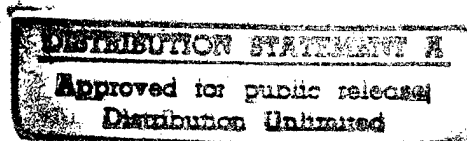


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12 January 1983



East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2093

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NOTICE

The cover of JPRS 82606 of 10 January 1983, No. 2092 of this series, erroneously read EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS. It should have read EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, MILITARY AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS.

12 January 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2093

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NEXHMIJE HOXHA STRESSES SUCCESS OF POLICY OF SELF-RELIANCE

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 3 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] Yesterday afternoon the square in front of the "A. Moisiu" Theater in the city of Durres was very lively. The voters from Electoral Zone No 28 were there to meet with their candidate for deputy in the People's Assembly, Comrade Nexhmiye Hoxha. Comrade Nexhmiye Hoxha gave a speech in which she said that the class and political consciousness of our people and of the whole party and country has risen up like one body responding with concrete work to the militant call of Comrade Enver [Hoxha] for "Work and Vigilance" in production and in social life and multilateral preparation for the defense of our socialist homeland.

Then Comrade Nexhmiye Hoxha cited the successes achieved in the development of the economy and culture during the 9th legislature. She stressed that a characteristic of our progress is the development of a complex and independent economy. Later she spoke about prospects which are being presented in the new five-year plan for the further intensification of the economy and about the important steps which are being taken to implement the party policy in the area of material well-being, education and culture.

She told the voters to remember that the Titoites and Khrushchevites advised us to plant only industrial crops and fruit trees so that we could be dependent upon them for bread. Their agents thought that we were wasting our money in trying to find oil. The Khrushchevites told us that all these outlays were needed for hydroelectric power plants and metallurgy. Later, the Chinese, when they began to ally themselves with the U.S. and Yugoslavia, withdrew the commitment they had made to design the Fierze hydroelectric power plant. But we built it with our own forces.

Imagine where we would be today, in this crisis which has hit the capitalist and revisionist world! What would we do without oil, without electric power, without our bread, without revenues, without hard currency, etc. Not only would we suffer economically but also our political independence would be endangered. This, Comrade Nexhmiye Hoxha, stressed, did not happen and will not happen because both the plans of foreign enemies and the plans of domestic enemies have failed and will fail in the face of the correct line of the party and the strength of the people joined with a steel vise to the party and its Central Committee.

After speaking about the atmosphere of high revolutionary enthusiasm which was burst forth throughout the country, for the execution of tasks in every sector, she stressed the need to be more thoroughly informed and the need to struggle more consistently for the implementation of the line and norms of the party, for the strengthening of revolutionary vigilance, for the expansion of Proletarian democracy and for reliance on the working masses, on the workers, cooperativists, cadres and specialists who are devoted to the cause of the people and the party.

CSO: 2100/14

ALBANIA

INTERNATIONAL FLIGHT SCHEDULE FOR NEXT SIX MONTHS

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 12 Nov 82 p 4

[Announcement from Albtransport]

[Text] From 11 November 1982 to 31 March 1983 the schedule for international airlines will be as follows:

1. INTERFLUG--(IF-390/391), the civil air transport enterprise of the German Democratic Republic will fly on Monday, once every 2 weeks, on the BERLIN-BUDAPEST-TIRANA route and the return route, arriving at Rinas Airport at 1125 and departing from Rinas at 1225.
2. JAT--(JU-480/481), the civil air transport enterprise of Yugoslavia will fly on Tuesday, once a week, on the BELGRADE-TIRANA route and the return route, arriving at Rinas Airport at 1540 and departing from Rinas at 1625.
3. OLYMPIK--(OA-115/116), the Greek international airlines, will fly on Tuesday, once a week, on the ATHENS-IOANNINA-TIRANA route and the return route, arriving at Rinas Airport at 1140 and departing from Rinas at 1240.
4. MALEV--(MA-430/431), the civil air transport enterprise of the Hungarian People's Republic, will fly on Thursday, once a week, on the BUDAPEST-BELGRADE-TIRANA route and the return route, arriving at Rinas Airport at 1015 and departing from Rinas at 1105.
5. TAROM--(RO-251/252), the civil air transport enterprise of the Socialist Republic of Romania, will fly on Wednesday, once a week, on the BUCHAREST-TIRANA-ROME route and the return route, arriving at Rinas Airport from Bucharest at 0900 and departing for Rome at 0950, returning from Rome to Rinas at 1400 and departing from Rinas at 1500.

Note: Passengers should be at Rinas Airport one and one-half hours before the departure of the flight. Otherwise Albtransport will not bear any responsibility for their failure to depart.

CSO: 2100/14

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LUTHER SEEN STRIVING 'TO ELIMINATE SOCIAL CONFLICTS'

Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in German 17 Sep 82 "Wir" supplement p 2

['Past and Current History' feature article by Prof Dr Adolf Laube, GDR Academy of Sciences, Central Institute for History: "He Saw the Injustices of His Time--Luther and the Social Problems of the Early Bourgeois Revolution"]

[Text] In the beginning of the 16th century large segments of the German people were overcome by moods of deep unrest and crisis. One aspect of this unrest was economic anti-clericalism that had been directed especially against the financial and exploitation practices of the Papal Church which, on the basis of diverse claims, continually squeezed huge sums of money out of the German people. In many pamphlets, church and clergy were accused of profiteering and greed, and were both blamed for being responsible for the increasing impoverization of the people.

Social Polarization of Unknown Dimensions

In the background of this unrest were deep-seated structural changes in society that were connected with critical phenomena [of changes] in the basic feudal system and with the rise of early capitalism. Within a few decades, a social polarization of previously unknown dimensions had developed. The formerly widespread segments of middle class population in cities and country had decreased, a relatively small upper middle class had amassed wealth and economic power while, at the same time, the poverty of broad segments of society had increased. In many areas the number of poor people unable to pay taxes amounted to about half of the population. These social ills were accentuated by the fact that the feudal nobility tried to compensate for its waning influence and for its decreasing--in comparison with the middle class--economic power by increasing the exploitation of its subjects, and in this process the church, which had even more effective exploitation methods at its disposal, often became nobility's obstacle and competitor. The division of the Reich into hundreds of territories and feudal dominions, the impotence of Reich authorities, frequent wars and many other problems complicated the situation. Sharp contrasts within the ruling classes made the rulers incapable of solving through evaluation and reforms the problems that had become critical.

The Historical Achievement of Martin Luther

Accusations against the church increased. They were published in the "Reformatio Sigismundi", the radical reform program of the 15th century, by church reformers like Johann von Wesel and Wessel Gansfort, in the astrological prophecies of Johann Lichtenberg and in works of art like Duerer's "Apocalypse." They were expressed by humanists like Erasmus von Rotterdam, Jakob Winpferling, Ulrich von Hutten, Sebastian Brant and many others, by popular preachers like Geiler von Kaisersber, in the "Gravamina (Complaints) Of the German Nation Against the Holy See in Rome" published by trade unions and cities, in the reform pamphlet of the "Upper Rhenish Revolutionary."

But the accusations also resulted in radical confrontations [between the establishment] and popular movements such as those started by Hans Boeheim, The Piper of Niklashausen, and by Joss Fritz, the intellectual leader of the Bundschuh Conspiracy. All these accusations reflected broad popular sentiment. Still, before 1517, it had not been possible to shake the firm power of the church sanctified by a 1,000-year tradition, or to direct the many local and regional uprisings toward this goal.

What it took was the fundamental blow to the Roman Church, the international center of feudalism, brought about by Martin Luther's theological attacks against the church's dogmatic bases, attacks which, in order to legitimize the social forces calling for change, challenged the necessity of the church institution per se as mediator between god and man. This was the decisive impulse which, in the future course of the reform movement's differentiation and radicalization, made it possible to change this movement into a broad popular uprising which on its own part, however, went beyond the reform goals of Luther. This is the nucleus of our concept of the internal connection between the Reformation and the Peasants' War as an early middle class revolution.

Social Problems Defined

This new quality of an attack against the Papal Church in terms of a theological reform must therefore be given the greatest credit. On the other hand, it would be completely wrong to limit the Reformation to the attack on church dogmas alone. From the very beginning, Martin Luther himself combined criticism of the church on the basis of the Bible with a number of political, social and economic problems through which the deep-seated social contradictions of the early 16th century were expressed, and he searched for biblically founded possibilities of solving these problems. With his indulgence theses of 1517, his sermon on indulgence and grace of 1518, the short and long usury sermons of 1519 and 1520 as well as in the famous pamphlet "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" of 1520 Luther took issue with the criticism of social and economic ills that had already spread during the early phases of the Reformation. Previously demonstrated anti-clericalism in economic terms now assumed a new character through the principle introduced by Luther which made the Bible the only authority for judging the legality or illegality [not only of moral but] also of social and economic conditions and demands. Because the Bible was written under completely different social conditions than those which had meanwhile evolved, many conditions in church and society had now to appear illegal in the light of the Bible.

Economic Conclusions

Luther's criticism, unlike that of many others, did not exhaust itself in aimless polemics against all sorts of ills, but instead he took issue with the most urgent social problems, examined them theoretically on the basis of the Bible, for him the highest authority, and then gave advice on the solution of these problems.

One of these problems, with which Luther dealt intensively, was the so-called purchase of interests and rents, a practice that was then the most effective way to exploit peasants and tradesmen by ruthless profiteering. Luther called this practice the greatest usurer on earth, the greatest misfortune of the German nation; he examined the conditions which would make possible small mortgage interests, and he advanced such theoretically important ideas as the one saying that, by buying up real estate interest payments, the buyer does not purchase the real estate itself--as many people then believed--but rather the labor of the people paying interest. Luther's economic theories such as this one were the reason that Karl Marx quoted Luther's writings against usury on several occasions, and that he compared Luther in a certain way to Adam Smith, the originator of British middle class economic theories. Demands and arguments that were similar to those prepared by Luther on the question of interest payments appeared later on in the documents of the revolutionaries during the Peasants' War.

The New Work Ethic

Another important social problem of the early 16th century that caused considerable tensions resulted from the increase in the number of beggars. The social doctrines of the church not only legitimized begging, they provided it with additional ethical value by praising alms - giving as a contribution to the salvation of the almoner, and the church itself practiced begging in many different ways especially in form of the so-called beggars orders. How great the tensions and social problems resulting from this practice were is made clear in the municipal directives on begging which, already before 1517, tried to deal with the excessive begging practices. Luther and many other reformers tried to solve these problems by attributing greater ethical value to manual labor, by forbidding the practice of begging, by imposing on all who were physically able the duty to work, and by creating for those who were not able: the old people, the orphans and the sick, social relief funds, the so-called common coffers that were filled through, among other things, confiscated church property. Their model became, beside the directive of the city of Wittenberg inspired by Andreas Karlstadt, the Leisnig Coffers Ordinance printed in 1523 with a preface by Luther,

Against the Powerful Capitalists

Another important point of attack for Luther were the powerful capitalist firms such as the Fuggers, Welsers, Hoechstetters and others. They were considered as the cause of price increased brought about through the exploitation of the needs of the poor, as the worst exploiters and usurers. Luther dealt with them especially in his pamphlet "On Trade and Usury" (1524). With a very clear appraisal of the new profit-oriented economic

practices he characterized the powerful capitalist firms as monopolies which prevented the broad growth of the middle class, should have their property confiscated and be driven from the country. Unfortunately, Luther admitted with resignation, the kings and princes who should do away with these firms have become their accomplices.

Reformation and Early Middle Class Revolution

The writing of Luther show that social-economic as well as political reform ideas belong to the essential character of the Reformation and cannot be separated artificially from religious-theological ideas. Luther and many of the reformers close to him took issue with the true social problems of their time and, on the basis of the Bible, worked out arguments that challenged the legitimacy of certain feudal abuses. The reformers gave the discontent masses new ideas on what a true Christian society should be like. They did this in order to eliminate the materials for social conflicts and diffuse social tensions, not in order to stimulate them. But to the degree in which the popular movements became independent and pursued their goals with their own means, they could--whether Luther wanted this or not--fall back on the arguments prepared by him. Thus Luther's Reformation--especially, but not only, through its theological attacks on the Papal Church--laid important foundations on which the revolutionaries in the Peasants' War could build and which made their uprising on the large scale in which it took place possible in the first place.

8889

CSO: 2300/39

SZSP CONGRESS HELD, NEW ORGANIZATION CREATED

SZSP Executive Committee Report

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19-21 Nov 82 p 3

[Text] The main task of the Congress and of its delegates is to evaluate 23 months of work of the whole organization, its central authorities, and to outline the path of development of the democratic socialist student movement in Poland. This includes the need to make a decision regarding the future of our Union, the SZSP, which will result from the form of the student movement postulated by the Congress.

