy, Janusz Korwin-Mikke erupts with a rash. To me this is an extremist outlook, disregard of reality. To be sure, Korwin-Mikke is demolishing myths and restoring common sense to thinking but, because of his extravagance and the role of the enlightened clown that he plays, he will not play a significant role.

"A Liberal party should be established," said Janusz Korwin-Mikke, the head of the UPR, who styles himself a conservative liberal, "so that I would have someone to the left of me to talk with, since I am not going to engage in polemics with socialists, those supporters of legalized banditism."

Hence, the party will be rightist.

They had hoped to form a united and strong party of the Polish Right, of the British kind, associating many orientations. The rise of the Christian-National Association nullified this possibility.

"They don't emphasize procapitalist thinking," said Donald Tusk. "Basing themselves on the social teachings of the church, they will advocate the model of the denominational state. That is why two strong rightist parties will arise. The Liberal party will resolutely distance itself from the nationalist orientation. It will occupy the Center-Right niche and enter into a coalition with democratic and procapitalist forces, e.g., with the Movement for Polish Politics."

On the Left by then a Social-Democratic party should be formed. All attempts to establish a socialist or communist mass party are doomed to failure. The less democratic (more socialist) Left will become part of the Social Democrats. At the center of the political spectrum there will probably arise a strong peasant movement which may exercise power in the state. But that is good, because private farmers are the sole social group based on private property. They will be close to us ideologically.

The West expects of Poland a strong Liberal party which not only knows that communism in Poland should be

eliminated but also what to build in its stead. We shall reach for models verified throughout the world rather than for utopias or myths.

The Liberals do not support the ownership of shares in workplaces by employees. This may be a kind of private ownership but it has limitations, e.g., on ownership of assets. In the West this is merely an economic experiment. Generally speaking, it will be the nascent marketplace that shall decide on the manner of privatization. No single prescription will apply.

They also say that several myths will have to be demolished.

First, the myth, cherished by the Left, of the miraculous sole way of transition to normalcy. This myth is prompting Poles to refrain from accepting any program that does not guarantee immediate success. There is no such thing.

On the other hand, no one can prove that the cost of privatization will be greater than the cost of any Leftist-type experiment whatsoever, e.g., of worker self-government.

Another myth is that the proposals of the Liberals mean a return to predatory 19th century capitalism. Nowadays we are somewhat better technologically, better educated. There is no such danger. If a segment of the society enriches itself, fine, that is precisely the point. Marx's thesis that capitalism creates two strata, the proletariat and the rich, did not prove itself. Capitalism, the Liberals say, creates a strong middle class. That the best and the brightest, the most enterprising, intelligent, and industrious ones will enrich themselves, is a biological law.

They are hoping that they will win 10-15 percent of the electorate over to their program.

"The Liberal party will be a party of thinking people. We desire to influence intellectual milieu and opinion-making circles and thus count on the political scene."

As regards the return to capitalism, they count on support from Solidarity.

"Walesa is the most prominent spokesman for changes in the liberal direction. That man guides himself by common sense, and in views on the economy common sense is an absolute asset of the Right, not the Left."

They [the Liberals] first arose as part of Solidarity and operated both in the underground and in legal structures, together with Jaek Merkel and Lech Kaczynski, and together with Jan K. Bielecki, a Solidarity Deputy to the Sejm and member of the "Congress."

They view Solidarity's "grassroots" as variegated, but the leadership of the Solidarity Caucus of Sejm Deputies (OKP) as definitely Left-leaning.

"This is dangerous, because they [the Caucus] want to form the political image of Solidarity," said Jacek Kozlowski of PRZEGLAD POLITYCZNY. "For the time being they are camouflaging themselves. Were they to declare plainly that they pay homage to the principles of socialism, they would at once lose support. They already tried to control the citizens' committee movement."

Solidarity should not link itself to any political movement, because then it would deny its own tradition. After all, it is an outgrowth of many orientations.

"It arose from the soil of the system," observed Lech Kaczynski during the Congress, "but also from protest against communism. We had thought that through this one revolutionary movement we would accomplish reform within the framework of the [communist] system. Now we underwent an evolution and accept change in the system of society. We support privatization. This is a chance for a redefinition of our entire movement."

The politicians from the Union for Real Politics prophesy failure for the idea of privatization.

"The government will not cope with it," claims Aleksander Jedraszcyk. "It may be that the economy and finance are ruled by the liberals, but the socialists are dividing [among themselves] whatever [power] they can salvage."

"That is why, Janusz Korwin-Mikke claims, "unless full currency convertibility is introduced, the UPR will switch to a resolute and ruthless opposition to the government."

However, the Second Congress of Liberals declared its support for the government: politics is the art of the possible.

### Factions in Polish Green Party Noted

90EP0207A Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 50, 10 Dec 89 p 7

[Article by Przemyslaw Cwiklinski: "The Green Elves: The Party Is One but in Three Forms"]

[Text] The General Meeting of the Polish Party of the Greens in Krakow on 26 November was attended by 60 activists throughout the nation. Some malicious people claimed that there were only 60 attendees but as many as 60 organizers. The participants were presented the draft of a new statute for reading and commenting upon. Longtime activists of the Greens Movement, conversant with the historical and political meanders of their party, said this was already the fourth or fifth statute since 10 December 1988, that is, since the party was formed.

"If you please, they pass their time writing statutes, declarations, and polemics."

The General Meeting was organized by one of the three national spokesmen, elected during the Founding Congress (December 1988, Krakow, Pod Baranami Nightclub), Dr. Henryk Sobanski. He is at present, less than a year after the party's founding, the leader of the so-called Sobanski faction and considers himself a continuator of the political and program line adopted last year. There is no need to add that Dr. Sobanski and his closest associates consider themselves to be representatives of the entire Polish Party of the Greens, which has supposedly a membership of about 7,000.

At the International Conference on Environmental Monitoring held prior to the General Meeting, there appeared supporters of another party faction, the Fura Faction, who, in the presence of domestic and foreign guests, protested against Dr. Sobanski's usurpation of the right to represent the Polish Greens. That protest, manifesting itself in the desire to participate at the General Meeting as observers and in the distribution of flyers, was viewed by the organizers as a hooligan incursion. Appropriate countermeasures against "boors and hooligans," as the first version put it, and "to bring order and clarify the situation," according to the second version, were taken. The militia did not intervene, and there were no casualties.

Zygmunt Fura, who replaced the second, in his turn, national spokesman of 1988, Leszek Konarski, believes that Sobanski has no support among rank-and-file party members and that "General Meeting" should be referred to in quotation marks. Presumably, only the Fura faction is authorized to use the party's name and to represent those 7,000 supporters of the Polish Party of the Greens.

There is still another pretender to the continuation of the sole just political line, the third national spokesman. His name is Janusz Bryczkowski and he lives in Olsztyn and is, of course, the leader of the Bryczkowski faction. He too is supposedly supported by those 7,000 Greens.

The ecological movement in Poland has existed since as early as 1980, according to optimists. The oldest and most active is the Krakow Polish Ecological Club, headed at present by Professor Stanislaw Juchnowicz and previously, before the rise of the Polish Party of the Greens, by Z. Fura. For order's sake it should be added that at present the Krakow club supports the Sobanski faction. It is hard to say precisely how many associations, groups, and organizations at present are active in environmental protection in Poland: some cite a figure of 60 groupings and others 200. One thing is certain: the Polish Party of the Greens is one, even though in three forms.

The first discord and misunderstandings among the three national spokesmen occurred soon after the party was established. On 21 April 1989, on the decision of the National Board of the Polish Party of the Greens, Z. Fura was deprived of membership in the party. Artur Olszewski, the organizational secretary, at present a supporter of the Fura faction, said that that decision was

taken contrary to the statute, because the National Board has no power to deprive anyone of membership; that can be done only by the local chapter to which the party member in question belongs.

Last May an attempt at mediation intended to end in a reconciliation was undertaken, but it ultimately failed.

"Through the fault of Bryczkowski and Sobanski," said Olszewski.

"It was Fura's fault," say the supporters of the Sobanski faction.

The decisive clash, which resulted in the current triple schism, took place on 24 and 25 June, when the Fura faction convened the Extraordinary Congress of the Polish Party of the Greens in Dolina Bedkowska, near Krakow. A new statute became mandatory, a new National Board was elected, and Fura became the leader.

On the same days the Program Congress of the Polish Party of the Greens, organized by the Bryczkowski faction, deliberated at the Warsaw Polytechnic. A new statute was agreed upon and a new National Board and a new leader, of course, Bryczkowski, were elected.

The members of the Sobanski faction referred to both "Congresses" in quotation marks and disdainfully. These "schismatic and confrontational" congresses were supposedly attended by few persons, and unrepresentative ones at that. They also said that blunders were committed: At Dolina Bedkowska, they said, an unfavorable—from Sobanski's viewpoint—alliance was concluded with young ecologists-anarchists, while in Warsaw an agreement with the PZPR was signed. Moreover, they said, charter provisions were repeatedly violated. But which charter?

Reporters from the PAP, Reuter, and [MANCHESTER] GUARDIAN were accredited at the "genuine" congress in Dolina Bedkowska, while the "puppet" congress in Warsaw was reported on by an accidental journalist from RAZEM. And indeed, in midyear, Fura's faction enjoyed the greatest popularity; in July GAZETA WYBORCZA published a report that seemed to confer on that faction the right to name itself the Polish Party of the Greens. At the same time, GAZETA WYBORCZA published excerpts from a document originating from the Secretariat of the Commission of Youth Associations and Organizations under the PZPR Central Committee. "In the current political situation," the document states, "the 'Greens's movement' may be in the party's (the PZPR's, P.C. notes) interest.... The party should not let the ecological movements, and in particular the Polish Party of the Greens, have the monopoly on this issue." Thus it has become clear, at least partially, who is standing behind this and to whom schisms within the Polish Party of the Greens matter.

A month ago GAZETA WYBORCZA published an interview with Michal Downarowicz, an expert and a member of the Roundtable's Taskforce on Ecology, as

well as a neutral member of the PPZ [Polish Party of the Greens]. "The Greens were from the very outset infiltrated by the security services and the PZPR. The Communists realize that ecology is a popular topic and are attempting to take over the PPZ," Downarowicz said.

Press comments indicate that at present Bryczkowski's faction is the closest to the PZPR. Until recently, Fura's faction referred to its good relations with Solidarity, but it seems that they did not last. At present, Sobanski's faction is preparing for talks with Solidarity.

From the beginning of this three-way split the factions have been engaging in mutual warfare in the media. The sympathies and antipathies of the Press could be clearly perceived during the recent General Meeting in Krakow. GAZETA KRAKOWSKA published a favorable notice about that meeting and informed the readers about the hostile factions. DZIENNIK POLSKI, on the other hand, published an explanation by Olszewski (from Fura's faction) to the effect that the PPZ has nothing in common with a brochure, distributed by the Ruch [Press Distribution Cooperative], that is sponsored by Bryczkowski's faction, as well as with the conference and congress organized by Sobanski's faction.

Not without importance also are the foreign support and assistance for the PPZ.

Agata Michalek, director of the National Office of the PPZ (from Sobanski's faction) claimed that her faction maintains correct relations with all the 17 parties of the Greens active in the West as well as with informal ecology groups in the USSR.

"Zygmunt Fura is attempting to represent the PPZ and the Polish Ecological Club abroad," said Agata Michalek, "but his actions are lawless. I happen to know that he has tried to obtain financial support from the West and succeeded."

### **PPZPR Building To Be Turned Over for 'Social Purposes'**

*26000006 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Nov 89 p 2*

[Text] The PZPR City and Gmina Committee Building in Siemiatycze (Bialystok voivodship) will be turned over for social purposes as a result of an agreement reached between representatives of the party organization and representatives of a group picketing in front of the building. The representatives agreed that by 10 December both sides would decide on a means of managing the building for social purposes as well as remuneration.



## YUGOSLAVIA

### MLADINA on Milosevic's Early Life, Parents' Suicides

90EB0142A Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene  
3 Nov 89 pp 30-32

[Article by Svetlana Vasovic: "The Student Years of Slobodan Milosevic"]

[Text] Some 100 kilometers southeast of Belgrade lies Pozarevac, a small and dusty town, which until recently was known only for Zabela, one of the larger prisons in Yugoslavia. Since the rise of the new Serbian political team, however, Pozarevac has developed into a significant excursion spot that is being visited by increasingly more numerous admirers of the life and work of Slobodan Milosevic. Pozarevac, in fact, is his birthplace.

Even if Pozarevac does perhaps become the new Kumrovec [Tito's birthplace], in the final analysis it is perhaps not even so significant at all. What is significant is what always appears throughout history to be insignificant, although in fact it perhaps has an extremely decisive influence on the significance, important actions, and later deeds of significant people. Who knows how history would have proceeded if little Dzugashvili had not read Marxists under his schooldesk, if Churchill had not hated Latin, and if Nepomuk Heidler had not adopted Alois Shicklgruber, the father of Adolf Hitler? Or, to be a little clearer, if the toboggan of little Josip Broz, on which he went riding above his native Kumrovec, had slid into some ravine? On 30 January 1933, when Adolf became the chancellor of the German Reich, the German masses would have enthusiastically shouted "Hail, Shicklgruber!" Would there be socialism with a human face in the Soviet Union, and would Yugoslavia today be a kingdom shaken by tribal clashes? History is obviously a rather entertaining thing, especially when we think about necessary and accidental things backwards. We are also interested in the future, however, and in the past of those who can have a crucial influence on the future. We are interested in those who have power in their hands. One of them is also Slobodan Milosevic. We talked with his neighbors, classmates, and teachers about what Slobodan was like before he became Slobodan...