Our Congress is the first congress of a social organization in 1982, a year in which the situation in Poland has still been difficult and complicated, and in which there are serious international tensions. Because of this, the preparations for the Congress, the content of our deliberations, and above all, our decisions, will be observed with intent within Poland and also beyond its borders.

It is my conviction that among the delegates and consultants, this significant representation of the active part of the community, in honest and substantive discussion we will work out a program and rules for its realization. This will be the best proof of the civic morality of the student movement, of its determined will to serve the needs of students and to unite its thoughts and energies in the process of normalizing life in Poland.

The workers' protest of August 1980 and the processes which it set in motion have initiated profound changes in the SZSP as well.

The Third Congress of the SZSP, which took place in December 1980, became a forum for further lively discussion about the form of the organization and necessary changes. The Congress came out in support of a set of rules for an independent, political organization of Polish academic youth, while at the same time remaining active in all its previous spheres of action: it adopted a new declaration of the SZSP in the struggle for the values of socialism, referring to the traditions of our predecessors, the Association of Polish Students (ZSP), the Union of Socialist Youth (ZMS) and the Rural Youth Union (ZMW), emphasizing the union's ideological openness, its internal pluralism and democracy.

In spite of attempts undertaken at the Congress, the proposal of radical solutions in the question of the rules of the SZSP, and of the wider student movement, did not win support. Delegates to the Third Congress approved a set of rules which solved the dilemma of an ideological-upbringing vs. a social-professional organization. Evaluating the decisions of the Third Congress from hindsight, we must affirm that they arose from the conditions of that time, the situation of the SZSP, from threats to and attacks against our union, and also from the state of mind of the majority of union members.

In autumn of 1980 many new student organizations arose, with various programs, scope and significance. The creation of such a varied organizational landscape was, among other things, a reaction to the previously existing model of the movement, and also a result of political and upbringing concepts realized in the student community.

The political struggle taking place in educational institutions, in which we were engaged, strengthened certain stereotypical, superficial evaluations of the nonindependence and nonauthenticity of the union. It happened, nevertheless, that at that time in a tremendously valuable and innovative debate, our own overall political and social concepts arose. They amount to a significant intellectual achievement of the organization worked out at many seminars and conferences. They grew out of our ideological dilemmas and our own first, and so important, political experiences. Throughout the union, the "Political Program of the SZSP", adopted at the Third Plenum of the Supreme Council, became such a general record of the understanding of socialism, its value and social program.

The period of the SZSP's suspension, from 13 December to 15 March was basically a time when its activity was frozen.

During the renewal of activity we posed questions about the chance of continuing with the Congress rules of the SZSP. The external conditions for this activity had fundamentally changed. The new conditions found us at a stage where we were unable to fully test the new, post-Congress rules of the union and carry out many decisions which had been made. Nevertheless, we considered the renewal of the activity of the SZSP as a recognition of the sovereignty of the organization and the community in deciding their own affairs and shaping the future of the student movement.

The balance of the past term is first of all work, often unseen, unpopular. Concrete examples of this are: the fight for a new system of stipends for students and their families worked out by the union; the SZSP 81 and 82 summer activities, prepared with an enormous amount of work, and within its framework work of unprecedented scope with the group of the youngest, i.e. year "0" camps, and longterm activity in culture, the scientific movement and tourism.

The SZSP, attacked and criticized, in spite of losses suffered, in spite of the popularity enjoyed by the newly arisen Independent Association of Students (NZS), endured and maintained its position as the largest student organization, including 10 to 30 percent of students. This fact takes on particular value in the face of predictions of the complete breakup of the SZSP and the buildup of the NZS as the organization including the vast majority of students.

The Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) defended its politicality, its identity, which it based on an awareness of its own ideological values and consequences.

The past two years have also been a period abounding in important and new phenomena and events in the international activity of the SZSP. We have tried to create with our partners a climate conducive to an understanding of the changes taking place in Poland, and at the same time struggle to maintain and strengthen the SZSP's positions in the international forum. In spite of difficulties, the SZSP together with the main body of its members, and supporting movements, has maintained an active presence in all supranational structures, and in the system of bilateral cooperation.

We have traditionally assigned priority to cooperation with youth and student organizations of the socialist countries. These organizations have rendered the SZSP important help in the international forum, especially in resisting tendencies to treat the "Polish question" as an instrument of confrontation in East-West relations. We have given the greatest attention to our cooperation with the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union ("Komsomol"). The signing in February of this year of a protocol on cooperation between the Komsomol and four Polish youth unions was an important event; this fact, in addition to the realization of coordinated undertakings, we consider essential for the formation and strengthening of bonds of friendship between Polish and Soviet youth. As a Polish youth organization we desire to continue the activity of strengthening that friendship and deepening the developing cooperation.

We have actively participated in the work of the International Union of Students, which fights for the interests of its 106 member organizations, works for peace, disarmament, justice and social progress in the world, strengthening the anti-imperialist solidarity of youth and students. We have always been able to count on concrete help and support from the IUS.

Among the tasks of our Congress we include, besides summation and taking stock, the obligation of defining the situation of the SZSP with respect to the future of the student movement, including our union. A starting point is the result of the model discussion taking place in our ranks. This discussion in its genesis goes back further than the May plenum of the Supreme Council in Wilga, and even further back than the Third Congress itself. For its beginnings can be found in the mid-1970's. The first signs of the loss of the social base through both a quantitative decrease in the number of members and a growing apathy in the community, raised questions about the form of the student movement and the rules of the SZSP which are still relevant.

In the early 1970's, with a great, or at least declared, convergence of programs of all the unions then active in educational institutions, among the leadership of the ZMS, ZMW, and ZSP there appeared beside a whole range of theoretical arguments the strong psychological motive of the so-called advantage of unification. The leadership of the ZMS and ZVM sought in our union, among other things, the opportunity to spread their political influence over the whole community. For activists of the ZSP, what stood out in the rules of the SZSP was the opportunity to politically ennoble their previous associational activity.

An eclectic combination of the programs of the ZSP, ZMS, and ZMW led to a plurality of goals set for the union and probably even at the beginning was beyond the possibilities of a single organization, assuming that it wanted to remain with one purpose, consistent and not torn by internal contradictions, and still intellectually attractive to the community. The leadership of the union strongly emphasized the politicality of the SZSP's program, trying to find ideological premises and political goals in all the activities undertaken by the organization and its individual units. On the other hand, among the masses of members there appeared strong associational resentment, called forth by the emphasis on the general and mass character of activity.

The history of the SZSP has been above all indisputable, honest work of the organization for the good of the community. There were years of tremendous experiences accumulated by the union. They were also years of greater or lesser successes of the student movement, of many wise initiatives, of the romanticism immanent in students, of developing one's capabilities of meet one's goals. There were, however, many mistakes and inconsistencies. It seems that the most serious of them was such a long maintenance of internal contradictions in the goals and form of the union.

The suspension of the SZSP's activity from December to March, through a dose of uncertainty, strengthened, and for the first time since the Congress with such force, externalized the model discussion. Since then it has been a permanent element of the internal life of the union. The SZSP initiated this discussion, and set for it conditions of development. At its beginning we determined that from the point of view of the SZSP the primary purpose of the traditions and achievements of the union has been and is the continuation of the socialist, democratic students' movement, including the realization of the students' right to all forms of intellectual and social activity, and also joint decision of issues regarding the life of the colleges and of our country.

After August, the Rural Youth Union and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, as a continuator of the Union of Socialist Youth, began their activity on college campuses. These unions define their role and program activity on campus in accordance with the situation before 1973. Thereby, with two out of three unions competing with the SZSP, there occurred a collision of the form of our organization with qualitatively new surroundings, with realities of the new environment.

The Supreme Council of the SZSP, meeting in late September in Uniejow, summarizing five months of discussion, stated in its resolution that the rise of a new organization with functions adapted to present and future requirements and needs of the community was appropriate.

The Supreme Council, after analyzing the social support for particular trends of solutions discussed, established that on the basis of the SZSP and all student groups active today, it is necessary to create a social-professional student community organization which would carry on the traditions and symbolism of the Association of Polish Students (ZSP).

We recognized that, given the overwhelming priority of civic activization, a student organization cannot abdicate the right to participate in and speak out on matters of broader importance than everyday problems. For that would be inconsistent with the characteristics of the community, with the intellectual and political aspirations of many groups in the community. Being more precise on this question, we consider that the political character of the social-professional organization will consist of the opportunity and skill of influencing solutions in the sphere of colleges, social policy and affairs of the younger generation. It must create conditions for conducting a discussion of the values, ideals and programs of the country's development.

The goal, value and main measure of the success of the changes which we are talking about is the inclusion in social-professional organizations of the active, rationally thinking part of the community, primarily from the sphere of culture, the scientific movement, tourism, sports and self-government movements. That value is simply a good student organization of the community, strong due to its program and significant support from its own community.

As a socialist organization, we consider that it is not socialism as a social system, as a set of values, which is the source of the crisis, but rather the practical functioning of the mechanisms of authority that led to the alienation of the leading circles and deepened the division between society and authority, created the conditions for realizing narrow group interests and gave rise to social pathologies and moral depravities.

I continue to expect the full realization in Poland of the most essential ideas of socialism, such as: real socialization of the means of production linked with the broadest participation of the citizens in the democratic administration of the state, and of the workers in the management of the enterprise; economic equality; the right to a job in one's professional field and the right to honest pay according to work; the development of authentic local, professional, cultural self-government and cooperation; the universal right to health care and social security.

The idea of national understanding, an idea close to the hearts of many Poles, though understood differently by many, may with certainty become the axis around which social activity will be oriented. We have consistently supported the realization of this idea both during the period of the recent turbulent past and during the period of martial law. Far from indulging in wishful thinking, we are aware of the real and deep contradictions rending Polish society, and hence of the serious obstacles to the reconciliation of contradictory expectations as to how to get out of the crisis and govern the country.

We have desired that such action favoring reconciliation with the nation should be carried out by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), a movement which creates a place for the creative meeting of different arguments and opinions. The Executive Committee of the Supreme Council of the SZSP has supported the idea of PRON. In this movement the student community must actively come into existence, attempt to dynamize it, acting at the same time in support of every alternative opportunity to remove barriers to understanding.

The situation in Poland is becoming normalized with difficulty, but realism is becoming stronger in individual and collective attitudes. Protest actions conducted by the underground have an ever narrower scope. The overwhelming majority of society is tired and seeks hope not in destruction, but rather in the creation of concrete conditions favoring a better prospect in construction.

We all understand better and better that our only chance is courageous and realistic thought, and joint, wise effort. This also creates the essential conditions for thinking about a better stage in the development of the student movement in Poland.

The younger generation has recently been the subject of many serious publications and debates. Among many programs created about and for young people, the most important are the decisions of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the PUWP.

Supporting steps leading to progress in national understanding, we must win people over to it in practice, in the community in which we are directly active. The fact remains indisputable that rebuilding the bonds which unite the various groups of academic society constitutes an unusually difficult task. It is our judgment that there exist certain areas of college life in which it is possible and necessary to develop a dialogue. One of them is assigned by the record of the new law on higher education, and especially the fact that we must come to terms with the question of its practical realization.

The cooperation for setting in motion the academic self-governments foreseen in the new regulations should become particular and should favor the opportunity for a dialogue. Finally, the program of realization of a social-professional student organization should become the level of undertaking unifying and consolidating efforts. In spite of the known limitations in this respect, we must not give up any actions which would create a chance for even only partial attraction to our program of passive circles of the student community. This is the role we have delimited after the renewal of activity by the SZSP, and this is the course we must consistently aim at.

We are finishing the evaluation of the SZSP, an extremely important evaluation, because it sums up almost ten years of effort by many thousands of people: activists and members of the union. I think, however, that even more important is the practical measure of what the organization has done. We have helped our friends not only to assure the material conditions of finishing their studies in the interesting experience of that fascinating period of life, but above all we have together created the whole formation of the young Polish intelligentsia. This formation is intellectually valuable, thinks realistically, but also critically, is expert and responsible, and deeply patriotic.

New Organization Founding Congress

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 22 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Text] Friday, 19 November. Evening. The Central Students' Club of Warsaw Polytechnic, nicknamed "The Barn". Chairman of the Consultative Commission

Marian Redwan opens the meeting of the Founding Congress of the Association of Polish Students (ZSP).