Radio Pozarevac is directly opposite the taxi stand, where taxi drivers crowd each other with their four-wheeled horse carts. A journalist, a personal friend and neighbor of Slobodan Milosevic, was not terribly enthusiastic about the idea of telling me anything about the early youth of the present Serbian president. Precisely because he and Slobodan are good friends, they have agreed that he will not speak about their friendship in public. He apologized to me, because he had some "urgent journalistic work"; his journalistic colleagues laughed at him behind his back and shouted after him that he had to be quiet because Slobodan was angry at him because this year he had done a bad job of hoeing onions and vegetables in the garden. And so my fellow reporter and I were left with nothing else but to find our own way

among the narrow streets to the place where the Milosevics' former house stands today.

At 13 Dulic Street, we were met in front of the house by an Orthodox priest who confirmed to us with a smile that we were in the right place. Svetislav Dinic still remembers little Slobodan very well: "We lived together. Stanislava Milosevic worked in Pozarevac as a teacher. Many times she came back from the school angry and did not even greet us. Then she always came back, however, and apologized and spoke with us. 'They make me angry at school and so of course...forgive me,' she said, and we did not criticize her. She was a sharp-witted woman, and also a judicious one. We only inherited the house in 1952, and since our family was large, she let us have her apartment and moved to a publicly owned one after 1968. And so we said farewell as friends," we were told by the present owner of the former Milosevic house, who also remembers Stanislava differently.

"Stanislava was a great activist. She was a party member, she was on the committee, and she was always very active everywhere. She spoke at various meetings, and it was due to her efforts that the name of the St Sava school was changed to 'Njegos.' His mother was so very busy with political work, that Slobodan was always more alone. Perhaps he was even a little neglected. You surely know what working women are like. And so Slobodan lived most of the time with Baca (Mirjana Markovic, the wife of Slobodan Milosevic—author's comment), where his real nest was. Naturally, both of them, Slobodan and his brother Bora, were already going to school in Belgrade. It did not seem that the brothers got along all that well. They rarely came home together. I used to see the older one, Bora, rarely, but Slobodan came many times—usually he came with Baca to visit his mother. He mostly did not bring her flowers and candy as presents. At that time they usually brought coffee.

"Stanislava later committed suicide, and hanged herself. Certainly something broke in her then; things were very hard for her. She was ill, very nervous, and tense. I only saw Slobodan later on; he came to his mother's grave. He always smiles nicely and greets me, and is very pleasant. Since Stanislava was a party member, and we were an Orthodox family, our relations were sometimes really almost official, but those were different times. Even though he was following that party line, we never quarrelled," mentioned Father Svetislav, who wishes Slobodan all the best. "Slobodan reminds me a great deal of Stanislava. He is always so serious and resolute. Certainly he is also that way because of the great worries and the work that he has. It is not easy to head a state, a republic... We church people are very happy that the Church in Serbia is recognized again so much that our relations are better than at any time since the war."

Svetislav confided to us that a picture of Slobodan Milosevic also hung in his office, and that everyone in Pozarevac was proud that Slobodan was from there. We asked him whether people in his church also lit candles for Slobodan's happiness. "They do, they do, of course."



We headed for the only secondary school in Pozarevac, the Jovan Serbanovic secondary school, which today has been relocated in a new building. In his school years, Slobodan went to the old building, which was built in 1872 by the order of Prince Milos. Only a few of Slobodan's teachers are still alive today. The school's principal told us that Slobodan never brought books to school, and had only a small notebook that he carried in the back pocket of his trousers.

With a bit of diplomatic skill, we were able to look at the school journal, which they keep in an old safe. In the III-2 grade, Slobodan Milosevic's certificate was signed by class teacher Ivan Pecnik. Under serial number 21 we find Slobodan, the son of father Svetozar and mother Stanislava, born on 20 August 1941 in Pozarevac. Slobodan, according to the book, was still living with his mother at that time. The certificate with serial number 518, issued on 11 July 1959, indicates that that year Slobodan had 53 excused hours and one unexcused hour, and that he completed the class with distinction, although, judging from his grades, he had quite a few more fours than fives [the highest grade]. Slobodan had fives in English, French, philosophy, geography, and biology. He did somewhat worse in other subjects. We thus find fours under the heading of Serbian language, and also Latin, history, mathematics, physics, and chemistry. Under the heading of remarks on the student, one can only find a few scant comments:

"Individual characteristics: intelligent, understands quickly, valuable in the work of the Yugoslav National Youth Organization, helps his comrades," wrote class teacher Ivan Pecnik.

One could see that Slobodan Milosevic was a favorite topic of conversation in Pecnik's house: "I remember that he was always well dressed, although not because he was wealthy or from a wealthy family. His mother, my colleague at the school, was in fact very pedantic. Slobodan could also play differently, without getting dirty. He wore a dark blue suit, a white shirt, and a tie. Everything he wore was always par excellence. He was very responsible. At that time study circles were popular, and so Slobodan also came to school an hour before class and helped his poorer classmates to study.

"His mother, who was a great activist, had a great influence on him. He himself was always excellent and did not cause any particular difficulties for his teachers. He was also an excellent speaker, and although he was even excused from physical education classes because of his frail health, he participated in work actions. Certainly there is nothing surprising in the fact that he had poor health. The entire family lived on his mother's pay from teaching, they had poor food, and it would have been surprising if everything had been all right," his class teacher recalled, and stated that at that time Slobodan already had "his own style" and that he was "very attached to the party."

Pecnik's wife also reminded us about Slobodan's first and only love, Mirjana Markovic, to whom he is married today. "She was temperamental, and he was calm. She was capable of getting up at 6 in the morning so that she and a friend could wake up some student and teach him. She was his first and only love."

Prof Zivorad Panic taught Slobodan defense skills. The subject, which was then still called prearmy education, was of course very important. Colonel Panic recalls his pupil with pride. "Just a little while ago Ivan Pecnik and I agreed to go to Belgrade and shake hands with him," he told us, and then added in jest that Milosevic would probably not receive Ivan too cordially, since he was his physical education teacher, a subject that Slobodan did not like.

"His comrades taunted and teased him because he did not like all those games of theirs, playing ball, strolling, soccer... But he was very active in the youth organization and the literary newspaper RAZVOJ, where the students published poems and reports. He was an incredibly handsome child. He was as red-cheeked as a little girl, always polished and wearing a tie, which was certainly somewhat unusual to see," Milosevic was described by his former defense teacher, who remembers quite well the classes and the hours that they spent together at the rifle range. "He was the only one of the whole generation that I had such confidence in that I sent him to the office for a rifle or a grenade. He was always splendid. He was an excellent shooter in the exercises." Prof Panic also remembers that Baca, his wife, inherited from her grandmother a house that formed part of a complex of old Serbian houses and was under special state protection because of its historic value.

"Peter Dobrnjac and Milenko Stojkovic lived in those houses; they were better known as General Milenko and General Dobrnjac, the Serbian generals who prepared the uprisings in that region during the time of the Turks. Their house was once the house of General Milenko. He did not change anything in it, which proves that he has a great deal of respect for Serbian tradition."

We said farewell to the energetic teacher of defense and went onward. Along the way we later heard the full story about Slobodan and his teacher of prearmy education. A former classmate, who did not want us to cite his name, still remembered that once all the boys had to jump over a wall during one prearmy education lesson. They all succeeded, except for the sickly Slobodan. Prof Panic did not give in. He chewed out Slobodan, and when Slobodan failed to cross the wall a second time, he repeated the process once more. The third time, Slobodan barely managed to crawl over the wall; at a class reunion, Colonel Panic's fellow teachers teased him, after Slobodan's successes in politics, that because of that same rebuke, Slobodan would now retire him after a brief procedure.

We stopped to see Dusan Mitrovic, who is retired today, but was at one time the assistant director of the Njegos

elementary school where Stanislava Milosevic worked from 1961 to 1974. "Stanislava sacrificed herself for those boys. When she received her salary, she usually sent it all to her sons in Belgrade. Then the poor woman came to me and asked me if she could get some sort of advance. She was left without a husband very early. She separated from him. He worked then in Titograd at some secondary school technical center. I was fairly intimate with her, and so in some of Slobodan's actions I can also recognize her characteristics. She always spoke clearly and was very ambitious..."

Several kilometers outside Pozarevac, we found Slobodan's former classmate Radomir Mladenovic, nicknamed Duce, the owner of the Boter cafe.

"They called me Duce, like Mussolini. I repeated a class, and so fell into Slobodan's generation," he stated at the very beginning, and smiled sheepishly. "We were involved in sports. Slobodan had a much better sport—he was involved in love and hung around with his present wife. Since there was already an older pair of lovers like that in Pozarevac, we called the older pair the 'elder' Slobodan and Baca and the 'younger' one Romeo and Juliet. We had friends, and he had Baca," Duce recalled, and showed us a photograph that was taken on 3 August 1957 in Sutivan, when the whole class was at the seaside. Slobodan, discreetly hidden by the bodies of his classmates in bathing suits, peeps out from the back row.

"He was more serious than others of that generation," Radomir Mladenovic remembered. "We perhaps played 'Oh, those are beautiful pairs' [ALA SO TO LEPI PARI], and that was all. Slobodan did not smoke, and he always sat on the first bench. He was clever, although he rarely showed it. I last met him in the square in Pozarevac. He always uses the formal pronoun; it seems silly to me to address him as 'Comrade President.' He was also with us at the 20th class reunion, when he was still the chairman of the Belgrade city council, although he could not stay with us long. I think that later, at the time of the 25th reunion, he sent a telegram regretting that he would not be able to come. Of course, many people criticize me for not having his picture in the cafe. I know that he would not like it, even though he is an idol for many people today. He does not have a weekend cottage, a boat, or anything, and I think that one should trust him."

Finally, we headed for the mysterious and well-known house in which the Serbian rebels lived and in which Prince Milos Obrenovic, on a three-legged chair, so gladly drank coffee in real Serbian surroundings. Things became unusually confused, however. On the back side, the house has been hidden by a fence made of high iron bars painted green, so we went to the other side. On that side the house has been hidden by a wooden fence, in front of which a strip of black (?DROBIR) had been poured. The local residents told us that until recently, up until the threats from Albanian extremists who perhaps offered a rich reward for Slobodan's head, everything was still unsettled and quite "normal." Behind the

wooden fence we discovered another one, an equally green iron fence. We also noticed a blue Yugo with a Zajecar registration and a white, scratched Lado, from which policemen immediately appeared. While they wrote down our personal data, photographer Elmer and I found out that the policemen guarding Slobodan's house wanted some sort of small guardhouse, since nights in the old Lado are extremely unpleasant because of the cold and the exhaust. General Milenko's house remained inaccessible for the camera. Also, the photograph that START published was not the photograph of the right house, and also INTERVJU, in its "denial," published a picture of the neighboring house, where General Dobrnjac was supposed to have lived. All we had left was a wait in front of the door and questioning at the police station, where they explained to us that one had to address a request for photographing the house to the republic president's chief of staff, Comrade Vidojkovic, whom we had already visited the day before. Photographer Elmer only then learned that we were not under arrest, and so we peacefully left Pozarevac.

[Box, p 31]

#### Milosevic or a Career

Slobodan Milosevic was born on 20 August 1941 in Pozarevac. His mother came from the well-known Kojensic family of soldiers and revolutionaries. In Slobodan's home town, Stanislava Milosevic soon turned out to be a fervent activist, who was well remembered by the residents of Pozarevac. Slobodan's mother ended her life by suicide. She hanged herself. The brother of Slobodan's mother, the well-known General Kojensic, also committed suicide. Slobodan Milosevic's family, of course, comes from Montenegro. His father, Svetozar Milosevic, is from Lijeva Reka, from the Vasojevic clan of Montenegro. His father was a teacher of religion and an Orthodox priest. According to the stories of acquaintances, Slobodan Milosevic's parents also separated because of political disagreements. His father Svetozar left for Montenegro, where according to some reports he is supposed to have taught Russian, while both of the brothers, the elder Bora and the younger Slobodan, stayed with their mother in Pozarevac. Slobodan Milosevic's father later also committed suicide. Of all his close relatives, the only one left is his brother Bora Milosevic, who until recently was an ambassador in Algeria. He currently lives in Belgrade and does not yet have a new position. Bora Milosevic, to be sure, even during the presidency of Jozip Broz, was the latter's adviser on some political areas (he was with Tito in Korea, for example), and took care of the "rhetorical organization" of Tito's speeches. In contrast to Slobodan, Bora considers himself a Montenegrin and is on the Montenegrin personnel list. From his mother, Slobodan inherited determination and quick wits, while his father is said to have made a great impression on him primarily through his asceticism and dedication.

Slobodan graduated from elementary school and higher secondary school in Pozarevac. His teachers remember

him for his calm approach, and because he always sat on the first bench, while his classmates can say that he never even whispered. Slobodan did not run around with his classmates and did not go on class excursions. He participated in the Fraternity and Unity Highway work actions in 1958, 1959, and 1963.

Slobodan Milosevic has been a member of the LCY since the age of 18. He was accepted into the LC on 15 January 1959.

He met his future wife, Mirjana Markovic-Baca, immediately at the beginning of his secondary school period; from the very beginning she was his partner both in difficult party tasks and in love. Mirjana's mother is Vera Miletic, who was shot during the occupation as the head of the Belgrade party organization. Her father, Moma Markovic, was an influential figure for decades in Serbian political life, while her uncle Draza Markovic, a Serbian leader for decades, has now been removed as a politician, also thanks to Slobodan Milosevic. He was the president of the Serbian Assembly, the president of the Presidium of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, etc., whereas today he cannot even go into the hotel where he had his permanent residence. Mirjana Markovic's aunt is the well-known Davorjanka Paunovic, who was Tito's secretary during the war and his intimate friend. In addition to love, Slobodan and

Mirjana have always been linked by their activist vocation as well. Furthermore, they have two children today, a son and a daughter. The daughter recently became a journalist for POLITIKA.

Even as a student in law school, Slobodan Milosevic had strong ties with the well-known publicist Kosto Cavoski, although in contrast to him, he was not enthusiastic about political pluralism.

At that time he was the chairman of the ideological commission of the Belgrade LC University Committee, and then the director of Tehnogas, the Belgrade Bank (at that time Pozarevac "bloomed"), a member of the presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, president of the Belgrade LC City Committee, and president of the Serbian LC, and finally became the president of the reunited Serbian state.

Slobodan Milosevic has been awarded the order of labor with a silver wreath and the order of labor with a red star. His best personal friend, until the 8th session, was Ivan Stambolic.

Slobodan Milosevic has the rank of reserve captain in the Yugoslav People's Army.

The reports that journalists from ILUSTROVAN POLITIKA and several other Serbian magazines have tried so far to publish about Slobodan Milosevic's life and career have never seen the light of day.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Military Reform Commission Head Cites Objectives

90EG0085A East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German  
No 49, Dec 89 p 4

[Article by Lt. Gen. Prof. Dr. Hans Suess, chairman, Commission for Military Reform: "Military Reform—Why and How?"]

[Text] Goethe says that when you button your coat, everything depends on the first button. The first meeting of the Commission for Military Reform, established by the minister and consisting of scientists and practicing experts, took place on 25 November 1989. We decided on our mission, role, and location, as well as on personnel, cooperation, and the organization of our effort.

These are some of our guiding principles:

—We consider ourselves to be merely the organizers of a "great military organizing commission," consisting of thousands of military members of all grades, civilian employees, career cadres (either still active or retired), all of whom would contribute their commitment, their expertise, their good and bad experiences, their criticism and suggestions, and who would thus themselves become the reformers of the Armed Forces.

—Neither military reform nor a new military doctrine are matters for the military to deal with exclusively; they concern society as a whole, and we therefore ask for criticism, ideas, and suggestions by the our country's scientists, economists, and artists, all classes and strata of society, all parties and organizations, movements, and communities.

—All phases of our work will be conducted in full view of the public; we will be open to criticism and expect great numbers of people to speak about military reform. The "Military Reform Consultation Center" at the Strausberg Sports and Cultural Center (Berlin office phone 55274777-4779, Strausberg office phone 584777-4779) can be contacted as it has been all along; communications may also be submitted direct to the Commission for Military Reform or to me personally.

—The "Wilhelm Pieck Military-Political College" in Berlin-Gruenau will be the center for public participation in military reform, where most of our meetings, discussions, conferences, and seminars will take place.

—We want to keep our feet on the ground in our work; we want to implement the things that are urgent and feasible; we want to make quick fixes which are pressing and are expected of us. However, we would also ask for time and patience to come up with basic, fundamental solutions which must be thoroughly explored before being implemented. What good are hasty decisions which subsequently turn out to be partial solutions, or the wrong ones?

### Why Reform?

Could it be because reforming things is in fashion? No. Everybody knows that for several decades the Armed Forces have not gone along with what is fashionable; it would cause amazement if that were to change now. Such a misapprehension could occur only to an individual who might hope that after the excitement is over, things would continue as they have in the past. We however believe that the changes brought about by the people constitute a revolution. After the waves have calmed down, the lake will not be the same as before, nor will it ever be the same again. As Lenin puts it, "...a revolution is a change which destroys the old order thoroughly and from the ground up..."

1. Reforms in the Armed Forces are mandatory in view of the revolutionary changes in our society, state, and economy, in social relationships and ideological structures. I would emphasize that while we have always regarded ourselves as the Armed Forces of the entire population, the guiding principle within the forces was also the leadership of the party.

2. Military reform has been, and still is, being demanded within the Armed Forces themselves, because mistakes and unsatisfactory situations were allowed to occur; such practices as excessive regimentation and oppressive authority, which must be thoroughly eliminated and which must not be allowed to recur.

3. The necessity for military reform derives from the reasoning of a new military doctrine; and finally,

4. From the consequences of the disarmament process—the unilateral voluntary actions and further reductions which may be expected to result from the Vienna negotiations.

### What Is Our Point of Departure?

Inasmuch as this article is not meant to be the final report of the first session, the thoughts which follow represent merely a selective choice. The point of departure must certainly be the mission of the Armed Forces deriving from the constitution, the doctrine, the obligations of the alliance.

After a capitalist Germany was at the root of two destructive catastrophes, our people are entitled to protection against a third and final inferno.

Renewed socialism requires first of all peace and a sovereign GDR. Certainly, also common responsibility and security partnership directed toward bilateral defensive capability—but is there any guarantee against some day some do-gooder coming along who would try to bring about German reunification with military means? The People's Army of the GDR is an instrument of the People's Chamber and the government of the GDR. It works for the benefit of all classes and strata of the population in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism, peace and socialism, humanitarianism, and freedom. All decisions concerning education, training, armament,

equipment, organization, and structure of the command elements, and and sea forces, as well as leadership and operational principles should be based on decisions by the People's Chamber and the GDR Government.

We therefore consider the People's Chamber and the government as our boss and believe that not only do we have obligations toward them, they have obligations toward us which should be set down in law. This would involve such matters as legally valid service contracts; a service and disciplinary law for career military personnel; and social security in cases of personnel reductions which are sure to come. It is no coincidence that in several garrisons groups of a union of career soldiers are being formed.

### What Should the GDR People's Army Look Like?

In the words of our minister, Adm Theodor Hoffmann, it should be the socialist army of a democratic state, in which all military and civilian personnel are accepted as adult citizens, where, under conditions of military service, they can exercise their democratic rights and freedoms, and where there is a need for the creative thinking and activity of all, on and off duty. In other words, our first priority in remodeling the Armed Forces, will be democratic collaboration and democratic observation of personal interests.

Toward this end, suggestions have been made, such as:

- true collectivism in military commands;
- an officers' college statute establishing uniform representation in officers' colleges in the form of military student councils and the school commandants' obligations toward them;
- the rights of local population representatives for monitoring and work in the garrisons;
- consultation, discussion of draft regulations with military and civilian personnel and their issuance by the People's Chamber;
- creation of a state authority accessible to all members of the Armed Forces for their petitions, complaints, and suggestions.

### Problems, Short- and Long-Term

The creation of effective structures will take considerable effort and time. Much has been said about this. Here too, we do not want to come up with any prefabricated solutions which would not work in actual practice. Rather, we want to work out the variables together, using the experience and the opinions of those who would be most affected.

Apart from short-term solutions, we will have to look farther into the future; officer students are entitled to answers to their questions. Would it be such an unusual thing for us to think about a professional army, if the

Vienna negotiations continue to be successful, and as is already happening in the USSR?

Apart from adhering to the principle of performance in the Armed Forces, the separation of the political officers from command, ending the command authority of party and mass organizations, and cultural and scientific reform in the Armed Forces, there is need for reforms in the recruitment, use and development of the cadres. Here we have suggestions for giving thought to improving the educational process for career cadres; to use different approaches for assigning extended active duty officers, and make much more effective and courageous use of the civilian qualifications of the soldiers in basic training. There is also a suggestion, which I consider a very good one, to introduce a rotation system at a certain level of command and above, in which after a certain short period suitability for command is determined (to quote from Goethe's "Faust:" "I would like that fine—to be in command where I understand nothing") and that there be a mandatory reassignment after a certain number of years—maybe 5 or 6—to prevent the commander from getting into a rut, lose touch or even commit malfeasance.

Military reforms in other times also started with changes in the cadres. Franz Mehring wrote that "...public welfare committees used the guillotine to make effective generals; Scharnhorst demanded that on departure, all ineffective command cadres be done away with..." We are quite certain there must be a conscientious determination of who is willing and capable of reform.

Apart from reforms of the border guards, civil service, socialist competition, material and economic consequences, conditions of service, work and lifestyle (perhaps a five-day week in the Armed Forces?), management reform is urgently needed. For this we badly need management experts from other areas of our society. Some of the suggestions in this area are the following:

- A radical reduction of the many monitoring controls of various command levels and departments. If a commander enjoys our confidence, he should enjoy it totally and not have to submit to interrogation by different commissions every other day. At the same time, it has been suggested that a central control and inspection authority be created, which would be under the direct supervision of the minister and thus be independent.
- A radical change in reporting procedures (this has been initiated).
- A new democratic system for writing military regulations.

I certainly have not enumerated all the tasks which face us, let alone all the ideas and applications for permission to address the commission which we have already received.

Our next task is to harness all those people whom we need and who are willing to help in the effort to bring about military reform.

It remains to be seen whether or not we have properly buttoned the first button.

## POLAND

### General Staff Academy Students Surrender Party Membership

2600004A Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish  
30 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] About 70 officer-auditors of the Department of the Air Force and National Air Defense turned in their party [Polish United Workers Party] identification cards at the Warsaw General Staff Academy on 28 November. A departmental party organization consisting of approximately 100 persons dissolved itself on 21 November (GAZETA nr 143, 144). The identity cards were returned just before the subsequent meeting of the already nonexistent organization.

### Goals for Military Training, Schooling in 1990 Stated

90EP0182A Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in  
Polish 17 Nov 89 pp 1-2

[Article by Colonel Ireneusz Tulowiecki: "How Will We Train the Army in 1990?"]

[Text] On 16 October, Minister of National Defense General of Army Florian Siwicki held a decisionmaking simulation aimed at working out the most rational and effective ways to implement the training, organizational, and civic-schooling assignments in the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Poland in the year 1990.

Members of the MON [Ministry of National Defense] leadership and commands of military districts and services of the armed forces took part in the decisionmaking simulation.

All the problems reviewed can hardly be presented in a short sketch. After all, they involved not only the essence of training and basic avenues for combat improvements, and ways to shape the attitudes of soldiers, but also conditions in which the units will have to operate in the immediate future. The array of these problems and tasks is quite broad. We have asked Chief of the Main Administration for Combat Training of the Polish Armed Forces Division General Edmund Bolociuch and Chief Inspector of Materiel of the Polish Armed Forces Division General Tadeusz Kusmierski to elucidate some of these problems and tasks for the readers of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

### Division General Edmund Bolociuch

In 1990, we are going to carry out training assignments under conditions similar to those in the year now ending.

This will be a year of further restructuring of the armed forces, creating unified organizational structures of combined arms units and tactical formations. Existing limits or, more precisely, constraints on the means of material and technical support will continue to apply. This forces us to proceed prudently in all spheres of training and schooling activities of commands and troops.

We will be guided primarily by the provisions of the defensive military doctrine as far as the content of combat training is concerned. We will focus our attention primarily on the complete implementation of scheduled classes. Therefore, the company and the battalion will remain the elements the training of which provides the groundwork for building the combat preparedness of troops. Methodological actions, command supervision, and comprehensive aid by the chiefs of arms and services, and efforts to assure complete material and technical support will center on them.

While searching for better organizational and methodological solutions we will not give up those which have proven themselves and are successfully practiced. By this I mean the conduct of exercises, from the unit level on up, by the method of a sum of exercises of lower levels. Integrated training in garrisons remains current, as well as specialist groupings (at the initial stage of training) and joint tactical exercises of small units of all arms in the environment of training grounds.

Complete success in carrying out training assignments is possible with cost efficiency taken into account. We will continue to attach great significance to providing the units with increasingly efficient schooling and training equipment which ensures results compared to those secured in the course of using combat materiel but at a greatly reduced cost. Consistent updating of the training curriculum compelled by the actual material potential will accompany this.

Due to the significance of health and the need for the fitness of soldiers, more attention must be paid to complying precisely and demanding compliance with provisions included in the instruction on physical training. This entails more efficient use of the training time, facilities, and equipment, and creating conditions for the development of mass sports in subunits, schools, and training centers.

The experimental introduction of revised armed forces manuals in selected military units is yet another issue. Many proposals aimed at the enhanced humanization of life and better correspondence of the order of the day with the requirements of the service, training, and personal needs of soldiers were taken into account in the manuals. These manuals relax the rigors of military life by extending the time of physical and mental rest which will consequently be a positive influence on the motivation to better discharge the responsibilities of service.