The color guard enters the hall with the flag of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP), the historic flag of the university organization of the Association of Polish Students (ZSP) of Warsaw Polytechnic with the motto "We Learn to Serve the Socialist Fatherland."

Then the Consultative Commission proposed that the Congress make a decision regarding the program, charter and process of creation of the ZSP and the election of its leadership. Rules for the conference were adopted and the Presidium and Congress committees were elected.

The deliberations of the Congress were preceded by the Fourth Congress of the SZSP, which began on Thursday, 18 November. The report of Thursday's meeting was printed in the previous issue of SZTANDAR MŁODYCH.

During the plenary session which took place on the night of Thursday and Friday, Pawel Janowczyk of Poznan presented the situation of a group of several tens of consultants grouped together in the Warsaw University Student Club "Hybryda" ["Hybrid"], who represented the platform of the New Academic Organization (NOA), the student cultural, scientific, ecological, tourist, athletic and economic movement.

In the position it was affirmed that the consultants, taking into account the concern for the future of the student movement, the continuation of its best traditions and achievements, and the defense of the interests of the academic community, resolves: to undertake the joint creation of a new organization of a social-professional nature, referring back to the traditions and name of the ZSP. In connection with this they propose to all participants in the Fourth Congress of the SZSP to accept this idea to convoke on 19 and 21 November a founding Congress of the ZSP, which would work out a program, charter and elect its leadership.

The Fourth Congress of the SZSP resolved to recommend to the Council a State of the Polish People's Republic that Tadeusz Sawic be awarded the Gold Cross of Merit.

On the motion of Roman Kuk of Lublin the Congress granted to Tadeusz Sawic the title of Honorary Member of the SZSP.

On Friday, 19 November, after the recess of the conference (which ended after two o'clock in the morning), the plenary session reconvened. The course of the debate clearly showed that the majority of the consultants shared the position presented during the previous session.

After a long debate the delegates to the Fourth Congress of the SZSP adopted a resolution. It affirms that the Fourth Congress of the SZSP, taking into consideration the results of the Congress debate and the position of the consultants, resolves to jointly create a new students' social-professional organization, at that same time authorizing the delegates to participate in the Congress of the Association of Polish Students (ZSP). (The text of the resolution is published below).

On the motion of the consultants, and on the basis of the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the SZSP, representatives of individual student activity groups or delegates and consultants to the Fourth Congress of the SZSP, created the Consultative Commission. The declaration, "I join the Founding Congress of the Association of Polish Students" was signed by 411 persons, including 252 delegates and 159 consultants.

On Saturday, 20 November, at 12 noon, the Founding Congress of the ZSP resumed its plenary meeting. After a stormy debate lasting several hours, the Congress adopted the Declaration of the Association of Polish Students by a vote of 259 delegates, with 20 "no" votes and 19 abstentions. (The text of the declaration is printed below.)

At the plenary session Antoni Dragan presented a draft program resolution, on which a debate began. (Unofficial abridgements of the speeches in the debate on the ZSP program are printed elsewhere on this issue).

On Sunday, 21 November, a debate lasting many hours took place with respect to the ZSP's charter. This document was adopted in the evening by a vote of 282 out of the 306 participants in the Congress who were present.

Under the charter, the Association of Polish Students is an independent social-professional organization of academic youth, open to people of various ideologies. It sets as its goal the defense of its members' interests, and at the same time acts in the interests of the whole community.

The ZSP puts its main emphasis on the functioning of student activity groups. These are created by people united by mutual enthusiasm for action and by the kind of activity undertaken. Thus, tourist clubs, scientific circles, debating clubs, groups of authors and artists brought together in clubs and galleries, become in the ZSP the basic activity groups. Attempts to build an organization - as was the case with the SZSP - from action groups isolated on the basis of university division into departments, institutes, classes and groups, were thus abandoned.

Student activity groups, in accordance with what has been the aim of the academic community for many years, have gained complete subjectivity in the ZSP. The proof of this is not just their independence in deciding their program, but above all the fact that on the basis of the group's structure electoral districts have been created. The groups consequently have the right to put forward their own candidates for leadership of the ZSP, to pronounce their opinion on the candidacies of the leaders of the given "departments", and also to take in their presence a vote of no-confidence, which could lead to their recall from their posts.

Student activity groups can build their own branch structure, whose goal is to set guidelines for activity and for the most important problems of the "branch" on the scale of the whole union. All these principles decisively affect the composition of the executive leadership at every echelon, and at the same time assure the realization of the ZSP's program, in accordance with the authentic needs of the community.

Late that evening the Congress adopted rules for the election of the highest leaders of the Association.

SZSP Congress Resolution

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 22 Nov 82 p 3

[Text] The Fourth Congress of the SZSP concludes our debate on the future of the student movement, and thereby of the SZSP itself. The birth of the SZSP in 1973 completed the series of changes from self-governing social structures, on the one hand, to an ideological-political union of students, on the other.

An unquestioned result of these changes was the fact of strengthening the autonomous and student character of the organization active on college campuses, although the attempt to link activities with a political program requiring a high level of experience, within the framework of one union with a mass character, gave rise to many doubts from the very beginning of the SZSP.

In the 1970's the SZSP was one of the elements in the system of social-political life in Poland, and was subject, to a greater or lesser degree, to all the mechanisms and phenomena which figured in that period. The SZSP was at that time the only representative and defender of student interests and organizer of extracurricular life.

In the 1980 the SZSP was the first of the social movements to undertake and direct changes in its activity, and announce a series of postulates aimed at the democratization of the whole system of higher education.

The Sixteenth Plenum of the Main Board in Uniejow in September 1980 and the Third Congress of the SZSP were a watershed in the history of the organization. The period of activity of the union since the Third Congress has been characterized above all by:

- consistent support for national solutions, action in support of self-government changes in colleges, work in support of student interests, correction of the social situation of the community;
- independent formulation of evaluation of political and social practice;
- consistent speaking out in support of national understanding and dialogue, for the creation of a front of understanding in colleges;
- struggle for the creation of proper conditions for activity and development of the young intelligentsia.

The level of integration of the union was the basic line of its program - for the values of socialism, for profound political and economic reforms.

It is true that our ranks have shrunk. We have lost our mandate to represent the majority of the community. We have not overcome the stereotypical opinion of the nonindependence of the union.

The Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] has defended its political identity, and assured the permanence of the socialist student movement.

The SZSP preserved to a great extent a correspondence between practical activities, and declarations and obligations in these most difficult months. Honestly and firmly it has subordinated its actions to the objective arguments of the students.

The SZSP has not compromised the values and great achievement of which it is the continuator. In spite of setbacks suffered, it has conducted itself with dignity and consistency.

The Fourth Congress of the SZSP confirms the need for changes in the student movement. This need arises from the following premises:

- the ability to lead the community, the ability to organize it and stir it to action, the defense of its independence and social interests, and also the ability to form attitudes and values necessary to the country are the duty of the student movement, and at the same time its verifier. We have recognized that in the community's present situation the existing structures of the SZSP, i.e. student self-governments, tourist clubs, scientific circles, centers of culture, all and sundry do not and cannot completely fulfill these functions and obligations;
- the academic community is politically and ideologically differentiated. In the last two years these differences have become clearly more profound. The form of the student movement must today be adapted to the pluralistic character of the community. A starting point is the need to correct upbringing concepts, methods and the forms of their realization;
- on college campuses the Rural Youth Union (ZMW) and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) are beginning their activities. These unions define their role and program activity on college campuses. Thus with two out of three unions participating in the calling of the SZSP, there occurred a collision between the formula of our organization and a qualitatively new environment, with the realities of the community;
- with the disintegration and divisions in the community with respect to the future of the Polish intelligentsia, it is necessary for its social integration and civic cooperation.

The Fourth Congress of the SZSP considers the continuation of an autonomous student movement with a socialist character to be the basic goal of the present discussion and changes. The new pluralistic and complementary form of this movement must consist of:

- 1) student self-government as the only representation of the mass of students with the academic authorities;
- 2) a social-professional organization;
- 3) ideological-upbringing organizations.

After carrying out an analysis, the Fourth Congress determined that the main task is the joint creation of a social-professional organization. We propose as its name: the Association of Polish Students (ZSP). This name is an essential reference to the traditions of the ZSP which was active from 1950-1973. It is at the same time a continuation of the achievement of the socialist student movement in People's Poland and also a tribute to the people creating this movement. Considering the change in conditions of future action, the Association cannot be a simple continuation of the former organization. For it must take into account the program achievement of the SZSP and the changes which have entered people's consciousnesses, and also of the social-existential position of the community. Nevertheless, an appeal to the traditions of the name ZSP is an appeal to the means of accomplishing the basic social functions of the student movement, such as:

1. subjectivity, or the autonomous activity of individuals, groups and of the whole organization;
2. defense of the interests and opportunities for development of the members of the organization, taking into account other groups in the community;
3. creativity, or the conscious search for new solutions, new programs and means of action in all areas of human life;
4. coexistence in mutual respect, or active tolerance, a search for understanding with other people and groups in a constructive dialogue of partners;
5. openness to different values, world-views, forms of existence and activity for all academic youth, including those who do not belong to the organization, and for other professional communities.

Jointly creating a new social-professional organization, we consider at the same time that the ideological-upbringing achievement of the mainstream of the SZSP should not be wasted. Students active in it must develop their activity in various forms and organizational frameworks.

The Fourth Congress of the SZSP, considering the proposals of the consultants of the Congress, resolves to jointly create a new social-professional student organization, at the same time authorizing delegates to this Congress to participate in the Congress of the Association of Polish Students (ZSP).

Declaration of New Organization

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 22 Nov 82 p 3

[Text] We are creating a student society. We have many common problems related to teaching, social conditions of study, and the place we occupy in professional life. Therefore we see good reason in mutual aid and joint action to solve those problems in the framework of an independent social-professional organization.

We are associating with the aim of defending our common interests, and to realize our needs and ambitions.

We will benefit from the achievements, experiences and best traditions of the student movement, and especially of our "brothers", the Association of Polish Students (ZSP) and the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP).

We are an organization of academic youth, and do not set up any ideological barriers, basing our activity on the commitment of members and various student activist groups.

There is room in the Association for various program movements which reflect the ideological pluralism of the student community. The task of the Association of Polish Students (ZSP) is the formation of active attitudes, the creation of opportunities for the creative development of the individual.

Representing our members, we act in favor of the whole community in all spheres of student activity; we assign a special role to the struggle for social insurance of the conditions of the student's life and that of his family.

In everyday life we desire to contribute to the realization in our country of social justice, the equality of all citizens before the law, equal access to education, the right to full employment in one's profession, and other universal values of socialism.

As an organization of the young intelligentsia we want to increase the achievements of Polish science and culture. We also intend to form systems of upbringing and teaching, and to help create an autonomous, self-governing and modern college. We will fight for a place for student self-government in the system of higher education, and for the possibility of influencing decisions of school authorities and state administrative organs which affect students and alumni of colleges.

We want our activity to be marked by respect for other people and their views, by fairness of evaluations and by mutual help.

We act in support of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, we recognize the leading role of the Polish United Worker's Party (PZPR) in building socialism in Poland. We are open to cooperation with the PZPR, with other political parties, youth organizations, trade unions and other social organizations and associations in the interests of the student community.

We will independently present our evaluation of social and economic practice affecting our country.

We intend to continue and to develop previous foreign contacts of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP), to actively participate in the work of the International Union of Students in accordance with its ideals, and also in other international structures.

Warsaw, 20 November 1982

Appeal to Academic Community

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 22 Nov 82 p 3

[Text] We are creating a new student organization with a social-professional character. Benefiting from the best traditions and experiences of the student movement, we want changes in it such that it should answer to us ourselves and could realize our program. The program is open to all students who want to participate in various spheres of social activity.

In spite of serious differences in views, we are united by our social situation, a desire for action and creative presence in social life.

We want an independent student organization coexisting on the basis of tolerance and mutual respect with other social forces. We need an organization which we ourselves would create, an organization which would represent our common interests, which would give us an opportunity to realize our needs and ambitions.

We are counting on the subjectiveness of individuals, groups and organizations; we consider that the main forum of its activity must be the educational institutions. We support decentralization of structures, simplified rules and financial mechanisms which would not set up a barrier to the realization of new ideas and initiatives. We want the system of electing leaders and making decisions at every echelon of the Association to give every student activity group the opportunity to influence the Association's form, an opportunity for social control and the realization of their own programs. For only when there are representatives of various activist groups in the leadership of the Association will their decisions serve the solution of the problems facing us.

We are waiting for you - the community is faced with a tremendous opportunity. What the new organization will be like depends on ourselves.