The coming year in the operation of military education will be marked by the complete use of the opportunities provided by the newly implemented model of studies in

higher officers' schools and reserve officer schools and by reaping the fruit of plans involving the restructuring of the armed forces in the process of integrating schools and training centers.

#### Division General Tadeusz Kusmierski

In the field of broadly defined technical support and in technical and economic operations, we are emphasizing steps which would make it possible to restrict the rate of growth of expenditures for issuing materiel to the troops, as well as the cost of its operation. To this end, we are carrying out extensive modernization of the older types of materiel using the initiatives of the users of armament and technical equipment, military inventors, research and technical employees, and designers of the defense industry. Due to this, we are bringing the tactical, technical, and operational characteristics of the materiel closer to the performance of the materiel of newer generations, however, at a fraction of the cost compared to purchasing new weapons. For 1990, we have reduced the volume of operating quotas for armament and materiel in the process of troop training by between 5 and 20 percent due to the consistent implementation of savings measures, including those proposed at the central conference for rational management, and the growing use of simulators and training equipment.

Smaller materiel repair costs will also be a consequence of this decision. Regardless of this, measures aimed at streamlining the organization and methods of repairing and maintaining military equipment are being undertaken both in the troops and in the central echelon. At issue in this matter is mostly the development of cost-effective technologies of materiel repair performed in district shops and those of tactical formations. The technical and economic effect of repairs, the extent of which has been defined on the basis of a diagnostic checkup which precedes them, is expressed in a reduced amount of work, energy, parts and technological materials because they are restricted solely to replacing the systems and assemblies which are indeed worn out.

At the same time, we will perfect a system of accumulating, selecting, and regenerating the parts and assemblies in organic technical units of the troops as much as possible. This state of affairs, though forced on us by the difficult market situation and opportunities to purchase new parts from industry, is also the result of propagating streamlining and savings activities. This avenue of activities is received with complete understanding in the commands of districts and arms which are joining in this work vigorously.

The adaptation of armament and materiel removed from service with the armed forces is an important undertaking of technical services which we will continue to carry out in the coming year together with the above commands. In the current year, we have already removed from service about 400 tanks, 600 armored personnel carriers, 500 artillery systems, 80 aircraft, and several thousand motor vehicles, trailers, units, working machinery, and other equipment.

We especially prepare some of this materiel for sales to domestic and foreign customers. For example, the SKOT armored personnel carriers which are converted into general-purpose cross-country trucks or carriers of working machinery and equipment may be put to use in forestry, agriculture, and various environmental-protection work. Cargo trailers built on the chassis of artillery pieces or wheeled carriers, engines, pumps, servo-motors, and so forth are other examples of retired materiel which has civilian uses. Some of the retired materiel will be used for improving and augmenting the training facilities in garrisons and on training grounds. Technical units will strip these materiel of good parts and use them as replacement parts in the repaired materiel thus reducing the cost of operation.

Restrictions on operations, as well as the implementation of measures entailed by the restructuring of the armed forces, create the problem of utilizing the service and repair potential of the armed forces. The performance of additional, side technical and economic operations for the market and the economic units of all sectors by service and repair units is one of the most significant tasks in this regard. In the course of accomplishing these tasks, the commanders of units and tactical formations, as well as of separate technical units, are the true masters of the repair and service potential at their disposal. The principle of decentralizing management was applied in practice by having the commanders undertake their own technical and economic activities independently.

#### Further Military Restructuring Detailed

*26000004B Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
23 Nov 89 p 10*

[PAP article: "Fewer Tanks, Transports, Cannon, and Mortars"]

[Text] In accordance with the restructuring program of our armed forces, additional military units will be disbanded—tank regiments, technical battalions, automobile battalions, and so forth.

The equipment at the disposition of these units will be removed from exploitation and will lose their combat properties. In the current year, 400 tanks, 600 armored transports, 700 cannon and mortars will be 'disarmed,' and next year, an additional 450 tanks, 100 hundred transports, as well as 200 cannon and mortars will also be disarmed.

The disassembly of armaments and special equipment, as well as the adapting of military vehicles to the country's agricultural needs are being carried out in repair battalions in Opole and also in a military unit in Jastrzebie.

A PAP journalist has learned that on 7 December, these units will open their gates to all journalists, national and foreign, who would want to take a closer look at this form of action by the repair battalions.

**Military Plant Shifts to Agricultural Production**

26000007 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] Preparations are being completed for implementing the production of a rotating grass reaper in the Military

Engineering Plant in Deblin. The prototype of this machine was prepared by the Technical Institute of Farming in Poznan. This is a four disc reaper, more modern, more efficient and easier to operate than those previously used by farmers. Next year, the factories in Deblin will release the first experimental models, and mass production will then begin.



## HUNGARY

**Chronological Summary of Main Economic Events of 1989**

25000564 Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian  
21 Dec 89 p 4

[Compilation by Katalin Pataki: "This Is What Took Place in 1989: Culling Hungarian Economic Events"]

[Text]

- 1 January.** The Law on Business Organizations goes into effect; housing construction and purchase subsidy system is changed.
- 3 January.** A Hungarian-FRG agreement concerning employment of Hungarians in the FRG is signed.
- 9 January.** An average 20-22 percent central price increase goes into effect: Within that, food prices increase by an average of 16-17 percent, laundry products by eight percent, individual contributions on pharmaceuticals by 82 percent, and automobile prices by 25 percent.
- 23 January.** A Business managers' interest group is established.
- 30-31 January.** A Price increase on freely priced food items and consumer goods goes into effect.
- 1 February.** The National Savings Bank [OTP] reports that the interest rate on consumer loans for the purchase of merchandise and services is 20 percent.
- 6 February.** A Hungarian-Czechoslovak memorandum is signed, changing some of the deadlines for the construction of the Bos-Nagymaros barrage.
- 9 February.** The first Hungarian-Austrian securities brokerage joint enterprise is established.
- 10 February.** An international stock corporation called Sopron Special Business Zone is established.
- 17 February.** The International Bankers Training Center, established on the basis of Hungarian-French cooperation, is dedicated.
- 21 February.** The first East-West public relations firm, called Aces Budapest Public Relations Limited Liability Corporation [Kft], a Hungarian-Austrian joint enterprise, is established.
- 23 February.** A \$140 million loan agreement is signed in Washington by representatives of the World Bank and Hungary.
- 27 February.** The country's first digital telephone system is dedicated in Szombathely.
- 1 March.** With the opening of four new border transit points, Hungarian-Soviet small border trade begins.
- 17 March.** Taurus begins production in its new steel-belted radial truck tire plant.
- 20 March.** The Advisory Body to the Council of Ministers is established.
- 21 March.** The Hungarian National Bank [MNB] devaluates the forint by an average of five percent vis-a-vis convertible foreign currencies.
- 1 April.** Investcenter Hungary, the Office to Stimulate Foreign Investment, is established.
- 8 April.** New, changed customs rules go into effect.
- 13 April.** Budapest Holding, Incorporated, a trust stock corporation, is established.
- 14 April.** An average of six percent forint devaluation takes place vis-a-vis convertible foreign currencies.
- 20 April.** MNB representatives sign an eight-year, \$150 million consortium credit agreement in Budapest; the Council of Ministers approves a long-term housing policy concept and changes the housing-related subsidy system. At this session the Council of Ministers decides to rescind its earlier decision concerning the introduction of toll roads, which has not yet taken effect.
- 26 April.** The third polypropylene synthetics factory is dedicated at the Tisza Chemical Combine.
- 28 April.** The New Glovita Knit Glove Factory plant begins production in Győr.
- 5 May.** By signing a contract, Tungsram, Incorporated becomes the first enterprise in a socialist country to become an international stock corporation.
- 13 May.** At an extraordinary session the Council of Ministers suspends construction at Nagymaros for a two-month period.
- 25 May.** The first conference involving the government and representatives of the Hungarian Economic Chamber takes place.
- 26 May.** A Hungarian-Greek investment protection agreement is signed in Budapest; the first Hungarian-New Zealand joint enterprise is established under the name Tidco Anix, Kft; An 8 billion yen (approximately \$60 million) Japanese-Hungarian credit agreement is signed in Tokyo.
- 30 May.** A Hungarian-South Korean joint enterprise under the name Samsung Electronics Hungarian, Incorporated is formed.
- 30 May-2 June.** The National Assembly debates legislative proposals for the Law on Transformation applicable to business organizations and business companies, as well as for amendments to Law No 6 of 1977 concerning state enterprises.
- 7 June.** The first Hungarian-American Securities Trading stock corporation is established in Budapest.

**13 June.** Chinoin's hypodermic syringe plant is dedicated in Miskolc.

**14 June.** The first cable television stock corporation in Hungary is established in Szeged.

**23 June.** The Global Economic Advisory Body of the Council of Ministers is established.

**1 July.** TV-S, the first Hungarian commercial television station, begins broadcasting in Siofok; based on a Council of Ministers decree, social security provisions—pensions, benefits, supplements—increase; pharmaceutical manufacturers raise the producer prices of their preparations by an average of 9.2 percent.

**11 July.** A 22 km section of the M5 highway is opened between Orkeny and Kecskemet.

**12 July.** Four agreements are signed on the occasion of George Bush's visit to Hungary: a civil aviation agreement, a foreign tourism agreement, an agreement concerning the industrial structural transformation of the Borsod coal basin, and an agreement concerning cooperation between the two countries' ministries of agriculture.

**21 July.** The Central Statistical Office [KSH] 1989 January-June report is published: Industrial production, primarily processing industry production, declines by 1.1 percent.

**6 August.** On orders of the MNB chairman, financial institutions authorized to perform foreign exchange transactions have an opportunity to provide credits in the form of foreign exchange to Hungarian legal entities, business organizations, and private entrepreneurs.

**18 August.** 100 percent of Intercooperation, Incorporated is purchased by the Getz Corporation, an American trading company.

**20 August.** The State Paper and Stationery Cooperative Enterprise [APISZ] transforms into a stock corporation, and its stock is purchased by foreign investors, and by the managers and workers of the enterprise.

**21 August.** A Hungarian-British joint enterprise is formed, and the British company buys 51 percent control over Ganz Railroad Vehicle factory; the prices of certain meat products are increased by an average of 6.5 percent.

**25 August.** The MNB issues 75 million ECU worth of bonds in the Euromarket. The term of the bonds is seven years and promises a 9.62 percent return to investors.

**2 September.** Overnight, all Budapest telephone numbers are converted into seven digits.

**4 September.** Additional meat product prices increase by an average of six percent; several household chemical and spice mixtures become more expensive; Unicbank, Incorporated establishes an information center called Uniccenter.

**10 September.** The World Trade Council begins its meeting in Budapest.

**15 September.** International Capital Investment, Kft. is established. The American Rockefeller firm is one of the stockholders; an agreement is signed in Budapest to the effect that the Ferihegy and Buffalo airports become duty free zones.

**18 September.** Unified foreign exchange accounts are introduced, separate travel and "BC" [expansion unknown] accounts are discontinued; a Hungarian-FRG joint enterprise is formed: MG Hungarogaz, Kft.

**20 September.** Trilateral midlevel negotiations concerning economic issues continue.

**21 September.** A letter of intent to the effect that the American Riverside Company buys the Hollo haz Porcelain Factory is signed; the digital telephone center delivered by the Austrian Telecommunication GmbH [limited liability company] begins to operate in Budapest.

**1 October.** Pork buying up prices are increased by five percent per kilo [as published].

**2 October.** The Labor Affairs Council holds its organizational meeting.

**4 October.** The Salgotarjan Fiberglass, Incorporated Hungarian-Japanese company plant is dedicated in Salgotarjan; the Exchange Club is established in Budapest.

**5 October.** To be headquartered in Frankfurt, the Deutsch-Ungarische [German-Hungarian] Bank AG [stock corporation] is established.

**9 October.** EC finance ministers approve three-year budgetary guarantees for loans amounting to \$1 billion for Hungary and Poland.

**12 October.** The founding document of Young and Rubicam Hungary, a Hungarian-American joint enterprise, are signed.

**23 October.** A Hungarian-FRG joint enterprise under the name Videoton-Sel Telecommunications, Kft. is formed.

**25 October.** The first day of the Hungarian agricultural commodities exchange is completed.

**26 October.** George Bush announces that the United States grants the Most Favored Nation status to Hungary on a long-term basis.

**30 October.** The National Assembly adopts the law concerning the State Accounting Office.

**31 October.** The National Assembly adopts a government report concerning the suspension of work at Nagymaros.

**9 November.** A grain trading limited liability corporation is formed.

**10 November.** Dunabank introduces credit cards for the purchase of consumer goods and services.

**14 November.** Organized by the National Labor Market Center and by Tesco Foreign Trade Enterprise, a limited liability corporation assisting employment abroad is formed.

**16 November.** The vice chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce delivers a presentation concerning the chances of rendering the forint convertible.

**21 November.** Another agricultural produce auction is held in Budapest.

**23 November.** Radio 11, an 11th district regional radio station, begins its experimental broadcasts at the UHF frequency of 71.63 MHz.

**24 November.** Representatives of the MNB and the Deutsche Bank sign a 500 million Deutsche mark credit agreement during the Budapest visit of Hans-Dietrich Genscher; its use is less restricted than the 500 million mark loan granted by a territory.