Founding Congress Ends

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 23 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] On Monday, 22 November, just before 10 pm, the founding Congress of the Association of Polish Students ended. Waldemar Swirgon, Secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP and Chairman of the National Administration of the ZMW, and Andrzej Ornat, Minister for Youth Affairs, took part in the ceremonial conclusion of the meeting.

On the last day of the deliberations, starting from midnight, elections for the highest leadership of the Association took place. At the same time a debate of draft resolutions regarding various spheres of the organization's activity took place.

In the fourth round of voting Cezary Droszcz of Poznan was elected Chairman of the Supreme Council of the ZSP. 283 of the 312 participants in the Congress present voted for him. The following became Vice-Chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Supreme Council of the ZSP: Piotr Czyewski of Warsaw, Antoni Dragan of Cracow, Krzysztof Pietraszkiewicz of Wroclaw, and Marian Redwan of Warsaw.

The following were elected members of the Executive Committee of the Supreme Council of the ZSP: Slawomir Golonka of Warsaw, Wojciech Jedrzejewski of Czestochowa, Zbigniew Kaminski of Warsaw, Bogdon Kasperek of Rzeszow, Maciej Malek of Gdansk, Jaroslaw Pachowski of Warsaw, Henryk Piotrowski of Lodz, Jacek Raciborski of Warsaw, Piotr Rutkowski of Szczecin, and Leszek Wecel of Katowice.

Next the Congress chose 97 members of the Supreme Council of the ZSP, the Supreme Collegial Court (NSK) and the Main Audit Commission (GKR).

The office of Chairman of the NSK was entrusted to Andrzej Blach of Warsaw, and that of Chairman of the GKR to Zygmunt Kwiatkowski of Lublin.

Resolutions were adopted regarding, among other things, the principles of creating the organization after the Congress, international activity, the cultural movement, the sphere of science, improving the material conditions of students.

On the motion of Sergiusz Najar the Congress awarded Tadeusz Sawic the title of Honorary Member of the Association of Polish Students.

The founding Congress of the Association of Polish Students concluded with the singing of the national anthem.

On Monday evening the second round of the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students took place. The Congress adopted a resolution in which the delegates resolved:

- to transmit to the Association of Polish Students (ZSP) all material components of the property of the Socialist Union of Polish Students.
- that all remaining assets and liabilities of the Socialist Union of Polish Students become assets and liabilities of the Association of Polish Students.

The resolution enters into force on the day of registration of the ZSP.

Next the delegates considered the recall of Andrzej Kaczanowski, a member of the Executive Committee of the Supreme Council of the SZSP, who was not approved during the first round of the congress. After debate, taking into account the arguments and information contained in the recall, the delegates changed their decision and approved him.

Closing the Fourth Congress of the SZSP, Tadeusz Sawic proposed that the delegates express to all activists, members and sympathizers of the SZSP heartfelt and friendly greetings for their work in the organization. The delegates adopted this proposal with long applause.

Cezary Doroszcz was born 27 August 1954 in Poznan into a white-collar family. He graduated from the Electronics Department of Poznan Polytechnic with a Master's degree in engineering. He has belonged to the SZSP since 1973. Among other offices in the SZSP, he has served as Chairman of the College Council of the SZSP of Poznan Polytechnic, and most recently has been Chairman of the District Council of the SZSP in Poznan. He is a member of the PUWP.

New Organization Chairman Interviewed

✓ Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23 Nov 82 p 2

[Interview with Cezary Doroszcz immediately after his election as Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Association of Polish Students.]

[Text] [Question] Congratulations on behalf of SZTANDAR MLODYCH. Victory in such a turbulent election must seem doubly important. How do you feel in the first minutes of your "Chairmanship"?

[Answer] Above all I'm worn out by the exhausting marathon of meetings. We've been working 34 hours without a rest break, not to mention the emotions which we've felt. All this can deaden the feeling of happiness...

[Question] You were elected only in the fourth round of voting, after a change in the election procedure. Do you interpret the almost even division of participants in the Congress into supporters of your candidacy and supporters of your colleague Zbigniew Wrobel, and then of Piotr Czyzewski, as a difference in personalities or in programs?

[Answer] The two things can't be separated. We are creating a completely new organization, whose form is the result of various tendencies and expectations expressed by various groups and communities. Obviously, in such a situation each candidate for the Chairmanship of the Supreme Council of the ZSP represents somewhat different visions of carrying out the program of the Association. Our electors knew this, since during the course of preparations for the Congress of the SZSP we had many meetings and consultations.

[Question] Can you give us a brief description of the essential differences between yourself and your main opponent, Zbigniew Wrobel?

[Answer] To make a long story short, Zbigniew is probably closer to the organizational solutions worked out in the SZSP. On the other hand, I put my hope in the development of the branch movement, the activities of sections and student activity groups. Our views of the social program, and political and publishing activity of the SZSP, are also different.

[Question] Representatives of certain communities, and above all of the academic left, say that the flight from politicality which the mass student organization is executing is a retreat of the whole Polish academic movement, and is alien to the progressive traditions of that movement in the world.

[Answer] There are no political organizations. No one in our organization wants to or is able to forbid students to discuss subjects which interest them, to deepen their political knowledge, or to express their views. For this reason the ZSP will conduct and support this activity at least within the framework of political thought clubs. The difference between the SZSP and the ZSP is the fact that we have no intention of imposing on our members certain views or expressions of them in the name of the community.

Is the flight from the official form of politicality a retreat? Maybe it is. But we cannot forget the present situation among students. The Association must act in accordance with their moods and needs. It must act in favor of reestablishing the unity of the community, and smoothing out the existing deep differences.

[Question] Do you see a place in the ZSP for former activists of the Independent Association of Students?

[Answer] Yes. We are above all a social-professional organization open to all people of various ideologies. We do not create any limitations for colleagues who accept our charter. At the same time, I realize that for a certain period of time part of the community will regard us with disapproval, with reservation. Our task is to break down those barriers, to make things clear, to conduct discussions, and above all to show through deeds that we intend to act in the interest of every student.

[Question] In conclusion, can you supplement your official personal data? Are you married? Do you have any children?

[Answer] Yes, I'm married. On the other hand, I don't know yet whether I have any children, since when I left home my wife was awaiting labor, a fact which added to the emotions I felt during the Congress.

[Question] Then a new era in your life is beginning on all fronts. Congratulations and best wishes. Thank you for the interview.

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COMMENTATOR VIEWS REAGAN POST-ELECTION 'CHANGE OF TONE'

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 265, 20-21 Nov 82 p 6

[Article by Marian Podkowinski]

[Text] The View From Washington

Have the electoral defeats affected Ronald Reagan's position? Did pressure from the Western allies influence his decision to lift the embargo on the delivery of equipment for the Siberian pipeline? Will the White House use the death of Leonid Brezhnev as an opportunity for introducing a new version of dialogue with the Kremlin?

These and other questions are the subject of much comment in the world press. They preoccupy statesmen and political scientists. This is understandable, since tensions between East and West were starting to show dangerous signs of slippage towards old cold-war attitudes. Furthermore, today it is a question of confrontation between the two nuclear powers caught up in the cataclysmic whirlpool of the arms race. Expenditures for the most modern forms of weaponry swallow up astronomical sums that can push both economies into the abyss of economic disaster, if there is no slowing down in the competition.

It seems that Reagan, with his eye on a second presidential term, is thinking along different lines than when he started out in the race against Jimmy Carter. He was heady with his early successes and took his cues from the California clique that held that the only way to success in a frustrated, post Nixon-Carter America was a little hard pounding on the table directed at the Kremlin. The only way was through an escalation of demands and threats directed towards the USSR and the countries of the socialist community, as well as those countries that were not attracted by Reagan's siren song, and that felt that the quarrel that was under way did not involve them, at least not to the extent that preserving peace became unimportant.

Reagan and the conservative wing of American society weighed the chances of taking first place in the world. This explains Reagan's presence in any and every conflict under way, sometimes even a regional one, seeking to put his own, personal anti-Soviet stamp upon it. Take, for example, the Polish situation that Reagan cynically used for his own game with the socialist world. Stinging Poland, he tried to bring the USSR to terms.

He gained nothing, as he was finally forced to admit, and the embargo on the delivery of equipment for the Siberian pipeline ended in a fiasco. Western Europe, battling its own economic crisis, was in no condition to be dictated to by the White House. The Truman era is gone, never to return. Western Europe stands solidly on its own two feet. In the past, General De Gaulle considered it a matter of French honor not to descend from a platform of a European power as the price for withdrawal from the military structure of NATO. All that is minimized by President Mitterrand, a Socialist, representing the extreme opposite of the General as far as help from social politics is concerned. Reagan cannot expect help from Paris any more.

When it became clear that not only Helmut Schmidt, but also the new Chancellor Kohl would not think of giving up the profits flowing to the FRG from the implementation of the "contract of the century," and that Italy and Great Britain enthusiastically supported it, Reagan, on Secretary of State George Schultz's advice, withdrew his sanctions, making a virtue of necessity. On Kohl's arrival in Washington, Reagan called off the embargo and acted as if his policy of boycotting trade with the East had been successful. Statements by the governments concerned undermined the American president's attempt to talk his NATO partners into believing that the embargo had become pointless since there was now an agreement for joint economic measures directed against the USSR.

Long before the elections, Reagan had been looking for a way out of an uncomfortable situation that, on the one hand, brought no practical gains (and indeed worsened already gigantic unemployment) and, on the other hand, undermined the Atlantic Alliance. All this at the very time that Reagan had to be able to count on cohesion in the Alliance faced with the necessity of agreement about and deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Reagan is well aware that without NATO's financial help in covering ever larger military costs, Washington alone will not be able to bear the load in a time of depression and unemployment. Along the same lines, Reagan has been making new assurances about the necessity of continuing the disarmament dialogue with the USSR at a time when neither relations with China nor the situation in the Near East is providing any peace for the president. With his confrontational strategy regarding all fronts and issues, Reagan introduced a state of diplomatic chaos designed to confuse the enemy, even at the cost of causing confusion in Reagan's own ranks.

I was in Washington when Leonid Brezhnev met in the Kremlin with a group of senior military officers, to state the right way to answer the ceaseless threats of President Reagan and his secretary of defense, Caspar Weinberger. The tone of American press commentary at the time was almost panicky. Both Joseph Kraft of the WASHINGTON POST and James Reston of the NEW YORK TIMES just about agree that the president, after all, got what he deserved. One cannot ceaselessly provoke one's opponent, taking his sincerity for weakness. I think that it was right at that time that the way of thinking of the president and many of his advisors was seriously affected. But Reagan had to bide his time until after the congressional elections in order to save face.

I remember that during a press conference at the State Department, when the correspondents were pressuring press officer John Hughes about progress in the talks between the American government and EEC country ambassadors, concerning the lifting of sanctions and the embargo of the USSR, Hughes answered impatiently, "Wait a little while, and you'll know..." It was clear that that would be after the elections.

For all of the so-called principles that Reagan likes to trot out whenever he can, he is fundamentally a pragmatist. Proof of that was his agreement to export grain to the USSR, in quantities exceeding the requirements of the Soviet economy. When he needed to get votes from the 12 farm belt states for the Republicans, Reagan overturned the embargo with a flick of the wrist, while the farmers were meeting in Illinois.

Will Reagan stand fast about increasing armament outlays? The new House of Representatives may cause him serious difficulties. But the President would probably be able to push through his military and foreign-policy program since he has the Senate with him and can gain a working majority of Republicans and conservative southern Democrats that will be a little weaker than the one he had in the previous Congress. The NATO partners will give Reagan what he wants in the area of arms build-up in exchange for the concessions he is making in the economic area. He can count on Bonn's help, judging from the reply made by Manfred Woerner, Kohl's defense minister. Mrs. Thatcher will not cause him any problems--quite the contrary.

Reagan will become more flexible, changing the tone of his speeches, paying more attention to the opposition and to the peace movement that he once accused of working to the detriment of American interests on behalf of others. He will pay more attention to the Nuclear Freeze movement (that received a majority vote in referendums held in 9 states) in order to prevent a Kennedy-Mondale monopoly there. Now he will not just consider the natural constituency of voters he has on his side; he will be going after the vote of those who have been against him until now. He will try for their votes in the second term campaign. Let us face it, there are not too many challengers.

Will the change of tone then signal a change from the course until now? Apparently not. The Republicans claim that the confrontational path is the only way America can reach its main goal--superiority over the communist camp. America will keep the same direction, but without all the talk. We can expect an offensive of smiles, in line with that old saw "Keep Smiling." This approach has never meant giving up self-assurance, quite the contrary. There will be only this difference, that the new post-election Reagan will be more careful in what he says, more conciliatory-looking, but really just as hardheaded and ready to make compromises only when it looks like they are in line with his ideas about how to gain superiority over the enemy.

Another issue concerns whether Reagan and his protectors from the California Mafia will be able to withstand the next 2, difficult years of the increasing rate of the arms build-up and keeping the allies in harness. Times are changing, and people with them. It remains to be seen whether that old Roman maxim "Time Will Tell" will start to act as a regulator of Reagan administration policy. Even pessimism has its limits.

COMMENTATOR VIEWS GOALS OF REAGAN LATIN AMERICA TRIP

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Dec 82 p 7

[Article by Wlodzimierz Zralek: "The Friendships of Ronald Reagan"]

[Text] President R. Reagan did not appear in the first half of his term in office as a chief of state particularly inclined to pay visits abroad. But when he does finally leave the borders of the United States, then every trip is distinguished by its progress and becomes an event of a special nature.

Such exactly is the case with the trip made this past week by the President of the United States to a number of Latin American countries. Observers think that the pace itself of the trip is an achievement all its own. In the course of 5 days, R. Reagan indeed visited only 4 countries--Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica and Honduras--but at the same time he managed to conduct talks with the leaders of 6 countries (the president of El Salvador came to Costa Rica for talks with R. Reagan, and the prime minister of Guatemala came to Honduras).

The persons who held talks with the President of the United States represent a region too differentiated politically and economically to be able to take up at length in the present commentary the subject matter and results of each of the meetings. At least separate considerations would be required for the visit of R. Reagan to Brazil--the largest South American country that is experiencing enormous economic difficulties arising precisely, to a considerable degree, from the prevailing system of relations with the United States.

Let us then take up only one aspect of the trip; namely, its official as well as real goals. Among those first goals were--how could it be otherwise--the strengthening of democracy and economic development in the stormy continent bordering on the United States. What about the real motives? Summarizing the political results of the visit, a commentator for the American newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES recognized the truth and stated: "Some sort of danger is hidden in the aftermath of the President's visit; inherent in it is the fact that, after this visit the United States will be more than ever before closely identified with the policy of coercion, and not with the progress about which Reagan spoke."

The above-mentioned appraisal is based on the fact that R. Reagan gave backing to the dictatorial regimes that treat the liberation movements opposing them as being instigated from the outside. The very selection itself of those who were invited to the talks has an unmistakable meaning. As we recalled, there was found in the midst of them, among others, the president of El Salvador. Namely, the country about which none other than the U.S. ambassador, accredited by the local government, spoke shortly before this visit of R. Reagan: "Since 1979 possibly as many as 30 thousand Salvadorans have been murdered--not killed in war, but murdered, and your courts investigated not quite 1500 cases. Most striking, however, is the fact that only in 200 of these cases were guilty verdicts passed." Accompanying this was the statement, rendered in an unusually diplomatic form, that unless the dimensions of terror are abated, the United States might curtail its financial aid (230 million dollars in the current year--not counting military expenditures). As the agency Reuters reminds us, the cautious appearance of American diplomacy was found at the time of the fierce retort by the local press: "You Americans have no right to preach to us. What about the Ku Klux Klan? What about the mafia? What about the limitations in your system of justice? What about the police, judicial and political connections with the world of organized crime?"

In this account and that of the Reuters agency, similar altercations took place before this visit by R. Reagan to Guatemala. When some U.S. politicians came out with a cautious criticism of the massacre of the Indian population in that area, a representative of the local authorities noted with indignation: "We have been attacked by the Americans for mistreating the Indians. Can they have already forgotten how they solved the problems with their own Indians, killing the majority of them?..."

This visit by R. Reagan puts to an end these "family quarrels."

Repudiating his own ambassador, the U.S. President declared that the Salvadoran authorities "are making great headway in the defense of human rights." He also announced that he would appear before Congress in support of military aid advantageous to the fight against the insurgent movement. If it comes to Guatemala, then R. Reagan labelled its leaders as people "of great integrity, devoted to the cause of restoring democracy in the face of brutal abuse from the side of the guerillas, armed and supported by forces from outside of Guatemala."

Obviously progressive Nicaragua was not found on the route of the U.S. President's trip. But this does not mean that R. Reagan forgot about it. His talks in Honduras were accompanied by a whole tide of world press information--American as well--on the subject of preparations undertaken, with the participation of the CIA, to take advantage of Honduras as a base of attack against Nicaragua. And, in the light of past practices, no one is amazed--due only to the statistics of the agency and the western press--that, since the 19th century, the United States has intervened directly in Latin American countries no fewer than 69 times. How many times the intervention was indirect--this no one will be able to count.

President R. Reagan ended his trip. The days of smiles, handshakes and exchanges of cordiality ended along with it. Now the American Commander in Chief will show anew in the defense of democratic and human rights the harsh face and strong hand, aiming at a Europe more distant from the United States--or, rather, a specific part of it...

9891

CSO: 2600/142

POLISH JOURNAL EXAMINES ALBANIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish Oct 82 pp 69-86

[Article by Jerzy Robert Nowak]

[Excerpts] In few countries is foreign policy as strongly intertwined with domestic policy as in Albania. At the same time, Albanian domestic policy has a distinctly different character in comparison with the domestic policies of other European countries as exemplified by the Albanian variety of the Chinese "cultural revolution" in the late 1960s, or by proclaiming Albania "the first atheistic country in the world." These factors in conjunction with the self-isolationism of Albania seriously hamper any attempt of a synthetic analysis of the postwar political evolution in that country. Publications about Albania¹ so far for the most part have focused on its postwar domestic developments with a visible lack of works analyzing the character and direction of the Albanian foreign policy.

Any attempt to present the Albanian foreign policy must bring to the fore many special characteristics of the development of that country during the war and afterwards. The winning of a struggle for power between the pro-western forces and the left by means of a ruthless civil war, which was carried out in conjunction with a guerrilla warfare against the occupying armies as well as the construction of a people's democracy in a backward, semifeudal country, which had no tradition of a parliamentary democracy or a multiparty system, in an atmosphere of a violent conflict between various influences - these are only a few specific elements characteristic for the modern history of Albania.

A particular feature of the Albanian revolution was a very strong reliance on the peasant masses, not on the working class. Already in November 1948 Enver Hoxha in his speech to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Albania emphasized the importance of the fact that the peasant masses constitute the predominant majority among the Albanian population (approximately 90 percent).² At that time the peasants constituted 67.3 percent of the membership of the Communist Party of Albania.

Finally, there is another factor of great importance for the small, 2-million-inhabitants Albanian nation, which regained complete sovereignty after 550

years under foreign rulers: strong national sensitivity and peculiar sensitivity to any manifestation of Albanian sovereign rights being violated.

So far Albania's open break with the policy of Peking does not mean that the leaders of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] have abandoned the anti-Soviet basis of their policy. They continue to reject the proposal for normalizing between Albania and other European socialist countries, despite the fact that these countries have often expressed their readiness to do "whatever is possible for the improvement of relations with the People's Albania and the Albanian Workers Party."³ However, the Albanian leaders do not wish to take an advantage of opportunities to improve relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, and they have renewed their propaganda attacks on these countries. The AWP leadership continues to equate the Soviet Union with the United States, the Warsaw Pact with NATO, and the CEMA with the Common Market. Considering Albania as "the only true socialist country in the world" and the other socialist countries as revisionist, the AWP leaders accuse them of "doing a mole's work against the Marxist-Leninist ideology."⁴

In October 1978 in Tirana a conference on current international problems was held. It was attended by representatives of various "Marxist-Leninist" splinter factions and groups, which rendered their support to Tirana in its conflict with Peking. Some observers believe that Albania strives to create a "new Comintern,"⁵ headquartered in Tirana, which would coordinate the activities of the "true" Marxist-Leninist parties and groups.

The last few years have witnessed a new series of violent attacks by the AWP leaders on the policies of the USSR and other European socialist countries. For example, in his speech at the party congress in November 1981, Hoxha waged a very sharp attack on the USSR's policies toward Angola, Yemen, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan and he criticized the "illusions" shared by many countries of the world with regard to the USSR's policies and the Soviet social system. Hoxha devoted a considerable part of his speech to the castigation of the two superpowers. Commenting on the events in Poland in the years 1980-81, Hoxha sharply attacked the leaders of both the Polish United Workers' Party and of "Solidarity" noting that the events "point here to the Catholic Church as well as the world and Polish reactionaries manipulating the working class."⁶ Vietnamese, Laotian, and North Korean Communist Parties are among the few who have not been attacked by the AWP in the last few years. The Vietnamese delegation was the only official delegation of a ruling Communist Party invited to and participating in the last AWP congress. The Albanian leaders consistently follow their particularist orientation, keeping Albania outside the main trends of the world politics. After breaking with China, Albania continues to reject proposals of a rapprochement with the countries of the socialist commonwealth and it has a negative attitude toward the movement of nonaligned countries because it believes that this movement weakens revolutionary activities in the countries of the "Third World." At the same time, Albania still maintains no diplomatic relations with the leading powers of the capitalist world: the United States, Great Britain, and West Germany. Albania made no response to suggestions in the United States with regard to renewing

U.S.-Albanian diplomatic relations (e.g. in the speech of Mr. Kenneth Rush, deputy secretary of state, in May 1973). At the Eighth AWP Congress in November 1981 Hoxha sharply attacked the United States and made it clear that his country would not maintain any relations with either the United States or the Soviet Union.⁷

Equally negative was Albania's attitude toward British suggestions of renewal of diplomatic relations between both countries. Albania still rejects British compensation claims for 2 ships destroyed in 1946 in the Corfu Straits. At the same time, Albania makes the establishment of relations with Great Britain dependent on the return by the British of 2.5 tons of the Albanian gold, valued at 8 million dollars, along with interest compensating for the delay. In the case of West Germany, the point of contention is the payment of reparations for damages incurred during the Second World War. In July 1975 Albania demanded from the West Germany an amount of 2 billion dollars (using the 1938 exchange rate) along with additional 2 billion dollars of interest compensating for the delay. So far, West Germany has been rejecting these demands.

Another exemplification of the prevailing negative attitude of the Albanian leaders toward a broader international cooperation is a total boycott of any form of cooperation within the CSCE process and regional cooperation in the Balkans. In his speech at the Eighth AWP Congress in November 1981 Hoxha reiterated the official position of Albania, which had refused to participate in the CSCE meeting at Helsinki in 1975, by stating that "the so-called Helsinki spirit" aims at fostering among the nations of Europe an illusion that it would be for their own good to preserve the imperialist status quo.⁸ Albania is the only Balkan country which rejects all proposals for participation in any form of Balkan cooperation (e.g. it was the only country which refused to participate in the Balkan Conference at Athens in 1976).

A peculiar expression of the Albanian tendency for self-isolation was the new Constitution of 1976, which created a barrier against any attempt to allow more flexible economic policy or contacts abroad by forbidding an acceptance of any credits for Albanian enterprises from either "bourgeois-capitalist" or "revisionist" countries and monopolies.

A fear that foreign ideological influences would undermine the stability of the Albanian political system is the reason why that country still remains practically outside the mass tourist trend. On the average Albania is visited by merely about 1000 foreign tourists per year.

Characteristic of the position of Albanian authorities is the following polemic of Hoxha at the Eighth AWP Congress against the charges of airtight isolation from the outside levelled against Albania:

"The bourgeois and revisionist world contends that we are an isolated country. This is the look of a capitalist-revisionist eye. Imperialists and revisionists call isolated a territory, which closed its doors to protect against an invasion, undertaken by means of subjugating credits, tourists,

and spies, and by means of a decadent culture and degradation. From this point of view we are truly an isolated country and will intentionally remain such. But our nation has nothing bad to fear from such state of affairs, only good."⁹

Against this background of Albania's pursuit of self-isolation on the international scene the last 10 years show a visible improvement of its relations with some Balkan countries. This particularly concerns Albanian-Greek relations, which were very strained in the past (only in 1971 the relations between the two countries were normalized and formally ended the state of war, existing since 23 October 1950, that is from the moment of attack on Greece by the Italian fascist troops from Albania, occupied by them). The last years brought more visible growth in relations between the two countries in various fields. In Albanian official pronouncements, Greece is mentioned very favorably, while official Greek propaganda has forsaken the case of the so-called Northern Epirotes - over 10,000-strong Greek minority in Albania.