**27 November.** A summary is published by the National Labor Market Center: In the course of three quarters of a year some 7,000 people applied for unemployment assistance, while its average monthly volume is 4,100 forints.

## POLAND

### Listing of Major Joint-Venture Companies Provided

*90EP0173A Warsaw FIRMA in Polish  
No 9, Sep 89 pp 24-26*

[Text] As of 27 May 1989, the Agency for Foreign Investments Affairs had registered 365 requests for permission to set up in Poland companies in which foreign countries have a share. The president of the agency issued 203 such decisions. Fifty of the new joint ventures already have allowances from trade registrations at their disposal. There are eighteen companies with 100-percent foreign participation. Only a few are foreign small-scale production enterprises (so-called Polonia firms) that have been transformed in whole or part. The foreign partners come from 22 countries. Half of the companies which have been granted permission are tied in with West German capital (the FRG, West Berlin), 20 with American capital, 15 each with Austrian and Swedish capital, 10 with British capital and 7 each with Italian, Belgian and Dutch capital (American and Italian investments each total \$5 million U.S.).

The companies are distributed quite unevenly in 26 voivodships. They are supposed to provide financial support for their respective local budgets (60 are in Warsaw and the Warsaw voivodship).

The companies continue to be multibranch in nature. The industrial-agricultural-food products companies are

the most attractive. The companies try to preserve their flexibility and to involve relatively small amounts of capital and foreign contracting parties continue to envisage a high level of risk for investments in Poland.

The venture capital of the 203 joint ventures is to reach a sum close to 41 billion zlotys (this yields an average of 201 million zlotys per joint venture), but 39.4 percent involve up to 50 million zlotys, 33.5 percent involve up to 100 million zlotys and 25.1 percent involve 100 million zlotys or more (18 billion 140 million zlotys is the total investment of only 6 firms).

Twenty-eight companies are to secure 103 billion zlotys in credit.

The president of the agency anticipates that by the end of 1989, 500 permits will be granted for joint-venture economic activity. He estimates that their initial capital should exceed \$1 billion U.S. This situation has considerably exceeded expectations, since it was initially thought that 100 permits would be issued over the first year. However, the total amount of the capital invested at present is unsatisfactory. Results from these investments should not be expected earlier than 2 years from now, at that a short period for Polish circumstances.

While a permit for joint-venture activity is still issued 2 months after the request has been submitted, there has been a great improvement in the efficiency of the agency's operation (recently 100 decisions were issued in the course of a month). This is likewise associated with the fact that those seeking permits are doing an increasingly better job in preparing their requests.

Everyone is waiting for large-scale investments of large amounts of capital. But this will take time, and the new accounting process only began on 1 January when the new law took effect.

### A List of Joint-Venture Companies

1. **Europa Limited Liability Company**—Lodz; a Finnish-Polish construction and tailoring production-services company
2. **Fata Limited Liability Company**—Warsaw; a Polish-American production-services company for the production, distribution and export-import of films and for gastronomic activity
3. **Megadex BAB Stock Company**—Warsaw; a Polish-West German production-services company for the production, set-up and servicing of power equipment and facilities
4. **Cotex Limited Liability Company**—Osno Lubuskie; a West German-Polish production company for ready-made clothing, building materials, electrical equipment, agricultural-food processing and for the managements of wastes and secondary raw materials

5. **Servomatec Limited Liability Company**—Gdansk; a British-Polish production-services company for the servicing, modernization, repair and certification of ship motors and equipment and for the production of electronic and verification-measurement equipment
6. **Skat Limited Liability Company**—Wroclaw; a Polish-West German production-services company dealing in building materials, electronic and computer equipment, hotel management, consulting and marketing
7. **Midotex Limited Liability Company**—Chwaszczyno; a one-person production-trade-services company run by Turkish citizen Hidayet Sancakli dealing in ready-made clothing, leather and fur products
8. **Arpoz Limited Liability Company**—Koziegłowy near Poznan; a Polish-French production-trading company for processing agricultural-food articles, fodder products and packaging and for conducting trade activity
9. **Batimex Limited Liability Company Production-Services-Trade Enterprise**—Poznan; a Belgian-Polish company for the renovation, painting and cleaning of the exterior walls of buildings, for the production of windows from plastics and for conducting trade
10. **Magnum Trade Investments Limited Liability Company**—Poznan; a Dutch-Polish production-services company for agricultural and food processing, ready-made clothing, environmental protection, construction materials and wood products
11. **Wasa Limited Liability Company**—Warsaw; a Swedish-Polish production-services company for agricultural-food processing, building materials and ready-made and printing articles
12. **Kadyny International Limited Liability Company Production-Services Enterprise**—Kadyny; an American-Polish production-services company for construction, environmental protection, hotel and gastronomic management, sports and recreation, animal husbandry and agricultural-food processing
13. **Inves-System Limited Liability Company Services-Trade Enterprise**—Warsaw; an American services-trade company for hotel management, gastronomy, organizing sports and recreation, advertising and medical services, consultation and trade
14. **Alliance International Limited Liability Company Foreign Enterprise**—Myslenice Jawornik; a French-American-West German-Polish production-services-trade company for the tobacco industry, the textile industry, ready-made clothing, furriery and for household chemical processing
15. **Polstahl Limited Liability Company Industrial-Trade Plant**—Warsaw; a Polish-West German production-services company dealing in metal products, environmental protection, electronic equipment and consulting
16. **Aida Limited Liability Company**—Zabrze; a West German production-trade company in the field of food processing
17. **Inter Servis Holdex Limited Liability Company**—Lubon; a West German-Polish production-services-trade company dealing in ready-made clothing, agriculture and gardening and trade
18. **Obst-Co Limited Liability Company**—Nowa Wies; a West German-Polish production-services-trade company in the agricultural-food branch
19. **Eurosat J.V.GmbH**—Warsaw; a Polish-West German production-services-trade company for electronics and telecommunications
20. **Chemak Limited Liability Company**—Pniewo, gmina of Gryfino; a Polish-West German production-trade company dealing in chemistry, electromechanics, wood processing and clothing production
21. **Complex Import-Export Limited Liability Company**—Grzybno, gmina of Chojna; a West German-Polish production-trade company for printing, tourism, gastronomy, construction and the sale of medicines
22. **Dempoz Limited Liability Company Production-Trade Enterprise**—Warsaw; a Polish-Belgian production-services-consulting company in the field of construction
23. **Amer-Pol Limited Liability Company**—Zielonka near Warsaw; an American-Polish production-services-trade company in the ready-made clothing branch
24. **Agroimpex Limited Liability Company**—Szeszno; a Polish-Swedish production-services-trade company for agricultural-food processing, leather processing and publishing and tourism
25. **JAEG-AWF Property Development Company**—Warsaw; an Austrian-Polish services company for tourism, servicing sports events and car rental
26. **Morawski Limited Liability Company**—Zielona Gora; a Polish-American production-services company dealing in wood products, ready-made clothing, furriery and fruit-vegetable processing
27. **Las Pol Limited Liability Company**—Sopot; a Polish-Swedish production company dealing in wood products, construction materials and the processing of ground cover
28. **Torf Limited Liability Corporation**—Wroclaw; an American-Polish production company for the production and sale of curative substances produced from peat, for research into the curative powers of peat and for the running of a treatment facility
29. **Brass and Bronze Trading Limited**—Warsaw; a Swedish-Polish production-services company for fine metals products and for restoration services

30. **Arno II Limited Liability Company**—Szczecin; a Polish-West Berlin production-services-trade company for the processing of paper and cardboard, for the production of insulating materials and cosmetics and for transport and shipping
31. **Lumina Limited Liability Company**—Dobiegiew; a Polish-Swedish production-services-trade company dealing in fine wooden products, electronics equipment and transport services
32. **American Investments Limited Liability Company**—Warsaw; a company of American citizens Jack Eisner and Philip B. Eisner, middlemen in the trade of high-grade paper in Poland and abroad
33. **Mikro-Achiv Limited Liability Company Services Laboratory**—Torun; a American-Polish company for the archivization of periodicals and documents and for the production of microcomputer programs
34. **Auspol Limited Liability Company**—Bydgoszcz; a Polish-Austrian construction-services-trade company for tourism, agricultural-food processing, consulting services and for concluding leasing contracts
35. **Polson-Textil Limited Liability Company**—Lodz; a Polish-Soviet production-services company dealing in the processing of secondary raw materials, in ready-made clothing and in the production and distribution of films
36. **Anko II Limited Liability Company**—Modrzewie 15; a Polish-West German production-services company in the agricultural-food branch
37. **Vilard Limited Liability Company**—Warsaw; a Swedish-Polish production company dealing in agricultural-food processing, construction materials production, furniture products and the production of confections
38. **Unibusz Limited Liability Company Production-Trade Enterprise**—Buszewo, gmina of Pniewy; a Polish-West German production-services company dealing in agricultural-food processing, wood products, gastro-nomic services and transport
39. **Canexim Limited Liability Company**—Wegrowo; a Polish-West German production-trade company dealing in the production and sale of candles
40. **New Brescia Storage Battery Limited Liability Company**—Gliwice; an Italian-Polish production company dealing in the production of storage batteries and cells, machinery and equipment associated with the utilization of batteries
41. **EGY-POL Foreign Enterprise for Production-Services-Trade, Export-Import**—Krakow; an Egyptian-Polish production company dealing in knitted and hosiery productions
42. **PW [Military Press] Rexprom Limited Liability Company**—Sopot; a Finnish-Polish production-services company concerned with publishing and printing activity, repair services and consulting
43. **ABBA Limited Liability Company**—Wislina 39a; a Swedish citizen's one-person production company dealing in the production of fish products
44. **New Brunswick Scientific Biotechnics Limited Liability Company**—Warsaw; a Dutch-Polish production-services company dealing in chemicals, biochemicals, pharmaceuticals and the implementation of scientific-technical achievements
45. **DEPOL Limited Liability Company Production-Trade Enterprise**—Lodz; a Polish-West German production-services company producing clothing and agricultural-food products and dealing in trade
46. **Marolex Limited Liability Company**—Kobierzyce; a West German-Polish production-services company dealing in textiles, construction materials, production services and hotel management services
47. **Hydro-Poltechnik Limited Liability Company**—Warsaw; a Swedish-Polish production-services-trade company serving the needs of water and gas management
48. **Inkombank-Pol Limited Liability Company**—Warsaw; a Polish-Soviet production-trade company in the timber branch
49. **HBB Limited Liability Company**—Warsaw; an American-Canadian-Polish construction-services company dealing in the construction and utilization of hotels and car rental
50. **Allround Ship Service Limited Liability Company**—Szczecin; a Polish-West German production-services company serving the needs of the shipping industry
51. **Polspan Limited Liability Company**—Szczecinek; a West German-Polish production-services company dealing in timber production and products, enriching materials and the production of spare parts
52. **De Jager Limited Liability Company**—Trzebiatow; Johannes Regpe-Hilarius', a Dutch citizen's, one-person production-services-trade company dealing in fish products
53. **Centrum Limited Liability Company Agency**—Warsaw; a French-Polish production-services-trade company concerned with film production and film, photographic, advertisement, publishing and tourist services and construction materials and agricultural-food products production
54. **Greenex Limited Liability Company Enterprise**—Poznan; a West Berlin-Polish trade-services company in the agricultural-food and transport services branch

55. **Kasyno 2000 Limited Liability Company**—Radom; a Polish-British services-construction company dealing in the building of hotels and their utilization and in video games

56. **Fulton-Poland Limited Liability Company**—Zielona Gora; a British-Polish production-trade company dealing in the production of ready-made clothing and trade

57. **Marcam Containers Stock Company**—Elblag; a Swiss-Polish production-services stock company dealing in the adaptation and repair of fixed assets for transport, the production and construction of coolers, steel structures and heating equipment

58. **P.Z. Complex Limited Liability Company**—Lodz; a West German-Polish production-services company dealing in the production of electronic cables and conduits, fruit and vegetable products, clothing production, advertisement and marketing

59. **Dawis Fatertainment Trade and Service Limited Liability Company**—Lodz; a Belgian-Polish service company dealing in film projection and distribution and gastronomic and entertainment services

60. **Prohamix Production-Trade Limited Liability Company**—Bydgoszcz; a Polish-West German production company dealing in albumen concentrates and farm produce products

61. **Haco Limited Liability Company**—Gdansk; a Polish-Finnish production company dealing in the construction of outfitting of ships and in the production of steel structures

62. **Canexpol Limited Liability Company**—Brok; a Polish-Austrian production company dealing in the production of cosmetics, chemical and plastics products, metals and construction materials

63. **Anin Limited Liability Company**—Mrozy; a West German-Polish production company dealing in the sewing of clothing from cloth, knitted fabrics and leather and in decorator fabrics

64. **Tac Finedile Di Pace-Psp Limited Liability Company**—Poznan; a Polish-Italian services company dealing in the design and implementation of projects in architecture, urban planning and plastics; the servicing of trade fairs and congresses, tourism and hotel management

65. **Atlantico-Trans-Ex Limited Liability Company**—Katowice; a Polish-West German transport-haulage-shipping company

66. **KiK Dental Techniks Limited Liability Company**—Tarnow; a West German production-trade company in the area of dental prosthetic elements

67. **Inter-Sigma Limited Liability Company**—Bielsko-Biala; Edward Stefko's (a German citizen) one-person production company dealing in knitted stocking production and the production of clothing, linens, electrical power machinery, electronics and teletechnics

68. **Unifoud Limited Liability Company**—Olsztyn; a Polish-West Berlin production-services company in the agricultural-food and gardening branch

69. **ATV Limited Liability Company Production-Trade Enterprise**—Milkow; a Polish-West German production-services company dealing in wooden packaging and nail production and repair services

70. **Agrolas Limited Liability Company**—Lomza; a Polish-West German production-services company dealing in agricultural-food products and refrigeration services

### Foreign Firms Hold Conference on How To Conduct Trade in Poland

90EP0183A Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 128, 26 Oct 89 p 2

[Article by (Habe): "How To Conduct Business in Poland"]

[Text] Changes under way in the Polish economy and those predicted mean new conditions for the operation of foreign companies interested in cooperation with our country. This is particularly the case with new partners who frequently do not quite know how to navigate in the intricate thicket of Polish regulations. Hence the great interest in the conference on this subject which was organized in Warsaw by the renowned organization Business International with the cooperation of the PIHZ [Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade] entitled: "Doing Business in a Changing Poland."