In 1978 Hoxha visited the Gjirokaster and Sarande provinces, both inhabited by the Greek population. During his visit he emphasized the need for respecting total equality of the Greek minority under the law, and he favorably commented on the growth of personal contacts between the members of that minority and the Greek nation. A visiting Greek trade delegation in Albania, headed by the minister of trade, was given an opportunity to visit Greek villages and Greek schools in the Gjirokaster province. In the course of 1977 both countries concluded several bilateral agreements, and for the first time Greek artists and writers visited Albania.¹⁰ Also, a five-year trade agreement was signed and a regular airline was established between Athens and Tirana. The last years have brought further significant broadening of mutual economic and cultural relations. In his speech at the Eighth AWP Congress in November 1981 Hoxha unusually warmly characterized the relations between Albania and Greece as model "relations of friendship which nobody can undermine."¹¹ The last decade has also witnessed a considerable growth of Albanian-Turkish relations. This has found its reflection in positive public evaluations of the Albanian-Turkish relations by the AWP leaders as well as in emphasizing Albanian respect for the historic role of Ataturk, etc.¹²

Much more complex is the situation with regard to Albania's relations with Yugoslavia.¹³ After some improvement in 1968, the relations between both countries became again ice-cold in mid-1973, when Hoxha sharply attacked the policy of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia often spoke for improvement of relations with Albania by suggesting most of all a broadening of mutual exchange of goods and of tourism. However, the Albanian leaders have been consistently rejecting these proposals. According to western commentators, the Albanian leaders are particularly afraid of a Yugoslavian ideological and political "penetration." At the Eighth AWP Congress Hoxha criticized various Yugoslavian solutions, particularly the system of self-government, by stating that the AWP would continue to "expose" the character of the Yugoslavian system. The visit by President Tito in Peking in September 1977 and the reciprocal visit by Hua Kuo-feng in Yugoslavia in August 1978 further intensified the anti-Yugoslavian campaign in Albania. This was

exemplified, among others, by Hoxha's new book, "Yugoslavian Self-Government; One of Capitalism's Theories and Its Practice," violently attacking Yugoslavian solutions, which was published in November 1978 in Tirana. Gradually, however, in the new situation arising from the break between Albania and China, the AWP leaders, while preserving distrust, and even hostility toward various Yugoslavian internal solutions, decided to establish some relations with Yugoslavia, particularly an economic and cultural exchange. Within a few years the mutual trade exchange increased very considerably. The 1980 agreement on economic exchange between Albania and Yugoslavia envisaged an increase of the mutual exchange of goods for the years 1981-85 to 720 million dollars. Furthermore, the Albanian-Yugoslavian cultural exchange was considerably broadened, particularly in the area of cultural contacts between Albania and the Kosovo Autonomous region in Yugoslavia, predominantly inhabited by Albanians. However, in the spring of 1981 the relations suddenly worsened in the aftermath of the disturbances in Kosovo.¹⁴ Immediately following the disturbances both cultural and other contacts between the Albanian autonomous region and Albania were cancelled. Further worsening of mutual relations was caused by the attack on the Yugoslavia's embassy in Tirana on 23 May 1981 by unidentified perpetrators. The Albanian-Yugoslavian controversy found its reflection in Hoxha's speech at the Eighth AWP Congress which in great part was devoted to sharp criticism of Yugoslavia on the Kosovo question and Yugoslavian internal solutions, particularly the self-government concept.

In the case of the Albanian-Yugoslavian relations it is necessary to remember the results of the long-term negative experiences, which have reflected on the positions of both countries throughout the postwar period.

Regardless of the above-mentioned examples of violent Albanian political rhetoric, striking the USSR, countries of the socialist commonwealth, and Yugoslavia as well as the leading capitalist states, it would be a simplification not to notice the fact that the last few years have witnessed certain moves by Albania showing a careful abandonment of self-isolation. This has been particularly visible with regard to the capitalist countries of Europe: from already-mentioned Greece and Turkey to Italy, France, and the Scandinavian countries. Of particular importance is the revival of Albanian economic and trade contacts abroad. The difficult economic situation that Albania plunged into after breaking with China (the Albanian-Chinese trade turnover consisted from one-half to two-thirds of total Albanian trade, depending on the source of information) led to reactivization of trade contacts with some countries of Western Europe. In the last years Albania began to participate in international trade fairs in Italy, France, Greece, and Turkey. Italy is the biggest trade partner of Albania. Economic and trade relations between Albania and the Scandinavian countries as well as Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal are being broadened. Hoxha's speech at the Eighth AWP Congress in November 1981 contained numerous positive statements about Albania's relations with the countries mentioned above, and thus was a significant expression of the new trends in Albanian politics. Albania's commodity exchange with Great Britain and West Germany, despite lack of diplomatic relations with these countries, also progresses well. At the Eighth AWP Congress a public support was

expressed for a careful "opening" of Albania toward increased trade relations with the countries of Western Europe. At the same time, there can be seen a clear modification of views about Albania in various western media; an increasing number of publications point out factual achievements of Albania in some of its economic fields accomplished despite a rigorous political system.¹⁵ Albania's economic and trade exchanges with the Third World countries--Arab and African countries and some Asian and Latin American states--has broadened as well. The establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan contributed to the development of a mutual trade exchange. It should be noted here that in the last few years Albania's diplomatic relations have increased and by 1981 it maintained them with as many as 95 countries (21 more than by the end of 1976). Nevertheless, the broadening in the recent years economic and trade exchange with some countries of Western Europe and the Third World still remains as a mere substitute for Albania's "opening" to the outside world. It is still accompanied by a tight political isolation. But even this "opening" in the economic and trade field is limited to certain rates of exchange only. The ideological passion of the AWP leaders, particularly visible with regard to their attitude toward the USSR, still prevents a proper development of economic relations between Albania and the socialist countries. The path to the intensification of these relations still remains open.

An improvement of relations between Albania and other socialist countries--in accordance with their frequent proposals--would have been particularly beneficial to the Albanian nation because it would have been created for it a serious opportunity to overcome the difficulties experienced. There is no doubt that full growth and development of Albania is possible only in the conditions of victory of the concept of "opening" toward Europe and the world over the particularist and isolationist concepts. This constitutes a chance for a better utilization of an opportunity for Albania's economic growth and at the same time one of the bases of a gradual democratization of internal relations.

FOOTNOTES

1. 1. See J. R. Nowak, "Albania," in "Europejskie kraje demokracji ludowej, 1944-1948 [European People's Democracies, 1944-48], Warsaw, 1972, and A. Koseski, "Albansk Republika Ludowa" [Albanian People's Republic], in "Kraje socjalistyczne po drugiej wojnie swiatowej, 1944-1974" [Socialist countries after the Second World War, 1944-74], Warsaw, 1977.
2. See E. Hoxha, "Rapport au I-er Congres du Parti Communiste d'Albanie sur l'activite du Comite Central et sur les devoirs nouveaux du Parti, 8 novembre 1948," Tirana, 1951, pp. 278-79.
3. Speech by L. Brezhnev at the 23rd CPSU Congress, IZVESTIIA, 30 Nov 1969.
4. E. Hoxha, "Speech at the 7th AWP Congress," Tirana, 1978, p. 204.
5. E. Aczel, "Kulonleges helyzetben," MAGYAROSZAG, No. 5, 1978.

6. E. Hoxha, "Speech at the 7th AWP Congress," Tirana, 1978, p. 204
7. Op. cit., pp. 189-90.
8. Op. cit., p. 228
9. E. Hoxha, "Speech....," p. 181.
10. H. D. Topp, "Die albanische Aussenpolitik: Ziele, Determinanten und Entwicklung," EUROPA ARCHIV, No. 3, 1978, p. 82.
11. E. Hoxha, "Bericht....," p. 246.
12. Op. cit., p. 248.
13. R. Petkovic, "Balkan: ni 'bura baruta' ni 'zona mira,'" Zagreb, 1976, pp. 83p84; J. Brezaric, "Jugoslaviya i Albanija," MEZHDUNARODNA POLITIKA, No. 642, 1977.
14. The complex Kosovo incident is well known to the Polish readers from the press. See, H. Zdanowski, "Zajscia w Kosowie" [Incidents in Kosovo], POLITYKA, 18 Apr 1981, and M. A. Wasilewski, "Slownik kosowsko-polski," [Kosovo-Polish Dictionary], TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY, 26 Jul 1981. For official Yugoslavian position see "Sobytiya v SAK Kosova," MEZHDUNARODNA POLITIKA, No. 749, 1981, pp. 5-35, and for official Albanian position, see E. Hoxha, "Bericht....," pp. 233-44.
15. M. T. Maschino, M. R. Fadela, "L'Albanie ou la fierte nationale," LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, No. 320, 1980, pp. 37-39; LA DOCUMENTATION FRANCAISE. NOTES ET ETUDES DOCUMENTAIRES, 30 Oct 1978, pp. 133-35; G. Schmidt, "Hauer Albaniens Langer Weg nach Europe," ZEIT MAGAZIN, 4 Dec 1981, pp. 18-26 and 52; "Albanske paradoksy" [Albanian Paradoxes], FORUM, 18 Dec 1980 (translation from NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, Oct 1980).

8609

CSO: 2600/114

PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN POLAND INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 29 Nov 82 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Faud Jaseen, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) representative in Poland, by Wiktor Weggi; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question]: Ambassador, every year on the 29th of November the world celebrates the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. This date was not chosen by an accident. It was on 29 November 1947 that the United Nations Organization [UNO] passed the resolution, which divided Palestine into two states: Arab and Jewish. Has the Palestinian view of this resolution changed from the perspective of 35 years since that eventful date?

[Answer]: No, because it could not have changed. And I do not believe that it has. After all, our fatherland was divided. Were the Poles happy when Russia, Austria, and Prussia partitioned their country? Did they stop to fight for its unification, for an independent and sovereign state? Do they believe today that this division was right and do they believe that they had committed fundamental errors in their national liberation struggle? Some say that had we accepted in 1947 the UNO resolution things would have been different today. I doubt that very much. Besides such speculations do not lead anywhere. We have now the year 1982, filled with tragic events, and we must consider above all the reality of it instead of speculating what would have happened.

[Question]: By tragic events you mean the Israeli aggression in Lebanon and the massacres of the Palestinian people in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Beirut....

[Answer]: We got out of Beirut. It was the most humanitarian decision made by the Palestinians. Its aim was to save the lives of more than 200,000 of Lebanese and Palestinian people in that city. Everybody knows that our military situation in Beirut was not hopeless. We had thousands of fighters ready to fight to the last drop of blood. We had enough arms and ammunition to last us at least 6 months.

We got out of Beirut with American guarantees, given to us through the Lebanese government, that the Palestinian population would not be harmed, whereas in exchange for our humanitarian decision an awful crime was committed on the

Palestinian people--massacres in Sabra and Shatila. It was committed by the hands of the Israeli army and that part of the Lebanese Right cooperating with it. The world found out that Habib's guarantees were just empty words. What happened at Sabra and Shatila proves the cowardice of the Israeli military commanders. Unable to defeat the Palestinian fighters they decided to take it out on the Palestinian civilian population. The myth of the invincible Israeli military machine--believed by the world and most of all by the Israelis--was destroyed.

Question: There are voices, particularly in the West, suggesting that the recognition of Israel by the PLO will bring about a speedy and successful resolution. Is the PLO ready to do that?

Answer: These voices are nothing more than a sabotage. We shall not take up that idea until Israel recognizes the right of the Palestinians to have their own, sovereign fatherland. To move ahead one cannot put a carriage before the horse. Perhaps, a mutual recognition of both parties may constitute the final process of a solution to the Middle East conflict, but not a precondition of such. And so far, Israel has not taken any steps in that direction.

There is also another natural barrier. How to recognize a state which practically does not recognize itself. Yes, it does not. After all, every state must have clearly defined territorial borders, specified number of people living in it, and a constitution, or a fundamental law governing its affairs. Israel does not meet any of these requirements.

After all, which are Israel's borders? The ones drawn in the 1947 UNO resolution? Or the enlarged ones in 1948 as a result of the war with the Arabs. Or the ones established after Israel's aggression on its neighbors in 1956 and 1967? Or perhaps those marked out by the Camp David accords, or the separatist peace treaty concluded with Egypt? Or those established after the Israeli aggression in Lebanon in 1982? Or perhaps the borders described in the Bible?

Question: ...from the Nile to the Euphrates....