The traditional format of Business International involves panel conferences during which invited specialists, both foreign and local, explain practical issues associated with trade and economic cooperation.

In the course of the two-day session (25 and 26 October), representatives of several dozen companies, including many multinational concerns, were informed about the goals and scope of reforms in foreign trade, expected changes in guidelines for the financing of imports, the exchange rate policy, and the legislation on joint ventures.

Taking into account the fact that our economy yearns for an infusion of capital the large number of participants in the conference cannot but be gratifying though it does not necessarily mean that all companies represented in the Victoria Hotel will start doing business in Poland. After all, it is not that easy: As early as the beginning of the meeting, it was brought out that at present it is almost impossible to rent up-to-date office space in Warsaw.

### Small, Medium-Size Polish Firms Expand Trade With FRG

90EP0183B Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 121, 10 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by (Jok): "Foreign Trade Explosion: Poland-FRG"]

[Text] Despite the protracted Polish-West German political and financial negotiations, the turnover of trade between the two countries is attaining growth rates not seen in many years.

In the first half of this year, deliveries to the FRG increased by 33 percent to DM 1.7 billion. Purchases in the West German market increased to a still greater degree, by as much as 70 percent, to DM 2.1 billion. Copper, textile goods, foodstuffs, and coal dominated Polish exports, whereas the purchases consisted primarily of equipment, precision machinery, and chemicals. In the opinion of the Federal Association of German Exporters, small and medium-size Polish enterprises stepping up their purchases in the FRG have caused the trade boom. However, in view of the fact that Polish imports are almost entirely financed by cash, a decline in the growth rates is expected in the remaining months of this year.

Financial issues remain the most difficult obstacle to the development of Polish-West German economic cooperation. Since mid-1986, the FRG has not been giving export guarantees for transactions with Poland whereas the cumulative total of Hermes guarantees has increased to DM 8.33 billion since 1981. By virtue of guarantees extended, DM 5.5 billion in indemnities were paid to the West German exporters from the federal budget. The restraint on the part of West German companies in getting directly involved in the Polish economy is explained by the lack of financial settlements.

Out of the 360 joint enterprises with the participation of foreign capital registered in the first 8 months of this year, 160 are joint ventures with FRG companies. However, as a rule, these are small-scale projects because the combined capital contribution increased over this period of time to barely DM 30 million. The fact that ventures for a total of DM 90 million are being negotiated does not change the picture. According to an evaluation by the Eastern Commission of the German Economy, the West German companies have adopted the strategy of beginning their operations in Poland on a small scale in view of the existing economic risk.

### Ostrana Profiled: Vienna Firm With 20 Polish Partnerships

90EP0188B Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 128, 26 Oct 89 p 8

[Article by Halina Binczak: "Make a Profit on Whatever Yields One: Letter From Vienna"]

[Text] If generous relatives in Vienna decide to send us coffee, pantyhose, or other rare goods, the items will probably be packaged in a bag bearing Ostrana's red and white emblem and address. The name sounds a bit Slavic. Such names are often encountered in the capital of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The enterprise handling the shipping of the package is indeed Austrian, but its capital is Polish.

There are 15 companies operating in Vienna in which Polish firms hold a capital share, and Ostrana is one of them. These companies have a very broad scope of operations, including banking, construction, and tourism, for example, but Polish export service is the greatest. Substantial sums are involved. Last year the six commercial companies in Vienna handled nearly 70 percent of Polish exports to that market. This year the turnovers of these six are certain to be quite a bit greater, because exports to Austria were 13 percent higher even during the first few months.

We have recently begun to have an unpleasant association with the word "company," because this year it has been associated with the formation of businesses which exploit the assets of government-owned enterprises for private purposes and with the creation of an added layer between industry and the customer, which of course means that the customer pays more. Foreign companies with Polish capital do, of course, charge a fee, but I have never heard a foreign trade center exporting to Austria complain about the costs of commissions. Everyone knows that you have to pay for market research and that complete independence in a foreign country is just about always more expensive than using a distribution network. Ostrana has been a link in this network for 20 years now. It has been operating as a commercial company under Austrian law since 1968. It has passed through several stages. Initially, some Austrians (who were also directors of the company) held some shares. Later the company's capital and management gradually became "Polonized." The company's financial situation has also varied, but now the company is obviously doing well. Last year it paid its shareholders a dividend.

There are not many shareholders—Dal, Inter-Vis, Metronex, and Varimex—but it represents about 50 companies. Most of them (about 20) are Polish enterprises, although there are also local firms and even South Korean ones. The company's director, Jerzy Sawicki does not hide the fact that service to Polish foreign trade is of decisive importance to Ostrana. Last year exports to Austria represented three-quarters of Ostrana's turnovers.

This is the company's major undertaking but not the only one. Ostrana handles (just about) anything which is profitable. That is, export, import, switching, and compensatory transactions. The latter are becoming more important. Vienna is a strategic point in East-West trade, which is being based more and more on barter, owing to the serious shortage of money in Eastern European countries. Far Eastern textiles are frequently used in

barter, because many enterprises from the Far East have branches or enterprises right in Vienna. When the company was founded 20 years ago, one of the main areas of its operations was trade with Israel (which for Polish exports did not officially exist) and countries in the Middle East.

Ostrana is a company with many branches. For example, it sells synthetic rubber, rubber products, nonferrous metal products (copper, zinc, and lead), copper rods, professional instrument sets, household appliances and wares, and textiles. It also acts as an intermediary in the employment of Polish specialists (sent by Metronex) and takes part in contracts carried out through Unido and MAE. Although Ostrana is only an intermediary company, it fits out and sells (under its own name) instrumentation sets, which have earned it a good reputation.

Universal, one of Ostrana's contractors, uses the Vienna company as an intermediary in selling, for example, bicycles, air mattresses, irons, hunting ammunition, and purple willow goods. For several years the tables and benches (for wine bars and beer parlors) and balcony boarding which the firm has been exporting have been enjoying great success in Austria. Thin pieces from a roughly planed board cost about a dollar, which seems to be a marvelous piece of business. The product being traded does not seem very convincing, but I believe what I am told. It is far easier to believe that the new products of Rzeszow's Zelmer presented by Universal at this year's Vienna Fair will be popular with customers. They include a compact vacuum cleaner and a mixer with a revolving bowl, which at least to me seem no different from similar goods with famous trademarks.

The company's main area of operations is acting as intermediary in the sales of Polish goods (350 million ATS last year), but this is not its only activity. For example, Ostrana imports belt conveyors, drive belts for special vehicles, and winter sports equipment (skis and boots), as well as food products, such as chocolate, for Pewex, Centrum stores, or other department stores. The company also sometimes makes rapid purchases (from nearby Austria) at the request of a customer who suddenly needs some component or piece of equipment.

Jerzy Sawicki, longtime director who is actually just ending his work in Vienna, thinks that, although Ostrana is a commercial company and not a charitable institution, to maintain good contacts with contractors it pays to help them with their technical or supply problems. It could be that it is just because of such help (or purchases made on behalf of Polish enterprises) that Ostrana's six-month turnovers increased by a whole 70 percent in relation to 1988, which was after all a good one financially. Exports increased during that period by "only" one half. For the rest of the year the administration anticipates a similar rate of growth, which would mean that turnovers would exceed 800 million ATS. This is considerable for a firm which employs 13 people in Vienna and three or four at the Warsaw branch office.

Alongside acting as intermediary in imports and exports, they also set up "presentation services." Through Ostrana our relative in Vienna can send a package, dispatch money, or even pay for a car (domestic or Western), which the company will deliver to the fortunate receiver in Poland. This activity is of far lesser significance for the company's financial standing, but *Geschenservice nach Polen* also produces some profit, along with being good advertising for the company.

### French Economic Aid Offer, Fields of Interest Delineated

90EP0184A Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 129, 28 Oct 89 p 2

[Article by S. Parkola: "France Recovers the Initiative"]

[Text] The first session of the mixed Polish-French commission after the nomination of the new government in Poland which was held on 26 October in Warsaw took place merely a day after President F. Mitterrand issued a declaration on the provision of financial aid to Poland in the amount of 4 billion French Francs. Due to both of these circumstances, the session, as both sides have stated, was to become the beginning of a new stage in Polish-French economic contacts. In the course of its proceedings, the allocation of these funds was detailed and forms of bilateral cooperation were set forth.

Within the envisaged amount of 4 billion French Francs, government guarantees of loans for the imports of producer goods from France account for one-half. These guarantees will be put in force following the signing of an agreement with the IMF by Poland. However, the process of their allocation for specific transactions may begin right away.

The amount of 900 million French Francs, at a rate of 300 million a year, stretched over 3 years, was allocated for supporting French investments in Poland and setting up joint ventures with the companies of this country, and 90 million French Francs are to finance the training of personnel, mostly managers, in our country.

Within the framework of developing forms of direct cooperation, a center for promoting French investment is to be set up in Poland soon; visits by economic missions were announced which will be concerned with seeking opportunities for imports to France from our country. Bilateral working groups in individual sectors are becoming markedly more active. The action of dispatching to Poland experts on the restructuring of industry is also under way. This initiative appears to be particularly valuable taking into account the domestic experience and accomplishments of France in this sphere in recent years.

The streamlining of visa issuance envisaged for the nearest future, initially for Polish industrialists and trade personnel, and subsequently, after the system is computerized, for other citizens as well, will be of practical significance in facilitating stepped-up contacts.



Local initiatives appearing in France and promoted by the Regional Councils or Chambers of Industry and Commerce in the environment of favorable attitudes toward our country are also noteworthy. Among other things, they assume the form of granting scholarships to Polish scientists and engineers.

As Cochairman of the commission Deputy Prime Minister Czeslaw Janicki stated after the signing of the agreement, as a result of the resolutions signed the intensive appearance of French companies in our market will begin, especially in areas such as production for the needs of agriculture, food processing, chemistry, environmental protection, and telecommunications. We find the form of partnerships particularly satisfactory because in the current budgetary situation of our country we strive to minimize direct borrowing. The deputy prime minister also stated that the aid given to us will definitely not be allocated for purchasing consumer goods abroad but will be used to enhance our industrial and export potential through the imports of equipment and technologies.

The head of the French delegation Minister of Foreign Trade Jean-Marie Rausch for his part also stressed that the first meeting of the Polish-French mixed commission after the significant events of this summer is an event of extraordinary significance for relations between our countries. Poland is in a difficult situation; however, in the opinion of the French minister, our bold decision to change the political and economic course simultaneously is a challenge for France a response to which is provided by the resolutions of the just completed session.

In the opinion of the French politician, events now unfolding in our country are significant not only for Poland but also for Europe, and even for the entire world. Hence not only direct financial assistance is important but also the involvement of partners in developing various forms of direct cooperation.

It is a fact that France has been clearly moving into the forefront of our sympathizers in the international arena, recently becoming our most active economic partner. There are many reasons for these activities; among them, the traditionally good contacts and friendship between our countries which date back centuries are considered to be particularly important. However, history is intertwined with the present time. France, the cradle of European revolutions, boasts a society which is sensitive to human rights and contemporary manifestations of democracy. Therefore, changes in our country have gained particularly extensive support there which undoubtedly influenced the positions of politicians who gain the sympathy of voters due to their positive and active attitude toward Poland.

France also supports us in the world forum—in the IMF, the World Bank, and the Club of Paris, sponsoring arrangements for the restructuring of the Polish debt favorable for Poland, as well as in the EEC. It is very likely that without such support the signing of the treaty

with the EEC would have been impossible either so soon or on the terms which were finally adopted, with the granting of the GSP [expansion unknown] to Poland, to mention just one. France is abolishing quantitative restrictions on imports from Poland effective 1 January 1990.

### **Polish-French Scientific-Technical Cooperation Established**

*26000005 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24-25 Nov 89 p 2*

[Text] French President Francois Mitterand has offered Poland, in the framework of cooperation in the fields of education and technology, a sum of 90 million francs intended for the education and improvement of Polish management personnel. These funds will be used in the course of three years with the mediation of the specially established France-Poland Foundation. A delegation of French experts under the chairmanship of Jacques de Chalendar visited Poland regarding this matter.