Answer: Yes, perhaps, even farther than that. On various occasions Israel talks about different borders: historic, geographic, political, and strategic. What for every peace-loving state ought to be a constant and lasting element in Israel's case is an element of circumstance, which depends on the current state of affairs in the Middle East and in the world. And how big is the population of Israel? Is it a little more than 3 million of Jews inhabiting it? Or perhaps 3.5 million of Jews in the Soviet Union and nearly 4 million of American Jews ought to be added to this number? Or perhaps one ought to add 16 million people of Jewish descent dispersed throughout the world? Begin ought to define it once and for all. I recall a memorable incident during my visit in the United States in 1974. I talked with a young American lady, who had attended a lecture by Moshe Dayan, then Israeli defense minister. The main theme of this lecture was that there is a need for a Jewish state so that the Jews could feel, in it, like first-class citizens. The lady asked Dayan if the Jews were not first-class citizens outside

Israel. She also answered it herself by stating that in the United States they are a super class.

Finally, the problem of the constitution. To this day we do not know what kind of a state Israel is, or what kind of state it intends to be. And we do not know what kind of constitutional principles guide its foreign and domestic policies. Judging from its actions, aggression is the supreme to which Israel is loyal without limits.

Question: The fedayeen got out of Beirut; they have been placed in seven Arab countries and the same happened to the PLO leaders. I think that this can give birth to the feeling of impotence, and it undoubtedly interferes with carrying out an effective struggle for the right to return to the fatherland.

Answer: These are the realities, but there is no need to give them such a pessimistic interpretation. We have entered a difficult period, but we had many such difficult periods in the past. Man's nature is to consider the oppressive situation he finds himself in as incomparably worse than the previous one. The world has many times counted us out, for example, after the Israeli aggression in June 1967, or after the departure of the Palestinians from Jordan, and yet we still exist and fight. In fact, after each crisis we become more consolidated and sure of the legitimacy of the idea we fight for. The same is true today. Our fighters appear again in the right place at the right time.

Question: Will the fedayeen appear on the west bank of Jordan and in the Gaza strip? In my opinion the resistance of the Palestinian people living there has not yet reached desirable dimensions....

Answer: Do you know what an occupation is? Poland was occupied for 6 years, but the Jordan's West Bank has been for 15 years. Besides military technology was different then. Today not that many soldiers are needed if they are well armed and have to their disposal tanks, artillery, and planes. And the United States makes sure that the Israeli soldier does not lack anything. The Palestinian people on Jordan's West Bank and the Gaza strip have been simply imprisoned and yet there is no single day without some kind of sabotage or armed action against the occupational forces. Demonstrations, strikes, attacks on police and military posts, and shooting at military convoys are an everyday occurrence. For example, recently a young boy killed an Israeli soldier with a knife. Note, a knife against a rifle.

Question: Ambassador, the Palestinians are characterized by intelligence, courage, and perseverance. I call it the Palestinian phenomenon. The 4-million nation, living in a diaspora, exhibits unusually strong family ties and contains the highest number in the Arab world of educated people. Palestinian culture and arts flourish. I believe that this phenomenon is responsible for the sleepless nights of the Israeli authorities. I believe it was Moshe Dayan, who once said that it is necessary to destroy the Palestinian culture, because one Palestinian poem has the strength of 20 Israeli soldiers....

Answer: In this case I agree with Dayan. But the explanation of the Palestinian phenomenon--as you call it--is very simple: the love of the fatherland which increases with the challenge. It is this challenge that demands from us a Spartan life, but also makes us look with optimism to the future. We learn not only for ourselves, but most of all for the future independent Palestine. My father was killed by the Zionist thugs. My mother, myself, and my younger brothers and sisters moved first to Syria, then to Egypt. I had to work to provide for our family, but I also went to school. I graduated from the university, and my brothers and sisters completed their education.

The Palestinian phenomenon....Yes, phenomenon. My 4-year-old daughter lives between Damascus and Warsaw and experiences different environments; she speaks with a Palestinian accent. This came about naturally.

At Georgetown University I talked with an American scholar, who maintained that the Palestinian personality belies a certain sociological theory. According to that theory, the more difficult living conditions are experienced by a society and the farther are its aims the more it becomes subject to universal frustration and the higher its criminal statistics. This theory has not been proven right to the displeasure of Israel and the United States, which hoped that the Palestinians would be paralyzed by an internal decay and thus the Palestinian question would die a natural death. We live and we shall live. We fight and we shall fight.

Question: Yasir Arafat once compared the Palestinian people to a sponge. At some point, it seems that it has been totally squeezed out with hardly anything left out, but then it suddenly comes back to its former shape, even grows and gains weight....

Answer: Yes, this is the way the Palestinian people are. Every killed fighter is immediately replaced by a dozen or so other fighters, who believe that the right cause will prevail.

Question: Thank you for this conversation.

8609

CSO: 2600/122

RECENT VISITOR TO POLAND DESCRIBES CURRENT SITUATION

London DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA in Polish 7 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by Felicja Telszewska: "Three Weeks in Warsaw"]

[Text] Recently I returned from Warsaw after a 3-week stay. I wanted to visit my family and my many friends. I observed everyday life there. I tried to be objective.

There is no hunger there anymore. There is plenty of milk available (it tastes badly as a result of added chemicals that prevent it from souring quickly). There are also rolls and bread. There is a little lard and butter and candy (for children). There are a lot of apples but I did not see any imported fruit.

Before my arrival my cousin purchased very good rationed lard that came from the U.S. with a printed message on the packages: "A gift from the Department of Agriculture". The message also indicated that the package should not be sold. Of course, it was a "leak" from American gifts, happily sold in government stores. Unfortunately, not many people in PRL know enough English to understand what "is written" on the cube of lard, and, anyway, who is there to protest? Generally, products in stores, such as marmalade, candy, sausage, and meat are of low quality and improperly stored. I saw worms in the flour, so-called "flour moths".

Problems With Shopping

Of course, at the private bazaar on Polna Street one can purchase fresh butter, eggs, homemade sausage, all at horrendous costs. Also, in PEWEX [Domestic Export Enterprise] wealthy people can purchase for dollars such delicacies as chocolate, coffee, salami, and "kabanos" sausage. They also buy clothes there. I resolved to live like an average citizen during my stay, without the above excesses.

Stores with fabrics, wool, undergarments, towels, and bed linens are basically empty. Often people stand in front of them for hours in case "they throw something" there. When "something" is delivered, the quantity is small, people in the queue go away quickly, since only those standing very close to the store are able to make a purchase.

In the fashionable "Moda Polska" I once saw a big crowd. Shoddy sweaters, lingerie, and scarves were being sold. In a glass case there were cloth napkins made of ordinary dyed calico with an ordinary lace. They were selling for...1,400 zlotys (fourteen hundred!).

Shoes for children are rationed. For adults, shoes are a serious problem. For example, an acquaintance of mine went all over the city and could not find any shoes for herself. She was offered light, open shoes on high heels that were not exactly appropriate for standing in long queues during the harsh Polish winter, and after all, she has a husband and three children to feed.

My aunt, an elderly lady, asked me to send her some fabric for a lining, "because the only one I have is falling apart". I have to admit that the first thing I bought in London was attractive "cotton with terylene", blue with merry little flowers. She will get it together with other trinkets for Christmas.

The mood among both intellectuals and workers is gloomy. There is no hope that the political and economic situation will improve. Concerning martial law, everybody believes that officially it will be abrogated but everything will remain the same. Some people will be freed from the camps for show, to regain the lost chance of help from the West and achieve the removal of the economic sanctions.

"The Defenders"

On November 10 I had an opportunity to take a closer look at the "defenders of People's Poland". That day I went out on Nowotki Street where I saw two small tanks, a water cannon, and a couple of "budas" [vans used to transport prisoners] going down the street. Passers by observed in silence. Afterwards one of them told me that "the defenders" are going to Praga, but they turned on Swierczewski Street, by the Courts, where 2 years ago "Solidarity" was legalized, and the planned demonstration was to take place. In the afternoon I heard detonations of gas bombs and saw the smoke.

On November 11 my cousin took me over the city by car. The city was badly lighted (to save energy!). Not far from Wisla, "budas" and water cannons were standing in readiness with many units of police and ZOMO. They looked fearsome: their equipment, uniforms, and arms were of superior quality. Many tear gas grenades hung from their belts. Some wielded plastic shields (that is why they are called "crusaders"), and of course, each had a white stick one meter long. Let me add that "budas" were much bigger than those I had seen during the Nazi occupation, and they were covered with canvas of superior quality.

Prison Camps, and Censorship

I met a young woman, a college graduate, who was interned on December 13 together with her husband. First, she and other interned women were taken to Grochow, where they were treated like criminals. The 12-women cell was cold, crowded, and dirty. The women had no personal belongings, not even a change of underwear. They slept on straw mattresses covered with their

coats. In the morning a woman guard brought into the cell *7a half* [in italics] a pail of cold water to wash (for 12 women). A few days later two ladies from the Polish Red Cross (PCK) appeared. The imprisoned women asked for cosmetics, soap, and underwear. As the only result of the visit, 2 weeks later they received a pair of panties per person.

My acquaintance was later transferred to a camp in the North of Poland. The conditons were much better there. The interned women were mainly students and college graduates. They received packages from abroad through church organizations. This made the guards very angry. Toward the end of May she was released and is now working in the same place as before. The woman sent letters to her husband at the camp, of course, through the camp censor. A few months later the prison main board returned all her letters with an ironic comment claiming that her husband refused to read her letters because she spent a few months in Rome (she returned to Poland at the end of November 1981). She was not bothered by the harrasment, however.

Another woman I know has been going every month with her 7-year-old son to visit her husband in a camp in Bieszczady. The trip from Warsaw takes, with transfers, 16 hours each way. The visit with the interned husband lasts an hour, with the guard present, of course. When she comes with her son, she is allowed to see her husband for an hour and a half. There is nothing like "socialistic" humanism.

And now something a little different. I visited some people. He is an engineer employed in the export of machinery to Africa. During the conversation I hear that today Poland's greatest enemies are freemasons and Jews. I thought it was a good joke, so I laughed. But I was told that this was not a joke but a statement of "real danger." When I objected, the engineer began to argue that KOR /the committee for the defense of workers/ is 90 percent Jewish. Then the subject of the conversation changed.

Gifts That Save Lives

In closing, I have to admit with great pleasure that many persons of various backgrounds asked me to extend their gratitude for gifts received from the West, such as clothes, food, nutrients for children, and especially medications and hospital equipment. Without this help they could not have survived, according to their words. Thanks to the Church: priests, nuns, and lay volunteers, the help is distributed efficiently and given to the most needy.

9959

CSO: 2600/153

ACTIVITIES OF UNION OF FORMER PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 44, 31 Oct 82 p 15 -

[Interview with Reserve Col Dr Roman Les, member, Military Council for National Salvation; chairman, Main Board of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers (ZBZZ); by Tadeusz Ozienkowski; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] One year has passed since your Union has been founded.

[Answer] We are an organization of people in uniforms. On July 22, 1944, at the dawn of our independence, we began to measure our new Polish time along with the whole nation. It has been the time of independent existence within safe Piast borders. It has also been the period of socialistic Poland and of new brotherhood and alliance between Poles and Poland and the Soviet people. There was, and there is, a permanent bond between us--former professional soldiers of the people's Polish Army--and the inception and the development, life and struggles, and accomplishments and problems of the socialistic Poland. In our ranks, there are those who fought at Lenino, crossed Bug, freed Poland, chased the invaders from the Polish seacoast, and reached Berlin. After the war, they defended the workers-peasants' authority. They participated in economic, technological, and cultural development of the country. We contributed our important brick to the structure of the socialistic Poland. During the time when our country again is going through a very difficult period, we again closed our ranks to support, by word and deed, the Ninth Congress of the Polish United Worker's Party.

[Question] Your organization adopted specific objectives for implementation.

[Answer] In our daily activities, we spread among the society, and especially among the youth, the truth about the great value of the Polish-Soviet friendship and the alliance between the two fraternal nations. They constitute a guarantee of the security of our country. We actively participate in the implementation of sociopolitical tasks with which our country is faced. We make attempts to reach both adults and youths with documented and convincing arguments concerning the need for the whole country to make efforts directed at strengthening our country's security. We proclaim the need for all PRL citizens to contribute to public welfare. We also try to shape a proper attitude concerning property and work. We do much to broaden and enrich the

society's sense of history and to spread the knowledge about combat traditions and peacetime service of our armed forces. In addition, we try to make the society more aware of the importance of the service and of the profession of a soldier and to instill respect for the uniform and the national colors and symbols.

[Question] Your organization does not function separately from other organizations.

[Answer] Our daily activities include extending support to the Reserve Officers Clubs and the League of Defense of the Country. We help them in implementing patriotic and defense tasks. We strengthen the bond of friendship that unites all soldiers, both veterans and those in active service, in one big military family. We work closely with ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] and other combatant organizations.