During the course of their stay, the delegation paid working visits to the ministries of National Education, Finance, and Industry, as well as to the Office of Scientific and Technical Progress and Implementation and to the National Bank of Poland. The delegation met with Deputy Minister of the Council of Ministers Jan Janowski, and with the chairman of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers.

They determined that in the course of the next weeks a Polish committee, which will be a partner to the French foundation, will be established.

### **Discussion of Decline in Exports**

*90EP0183C Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in  
Polish No 126, 21 Oct 89 p 1*

[Article by (Tek): "Increasing Decline in Exports"]

[Text] In September, a further decline in exports occurred. It was considerably more pronounced than that of industrial output. After all, the output was 5.9 percent smaller than a year ago whereas exports declined by as much as 11.5 percent. Imports continue to be higher than in 1988—by 2.3 percent in September. This is due to growing imports from the 2d payments zone [hard-currency denominated trade]. This in effect wipes out the foreign trade surplus achieved in recent years.

The decline in exports amounted to 1.8 percent in 9 months of this year. A negative growth rate of exports was registered for the first time a month ago. A consistent and growing deterioration in export performance is setting in. This is particularly obvious with regard to industrial manufactures the exports of which were 2.8 percent smaller in the course of 9 months, the decline being faster than that of product sales by industry. Imports during these 9 months were 3 percent greater than a year ago.

### First Payments Zone [Socialist Countries]

We are registering a genuine collapse in our trade with this zone. Expressed in rubles, the imports were 18.8 percent smaller in September, and the exports were 11.1 percent smaller than in 1988. Taken over 3 quarters, these declines are smaller. Exports declined by 1.5 percent to 8,307 million rubles, and imports by 6.1 percent to 7,380 million rubles.

We are registering a high positive balance in this trade which has already attained 927 million rubles and is 352 million rubles higher than a year ago. In September alone, the balance increased by almost 300 million rubles.

The prices in this trade continue to develop favorably for us. Export prices were 1.8 percent higher, and import prices were 1.6 percent lower. As a result, the terms of trade amounted to 103.5. For several months now, a continuous improvement in this sphere has been going on. Positive results of changes in the terms of trade are estimated to be 261 million rubles.

### Second Payments Area

The performance in trade with this area is considerably better. The exports expressed in dollars increased over 3 quarters by 3.6 percent to U.S. \$6,120 million (in real terms, a decline of 0.3 percent occurred). In turn, the imports increased still more markedly, by 14.1 percent to U.S. \$5,580 million. The positive balance amounted to merely U.S. \$540 million after 9 months, and was U.S. \$476 million smaller than during the same period of last year.

The price trends have been favorable for us in this trade as well. After all, export prices increased by 3.9 percent, and import prices by only 2.6 percent. For 3 months in a row now, the terms of trade were positive, and in September amounted to 101.6 percent showing a permanent trend toward improvement since the beginning of this year. The benefits due to this are estimated to be U.S. \$104 million.

Despite the fight against compensation, export transactions in convertible currencies increased only by 0.6 percent to U.S. \$4,760 million whereas other transactions increased by 15.8 percent to U.S. \$1,370 million. In imports, the opposite trend occurred. Convertible currency transactions increased considerably faster (by 16.7 percent to U.S. \$4,510 million) than other transactions (by 4.1 percent to U.S. \$1,070 million).

### Commodity Groups

Analyzing individual commodity groups, we find that, compared to last year, exports to the 1st payments zone increased only in the group of agricultural commodities by 12.5 percent (primarily due to deliveries of potatoes which were 47 percent higher) and chemicals by 5.9 percent. In all the remaining groups, declines were registered: 2.1 percent in fuel, 2.9 percent in machinery

and electrical equipment, 8.9 percent in iron and steel products, 13.8 percent in wood and paper products, 14.5 percent in foodstuffs, and 18.7 percent in light industry products.

In exports to the 2d payments zone, declines in our deliveries were registered in only three commodity groups: by 2.8 percent in chemicals, by 5.8 percent in wood and paper products (including coniferous timber and furniture), and by 6.6 percent in light industry products. In the remaining groups, increases occurred: by 5 percent in machinery and electrical equipment, by 5.5 percent in fuels, by 7.2 percent in agricultural products, by 7.6 percent in foodstuffs, and by 14.7 percent in iron and steel goods.

Trends were mixed in imports from the 1st payments zone. We increased the purchases of wood and paper goods by 4.7 percent, foodstuffs by 12.6 percent, and light industry products by 15.4 percent. On the other hand, the deliveries of iron and steel products declined by 5.3 percent, machinery and electrical equipment by 5.7 percent, chemicals by 9 percent, fuels by 10.5 percent, and agricultural products by 54.2 percent.

In imports from the 2d payments area, we are registering growth in all commodity groups: chemicals by 2.7 percent, machinery and electrical equipment by 6.7 percent, wood and paper products by 9.9 percent, light industry products by 20.5 percent, foodstuffs by 22.7 percent, and agricultural products by as much as 48 percent (grains and milled grains, tropical fruit, cocoa beans).

### THM Dal Plans Clothing Goods Store Franchises

90EP0159A Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish  
7 Oct 89 p 8

[Article by Maciej Tekielski: "The Initiatives of THM Dal"]

[Text] There is a rapidly developing retail network in Poland. It is made up of Benetton shops and is based at least in part on foreign exchange. The prices are actually in zlotys, but they reflect the dollar exchange rate of the foreign exchange offices. THM Dal aspires to join the group of owners of such shops. Marek Pietkiewicz became the new chairman of the board at Dal a few months ago. He had previously been known for his dynamism as trade director for Pewex.

This is what the undertaking is to look like: There will be a semiprivate company consisting of Dal and units of the socialized economy like WPHW, the Scouting Warehouse, Promotion 2000 Company, Polares, and others, but 51 percent of the stock will be held by physical persons, the employees of these institutions and shops.

The company will be called Dallux and will have about 30 shops all over Poland selling imported goods, mainly sporting equipment and clothing, all for zlotys. The prices are to be competitive, because Dal has several ways of obtaining goods at relatively low cost.

### Ways of Fighting Inflation

Brut shaving lotion is an example. It can be bought in the large 1500-ml size for 18,000 zlotys in our shops here and there. "This is laughably cheap," Director Pietkiewicz assures us, "for that sort of trademark item." Dal was able to offer it at such a price, because only a small share of the whole lot of the commodity was allocated to the domestic market.

Another way of having low prices is to buy up what is left over from fashion house collection series. The normal price for such items would be astronomical in our country, but the leftovers will only be very high. They may include a dozen of a single model and several hundred of another. The owner of the collection is willing to accept significant price concessions, because by being generous with his inventory he can avoid the whole problem.

Dal encompasses all sorts of transactions imaginable. For example, there could be zloty-clearing-switching-free market-ruble turnovers. There are possibilities for obtaining deliveries at special prices for one's own network of shops in turnovers particularly where "both the commodity and the system of payment are in crisis." This fact allows Dal to put itself on the front line in the battle against inflation. I think that this role has consisted mainly of moderating the competition's price appetite by demonstrating that goods similar to theirs can be offered at far lower prices.

Such transactions enter the company's figures only as profit, not turnovers. In addition, Dal conducts normal export and import, which will reach about \$75 million this year. The domain of complicated transactions with foreign goods was Dal's at one time. Today practically anyone may handle such transactions. Nonetheless, Dal has no fear of the competition in this area. It takes exceptional qualifications and excellent foreign contacts to manage such operations, and this ability is the company's greatest asset.

Alongside the traditional trade and finance element, the new director has created a separate holding operation, to manage the business of foreign companies in which Dal holds shares, operate agency enterprises, and handle new undertakings. The transformation of the whole enterprise into a holding company was also up for consideration, but the firm's traditions going back more than 50 years tipped the scales in favor of keeping it in its present configuration.

### New-Style Companies

Another advantage in addition to its experienced staff is the company's network of foreign companies. Dal has a controlling share in 12 trade companies and is a noncontrolling but important partner in 12 others. In addition, it has three production companies, two in Norway and one in Venezuela. This network is to be carefully reviewed. Dal may withdraw from some companies. At the same time, it also plans to set up new ones. Director

Pietkiewicz is particularly sensitive to the fact that Dal does not have any such companies in the Far East or the United States.

The figures for such companies vary, but they depend largely on the commitment of the people in them. The conditions presently exist to energize their operations, because the system of remuneration will be revamped.

As of 1 June of this year Law 103 lost its force. Under this law remuneration in the companies was determined according to the same principles as those in government trade units. No new regulations accompanied the revocation of Law 103. Given this situation, Dal first met with interested parties in foreign trade and the agencies of these companies and then came to the conclusion that it should introduce the system that was the most normal, because it was the simplest.

A general meeting of partners will set the salaries of company directors at the level of the local director, but with this money the person will be responsible for all his own living costs, that is, rent for housing, payment of taxes, insurance, medical care, and so on, just as his local counterpart is.

The company director will set the employees' salaries, because the director is the person responsible for the company's operations and will be judged by the general meeting of partners, who may award special bonuses for particular achievements. On the other hand, the opposite is also true. Poor results may cause them to reconsider the company director's salary and suitability to run the company.

Some people are unaware that Dal owns all the agency enterprises, called "houses." Strictly speaking, it has a 100 percent share in them, except for Timex, in which it holds a smaller share, 61 percent. Most of the houses, after all, were offshoots of Dal. It happened this way: For some transactions of a "gray" nature, that is, ones with certain features not worth boasting about, a special enterprise would be created to avoid compromising Dal, and this new enterprise began living a life of its own. It took over the representational service of later customers, finally either expanding or disappearing, depending again largely on the commitment of the people there. One of the sections of Dal's holding company arm will be responsible for coordinating the joint policy of these enterprises.

### New Undertakings

Finally, the last but certainly not the least important section of this arm consists of new ventures. One of them is the planned network of 30 Dallux shops. Another is a joint venture with plants in Warka and an Italian firm which is to make money from installing an ultrafilter in Warka for an apple concentrate production line. Such a filter should make it possible to increase the production of concentrate by 20 percent

and to upgrade its quality by 30 percent. Among other undertakings we might mention the plans to create a center to produce TV picture tubes along with Polkolor. There are certain to be more such joint ventures.

Leasing is also being expanded. Dal has agreements with 12 Polish enterprises in the food and textile branches to import machinery on this basis.

For some time Dal has been rendering a completely new service, to provide guarantees, but it does this only for firms with which it engages in cooperation. There are

presently such guarantee agreements running on the order of \$10 million.

For many years Dal has been living in a shadow and has quite deliberately avoided publicity, somehow afraid that its "gray" transactions might come out into the open, but in the light of business everything is not so crystal clear. Today, after all, anyone able to handle such transactions may do so. Independent of these "gray" transactions, which nobody in the world is particularly proud of, Dal does a great many other things which deserve the greatest possible publicity, if only to inspire others to follow its example.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Disaffected Youth Desert FDJ, Seek New Role in Society

90EG0083A Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 9-10 Dec 89 p 3

[Report by Giovanni di Lorenzo: "Helpless Children of the Revolution—Young People in the GDR Ask, 'What Is There We Can Still Be Proud Of?'—Hopes and Fears of Adolescents Reacting to the Constant Changes in Their Everyday Lives"]

[Text] Berlin, 8 Dec—The Pankow Rock Band intones powerful sounds in the House of Soviet Science and Culture in Friedrichstrasse in Berlin. The soloist recites this stanza: "We've seen the same country too long/ Heard the same tongue too long/ Hoped for too much/ Revered the old men too long." Only a few weeks ago, the musicians risked being banned for performing this song and provoked fierce action by the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] bezirk chairman, who has been indicted in the meantime. Despite the fact that it is Friday night and everyone says that on weekends young people are drawn to the western part of the city, an audience of 600 fills every corner of the hall. Those attending the concert are fully familiar with the dispute with the "old men," and in the past such allusions provoked conspiratorial loud applause. Now they react to the song with such equanimity as to make one believe that it deals with a story from a very distant past.

#### Sober Meeting

Twenty-four hours later, the brothers Tim and Michael Schlegel meet in dusky light at the Erich Franz Youth Club at Prenzlauer Berg, where even before the change somewhat more went on than was permitted by those in power. Tim, 21, fled to West Berlin via Budapest on 7 October, while Michael, 18, remained in the other part of the city. Both had already met again the night the wall opened up. Now, when Tim for the first time finds himself in the old environment again, the meeting turns out to be strikingly sober. Tim has just come up with a reasonable apartment in public housing and temporarily has taken a job in construction. Without any euphoria, the young man, who makes the impression of a deliberate and serious person, says that he is looking forward to the opportunities he sees ahead of him in the Federal Republic. Michael welcomes his brother's decision, noticing that Tim has shed a good bit of his phlegmatic attitude. Michael himself nevertheless intends to remain in the GDR. He works as an interior decorator in his parents' semiprivate decorator-fabrics store and would like to take over the firm one day. Considering his youthful appearance, it seems incongruous when he says, "I am not one who invariably avoids difficulties, but it is also human nature to choose the easier way."

Images, meetings, and statements which look like they have been staged to illustrate the events of the times! Yet the participating actors create the impression that the

rapid changes in the GDR have already become routine. Or is such an attitude on the part of young people pure and simple self-defense in light of an environment in which they may be about to lose all orientation? Are these children of the revolution partaking in the upheavals, or do they not think that liberation simply means that at long last they can concentrate on themselves? And does it have nothing to do with politics if all conversations now focus on impressions from trips to the West?

After innumerable television interviews in the past few weeks, the reports about such trips by now almost sound stereotype. Everything is so colorful over there, with all the fancy facades and neon advertising and brightly lit store windows! And then this unimaginable abundance of goods! Less familiar are the complaints—not all that rare—about their own compatriots from the GDR. The young clothes designer Antje Schrader, for instance, is "terribly embarrassed" about the way some GDR citizens lower themselves to take part in the consumer frenzy in the Federal Republic. She has seen them "begging for a few oranges as if they were starving." The people in the GDR, after all, have ample stocks of food themselves and are quite overweight, she observes, adding, "I too have my pride."

Other questions being asked urgently in the GDR these days are: Just what is there one can be proud of? What can one hold on to in one's own country? Interior decorator Michael, who has only just made some blasphemous remarks about those "Reds" who until recently "overworked his ears" at school and at work, has a quick answer: "Here there are not as many extreme rightists as you have." Taxi driver Stefan, another young man, whom we run across at the Franz Club, would like government subsidies to continue, but actually only in rents; the other subsidies could easily be abolished—first of all those for power and water, which only cause him to leave the lights on and to run an ample bath. But these utterances are not likely to be representative. Altogether, any observer is bound to be struck by the fact that young people in the GDR differ, as in any other country, depending on their job and education and on their forming part of a particular scene or clique.

In the past a reporter had an easier time; in the past there was the FDJ [Free German Youth]. Whoever wanted to write about youth in the GDR was given a comprehensive schedule which as a rule—whether in school, enterprises, or leisure homes—led him from one FDJ group to another. According to the logic of official information policy, this procedure was clearly consistent. Heretofore, at the age of 14, the overwhelming majority of girls and boys joined the organization which claimed to be the sole representative of all young people. When Honecker was overthrown, the FDJ had almost 2 million members.

Today one can almost feel sorry for the FDJ functionaries. Within a few weeks they have chosen a new central council, courageously severed formal ties with the SED, and even removed all photos and anything else that

reminded one of the really no longer existing socialism from the headquarters in Unter den Linden. It is no use: according to the newly elected FDJ chief, Frank Tuerkowsky, about half the members have already quit the youth organization. In one of his first official actions the first secretary, who is energetic but as yet appears somewhat insecure, has invited youth organizations from the entire republic to Berlin in order to conduct roundtable negotiations like the SED and the opposition. In alliance with other organizations, the FDJ is seeking an opportunity to survive as a representative of youth.

But it is not only the expected representatives of churches, the parties, and the opposition movement that show up for the evening discussions. By the dozens, envoys of small local bodies, ranging from the Autonomous Anti-Fascist Church From Below to the Socialist Youth Association of the Kamenz Officers School, seek admission at the FDJ House. At first the FDJ functionaries, who despite their bright blue uniform shirts make a rather dull impression, try all kinds of tricks to evade the democratic-base pressure, assigning the representatives of local bodies and those of nationwide organizations to different rooms and barring journalists. But resolute looking activists of a just founded Revolutionary Autonomous Youth Association raise such a ruckus that the FDJ leadership feels compelled to combine the two assemblies.

In the end a resolution is arrived at—unimaginable as recently as a few weeks ago—to continue the negotiations as negotiations of parties with equal rights, with the FDJ not even in the chair. A lean student with a stubbly beard tells Tuerkowsky to his face what purpose the FDJ still serves: "The FDJ has been eaten, but you have the coal."

At the colleges as well, the FDJ is beating a dramatic retreat. At several faculties of Humboldt University, for example, the FDJ representations have disbanded, with part of especially motivated members joining a Socialist Student League which intends to gather various leftist forces. The toughest competitors of the FDJ at the university, though, are moderates such as medical student Germo Gericke, 23, one of the spokesmen of the Student Council—meanwhile recognized officially consisting of freely elected representatives of all faculties. Describing the political orientation of his organization, Gericke says: "Most of us are leftists, but compared with the AStA [General Student Committee] in West Berlin we are rather conservative." The "council of spokesmen" so far has been able to see to it that the hated basic study of Marxism-Leninism was abolished and the weekly sports hours are no longer obligatory. Germo Gericke and his friends have, however, noted with amazement that these "minor changes have affected the student council movement adversely." Many formerly active students, they point out, do not want anything more and are now concentrating primarily on their personal careers and a fulfilled personal life.

The members of the Student Council refrain from criticism of their fellow students, however. They all know how tough and limited life has been for most young people in the GDR. "Just leave the cities," says a girl on the student Council, "and you'll see what is going on in the GDR." In the old small garrison town of Neuruppin in Brandenburg, only an hour's drive from Berlin, we see right away what she probably means. In this town of 25,000 inhabitants, half of which is a desert of new buildings and the other half an old town resisting ruin, there are no more than three medium-size youth clubs, hardly any attractive bars, and a single cinema. For lack of an alternative, the FDJ will continue to organize the sparse leisure activity for some time to come. Away from headquarters, one also comes across functionaries whose distaste for the machinations of the overthrown regime sounds credible and whose determination to make one more try with a new socialism engages at least a certain respect. Here there have never been many privileges to take advantage of, affirms Torsten Liebert, head of the local youth tourist office. He himself did not manage a single time to travel to a country with a "nonsocialist economy." "Down here," says electrician Frank Paetsch, FDJ second secretary in Neuruppin, "we die quite alone."

He is visibly relieved at no longer having to present an intact world to a visitor from the Federal Republic, as he would have had to in the past. At one of the local youth clubs, located on the grounds of the bezirk hospital and the Neuruppin neurological clinic, he and his friends therefore also quickly begin talking about a problem which concerns not only the young people of the town: after work, people drink as much as the bar has to offer. In the GDR this does not cost much. At the youth club a glass of beer costs 65 pfennings, and the popular "vodka juice" drink M 1.80. Recently, recounts club director Michael Schulz, he tried to offer nothing but French champagne and bottled wine for 30 or 40 marks, and "the people," he concludes with a feeling of resignation, "nevertheless drank as if there would be no alcohol after tomorrow."

#### Flight Without Warning

There is a lot that people in the GDR have to put out of their minds. It also happens that young people whom one would not expect to talk start talking. Redhead Viktoria Herrmann, for instance, is already something of a star as moderator of youth broadcasts on GDR television. At 22 years of age, she lives far better than most people of her age group. She lives alone in a comfortable apartment in an old building. Widely traveled, Viktoria is dressed unusually fashionably. As late as September she was living together with her boyfriend. One day after work she found her apartment deserted and a note from her boyfriend, who had fled to the West without any kind of warning. Had they not only just talked about having a child, with Viktoria slowly viewing it as a possibility? Viktoria says: "It was as if he had committed suicide before my very eyes, for I didn't know if I would every be able to see him again."

The next day she had cried so much that she pretended in front of her colleagues in the television studio that her grandmother had died. If the truth had come out she probably would have lost her job. Worse than this danger, she says, was the fear for her mother's job. Now that the wall has become porous, Viktoria could see the man now living in the other part of Berlin every day. But the two do not meet any longer. They each fend for themselves.

Viktoria notices some quite unexpected new difficulties just now when the border has opened. Suddenly, she says, especially at the workplace, an uncanny greed for money and for the most profitable connections with the West has started to make itself felt. This despite the fact that there always used to be a warm feeling of solidarity between friends and colleagues. Now Viktoria is afraid that something is being lost in the GDR. "If that becomes our future," she says, "I don't think I am up to it."

## POLAND

### Cofounders of Feminist Association State Goals, Needs

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21 Nov 89 p 10

[Interview with Maria Ciechomska and Slawka Walczewska, cofounders, Polish Feminist Association of Warsaw, by Ingrid Oppermann: "... And Then I Wrote to Kate Millett"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is TAGESZEITUNG introduction]

[Text] Maria Ciechomska and Slawka Walczewska are cofounders of the feminist group "Polish Feminist Association of Warsaw." Maria Ciechomska is a Germanic studies student in Warsaw. Slawka Walczewska is a doctoral candidate in philosophy at Krakow University.

[TAGESZEITUNG] Up to now there has been only one women's organization, the Women's League of the Communist Party, in Poland. Now, for the first time you have officially created a feminist association in Warsaw. How did this come about?

[Maria Ciechomska] In 1980 there were regular meetings and discussions in the so-called women's forum at Warsaw University. But not all women were convinced that something like a feminist movement was also necessary. To be sure, many, like me, were of the opinion that women in Poland are discriminated against, but in view of the economic catastrophe there were more important things to do. The martial law then put an end to the forum's activity. In 1982 some from the women's forum began to meet regularly again at the university. At first we only discussed and read writings together. The legalization of our group was impossible at that time. But underground activity was not possible either, because even the leading activists in the opposition were allergic to feminism. They wanted nothing to do with us.

[TAGESZEITUNG] What were you able to do then?

[Maria Ciechomska] Everything was private, and that's why our activity had to be limited to a few actions. The first one was the organization of a retrospective of women's movies in 1986. We showed more than 80 films by women and arranged discussions with women filmmakers, with Helke Sander and Ulrike Oettinger, among others. In Krakow we organized seminars 2 years in a row in March, each time shortly before or after the International Women's Day. We think 8 March is one of the phoniest days of celebration, and our arrangement could be seen as an alternative Women's Day. Lectures were held, for example on the subject of "Why Is There no Feminism in Poland?" Further, there was film critique from a feminist viewpoint, and other lectures dealt with medicine and philosophy. The next public action in the spring of 1989 was necessitated by reality, so to speak. It was aimed against the attempt by conservative forces to overturn the liberal abortion law.

[TAGESZEITUNG] How large is your group?

[Maria Ciechomska] Well, to begin with we were five, and now we are 20 women. Almost all of us are academics from the university.

[TAGESZEITUNG] How were you able to obtain information about feminist theories? Wasn't that difficult?

[Slawka Walczewska] I read something about feminism for the first time about 10 years ago. It was a report on a women's demonstration in New York which also mentioned Kate Millett. The article was a very nasty one and made fun of everything. But I noticed that there was something to it anyway and immediately wrote to Kate Millett. In reply I then got magazines by some women. Kate Millett probably hadn't even read the letter. To begin with, I understood very little of the content, since the articles included words which I didn't know, such as sexism. But this is the way I got access to this language. And then an anthology of feminist writings was published in our country. The title is "No One Is Born a Woman" and it contains essays and writings by prominent feminists in the West. Teresa Holowska, the editor, is a philosopher and devout Catholic. She had nothing to do with feminism, but since the publication of the book she has also become a feminist.

[TAGESZEITUNG] What do you understand by feminism?

[Maria Ciechomska] To us, feminism means liberation from the constraint of the sex roles. I believe that the key word for feminism is the concept of patriarchy. Patriarchy is what we are fighting against. When it comes to women, there are actually not two social systems, socialism and capitalism, but just patriarchy. This is very similar on both sides.

[Slawka Walczewska] The laws governing public life in Poland do, in fact, give women equal rights, but the private sector wasn't touched at all by the change in the

system. This has consequences in public life, of course. When the men are always to play the principal role in the family, they also give women no opportunity to occupy leading positions in public life.

[Maria Ciechomska] It is always stressed that women are particularly respected in Polish society. In reality, this respect is limited to various courtesy formulas, for instance that a man helps a woman with her coat or holds the door for her. But it would be better not to help her with that; she can do that herself. It would be better if the man would lend a hand at home.

[Slawka Walczewska] The female ideal, which is also supported by the Communist Party, is the image of the so-called Polish mother. It was created at the time Poland was divided in the 19th Century, when men were arrested and hauled off to Siberia. Then the women had to support the family, take care of the children's education and teach them national values. This role is still held up as a model for all Polish women. A memorial has even been built to the "Polish mother." Initially, an ordinary memorial was planned, but then the decision was made to build a women's hospital, which was to be understood as a memorial. There were many jokes about what this memorial should really have looked like: It should have been a prematurely aged woman, who is totally ruined by work, has varicose veins and carries huge shopping bags.

[TAGESZEITUNG] What role does the Polish Women's League play?

[Slawka Walczewska] The Women's League was founded by the Communists and supports the communist government. Until now, it was the only women's organization in Poland, but it is not representative. Their views do not reflect the opinions of the women. The league believes that it is emancipation to help women become more efficient in their housework. It offers cooking classes, gives tips and advice so that women are better able to do their duties. The duties themselves are not questioned, however.

[TAGESZEITUNG] Back to your organization. How do you want to continue your work in the future?

[Maria Ciechomska] We have now registered ourselves. The altered political situation in Poland made this possible. We will be able to develop activities which until now were not possible. We want to issue our own publication, take legal initiatives and establish contact with women's groups abroad. We will also contact the independent female delegates and senators. They are not very numerous, to be sure, but some of them are well known and influential personalities. We also hope to get help from Western feminists, to get their moral support and the possibility of exchanging experiences.



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