[Question] What exactly has been done for the Union members?

[Answer] During the period preceding our national Congress (it took place in the middle of last June) there were already many statements made concerning a difficult social and material situation of former professional soldiers. Many examples of neglect were cited. Mainly, they concerned the situation of retirees and persons receiving annuities who were included in the so-called "old portfolio". They also concerned the situation of widows and orphans of professional soldiers. Problems concerning the lack of living quarters and medical care, especially the lack of places in health resorts, were also discussed, as were problems with the availability of state-organized vacations. At present, we have managed to solve many problems and other problems are being attacked. Of course, this does not mean that now, while the society carries the burden of the economic crisis, we, veterans, will live better than ever. We realize that a radical improvement will not be possible until our country returns on the path of stability and development. But we are able to implement certain tasks regardless of the economic situation in the country. We can continue to develop our organization in areas pertaining to its membership and various clubs. In this area we have not made use of all our abilities. Much is being done toward integrating our community and consolidating it on the basis of common objectives, mutual help, and concern for developing and cultivating various peer groups and forms of comradeship. We try to raise the standing, social position, and prestige of the community of former professional soldiers.

[Question] The introduction of martial law in our country...

[Answer] ...was, in a way, a new stage in the functioning of the Union. Even during the first few days after martial law was announced, over half of the ZBZZ members reported to commands of the military units, to field military staffs, inspectorates of civilian defense, and municipal and voivodship party echelons declaring their readiness for giving help. Many participated in activities insuring order and safety, as part of field operational groups. Some of our members served in leadership positions, were commissars and envoys of the Committee for the Defense of the Country. Also, many members took part in meetings with teachers, high school youth, and work forces in

plants. They explained the causes of martial law in the country, its legal consequences, and results. Only in the first month of martial law the ZBZZ members participated in 960 such meetings. When last spring there was a flood in the Plock voivodship almost 200 of our members helped alleviate its results. Furthermore, ZBZZ members gathered cash and gifts for flood victims, valued at 350,000 zlotys. To a greater and greater degree, our members are included in commissions that fight the black market, in teams that deal with recovery of apartments, and in teams of citizens that judge misdemeanors. Many of our members are active in Citizens' Committees for National Revival. Our members are especially active in Katowice, Gdansk, and Lublin voivodships.

[Question] On the basis of our interview it can be concluded that the exchange of the uniform for civilian clothes and both advanced age and health problems that are usually considerable after many years of dedicated service, do not stop former professional soldiers from fulfilling their civic and soldierly duties on behalf of their country. They continue to uphold the military oath which holds the highest value for them. I hope that your organization will continue to thrive, that your members will continue to perform their socialistic service with enthusiasm and stay in good health, and that their younger colleagues who are now serving as professional soldiers will remember them and treat them as full members of the community of soldiers.

9959

CSO: 2600/137

COUNCIL FOR HIGHER MILITARY EDUCATION MEETS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Oct 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Maj Janusz Borkowski: "Plenary Meeting of the Council for Higher Military Education--an Evaluation of the Effectiveness of the Ideological-Political Education of Officer Cadets and the Analysis of Activities Pertaining to Scientific Research Conducted at WSO (higher officers' schools)"]

[Text] On Monday October 25 a consecutive plenary meeting of the Council for Higher Military Education took place in Warsaw. It was attended by representatives of central institutions of MON (Ministry of National Defense), commanders of military academies and higher officers' schools, and commanders of military science institutes. Four Star General Eugeniusz Molczyk, Head Training Inspector and vice minister of national defense chaired the meeting.

The Council for the Higher Military Education was acquainted with and evaluated the effectiveness of ideological-political, ethical-moral, and cultural aspects of education of officer cadets and students of military academies and higher officers' schools. The education is implemented in the framework of the "Program of Cultural Development in the PRL Armed Forces" and according to the "Principles of Professional Ethics of the Soldier of the People's Poland" and "Principles of Behavior of Professional Soldiers of LWP (People's Polish Army)". The materials for discussion and formulation of conclusions for future use were based on experiences with implementation of WSO basic objectives during the last 2 years.

During that period higher military schools implemented many tasks brought up by the Military Council for National Salvation in addition to implementing program tasks pertaining to the education of students. Officer cadets fulfilled their duties as students and also participated in field operational activities. In many localities, officer cadets guarded the public order and safety.

Graduates and officer cadets discharged their duties in a satisfactory way. In a way, this was a test of their views, beliefs, and attitude, and a test of their ideological-moral fortitude and high psychophysical ability. It should be noted that they were able to make full use of their knowledge and skills in educating soldiers, and they display an exemplary behavior while implementing both political tasks and those pertaining to the service.

According to the council, these positive developments reaffirm the validity of educational principles, objectives, and programs in higher military schools. However, in the future the methods and ways of ideological-political work with students should be further improved. For example, ideological-political and ethical-moral values implied in the armed forces' regulations should be more fully utilized. Daily activities of officer cadets resulting from the order of the day and military ceremonial should be imbued with ideological-educational content. To a greater degree moral principles should be linked to formation of socialistic ethical values and soldierly attitude, especially during educational practice in military units.

In the process of improving the cultural education of WSO students it is necessary to uphold the climate favorable to cultural development by broadening the knowledge of ideological-educational objectives of the "Program of Cultural Development in the PRL Armed Forces" and the ability of independent participation in cultural events. It is also necessary to further search for new forms and methods of making the students culturally active, to utilize opportunities created by the arrangement of program activities, and to help students find more meaningful ways of using free time.

Next the council analyzed needs, possibilities, and conditions of implementing objectives pertaining to scientific research at higher officer schools. The increase in the importance of scientific-technological knowledge and higher education in our armed forces has resulted in the increase in the role and importance of WSO in military education. The schools have become the institutions that both transmit to students specific knowledge and actively participate in the process of creating new knowledge as a result of the ongoing concern of the MON leadership for their development, close cooperation between military academies and scientific research institutes, and intense work of the scientific-educational cadre.

Implementation of tasks ordered by the minister of national defense has resulted in producing over 650 studies on various subjects during the last 5 years. Many of them were instrumental in improving educational-didactic processes in the higher schools. There was also a considerable number of papers concerning the national economy including the exploitation of motor vehicles, utilization of explosives, protection of natural environment, and storing food.

While defining WSO tasks in the area of scientific-research for the next few years, the Council for Higher Military Education emphasized that they should concentrate on problems that need to be solved to improve the educational process and enrich knowledge of military theory and practice that are taught exclusively at WSO. This especially concerns the party-political tasks and both the tactics and the methodology of combat training.

9959

CSO: 2600/139

'POLITYKA' CONDUCTS POLL ON POST-MARTIAL LAW EXPECTATIONS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 42, 4 Dec 82 pp 1, 8

[Text] Our reporters conducted a lightning poll among representatives of various professions, centers and institutions, asking them two questions:

1. How do you see the situation after martial law has ended: your situation personally and in public life?
2. Do you perceive any real threats, unfavorable events, which may accompany the lifting of martial law?

Here are some of the replies. Some of the interviewees preferred to remain anonymous.

Jerzy Makula, mechanic in the Kasprzak Plants:

1. In the radio plants the basic change will be the ability to unblock the activities of the self-governments and the trade unions. The relationship of the work force to the party members, which has not been the best during the period of martial law, will change. The pressure will disappear. Persons who did not feel sure of themselves during martial law and thus far kept their distance will be able to join an organization. People will gradually begin to learn to speak freely about what they are thinking, although mentally the impact of martial law will be felt for a couple more years. Something will remain in the consciousness. We are an end-production plant. We have many co-producers and links with the entire country are very important to us. Martial law made this difficult.

Nationally, there will be a general sense of relief. Even where martial law does not interfere, it is unpleasantly felt. Changes in legislation will occur, regulations will be eased, and the fight against speculation may become more difficult.

2. New forms of control through self-governments or trade unions will appear. The administration has some bad habits. It often makes decisions that are rigorous and without basis. Under martial law, the administration could not be controlled by the workers. I do not see any other dangers arising from the suspension of martial law. I am not being carried away with joy, but I see positive features in the lifting of martial law.

A judge in the Voivodship Court in Warsaw:

1. At last there will be no penal cases resulting from violations of martial law. Those interned will be freed. Whether they will continue their activities, we do not know. The provisions of the law will be binding, but not in such drastic form. The lifting of martial law will have a good effect on the dispositions of the people who regarded martial law as a necessary evil, releasing anarchistic attitudes. The lifting of martial law will make it possible to implement economic reform more rapidly. The lack of worker self-governments, the lack of trade unions and price controls, has a negative impact on this reform. Social relations will become normalized. The underground will have fewer pretexts for functioning. There will be no more slogans calling for the lifting of martial law. Changes in public life? The artists will emerge from the underground and internal emigration and will begin to appear on television. The cultural life will take on brighter tones and the organic work, the work from the ground up, will again begin.

2. I don't believe so. The authorities have shown that they are strong and the system will be defended. I see no threats. The provisions of the law will make it impossible to act against the state.

Sergeant Edward Helwich, squad leader in a Gdansk ZOMO [Motorized Citizens Militia Detachment] unit:

1. Frankly speaking, I have mixed feelings. On the one hand, I greet such a decision with relief, just as the majority of society does. On the other hand, I believe that our work will not be at all easier. I am a traffic official. Prior to martial law we had occasion to become acquainted with the drivers' "cultural" attitude toward us. Then the invectives ended--even those who were being ticketed behaved normally. There were also exceptional periods during the last 12 months. Particularly when it was necessary to direct traffic at an intersection during a demonstration. There we were, in our service uniforms, flashlight in hand. And the crowd was various. Some of our friends to this very day are having problems in returning to health. Insofar as possible changes in private life, there will probably not be very many. After martial law is suspended I will still have to work a dozen or so hours daily. My wife and the children will not see me any more often than they do now. Except that her fears about my return from work will lessen. At least I expect so.

2. The suspension of martial law, when it occurs, will again bring about an increase in crime and political offenses. Naturally, we will make an even greater effort to work in behalf of society, but we realize the difficulty we will have in regaining the previous opinion by us among some of the people. The western mass media have succeeded in effectively distorting the image of our activity. I feel, however, that with time these opinions will be increasingly better, although this will be a long process.

Czeslaw Skoczylas, city and gmina head in Leczna, Lublin voivodship:

1. In private life, no. In professional life I will have more duties. There will have to be a greater respect for the law, because after martial law was declared many matters were taken care of without consultation with the social organs. Perhaps,

too, the administration will finally begin to work according to a plan, and not from one campaign to another campaign, and there will be fewer inspections. Not just those from the Voivodship Office, which primarily point out nothing, but only interfere in our work. I would also like it if the same matters which up to this time appeared in the high positions would no longer appear. There must be supervision and a better selection of people. The party and the administration must authenticate this. This must be steady and consistent work, and not just a temporary campaign connected with martial law. If there are no more strikes, then my special duty shifts in the office will end.

2. There is a certain danger that some of the people will continue to stir up trouble, that they will conduct anti-government political work at the bottom level. My work, too, will be more nerve-wracking, for those involved will be more aggressive. During martial law, people have a much greater respect for authority, as if they were afraid of the force behind that authority. On the other hand, the period of martial law has not been taken advantage of to improve social discipline, particularly in the plants. We have succeeded in doing this only in the mining enterprises, which have been militarized, but in other plants the discipline has become looser. And so, overall, martial law in such a small place as Leczna is almost unnoticeable.

Major Wacław Pac, deputy commander of the mobile brigade of the Sport Club of the Citizens' Militia (MO):

1. Society's convictions as to the government's actions will increase, because people need specific decisions. As an officer I will have to prepare my subordinates for another kind of activity, that connected with pursuit and the combating of ordinary crimes. There will be a reclassification of tasks. We will be able to devote more time to the prevention of crime. We realize that our work is not always perfect. When martial law is lifted, emotions will be quieted and society will be calmer. The divisions into "we" and "they", which we feel very strongly, may disappear from our consciousness or take on other meanings.

I expect that I will be able to devote more time to my family. We are tired, just as society is.

Some social groups will come to the conclusion that it is possible to discuss and quarrel, but not on the street, and this will be an important change in political life. Everyone has his opinion and individuality, but first let us come out of the crisis, for that is most important.

2. I see such a danger if certain groups treat the lifting of martial law as a return to the situation that existed before 13 December. These are not large groups, and I do not expect that they will have public support. The worst is behind us--we are entering into something better. My attitude toward the lifting of martial law is positive.

The manager of one of the Warsaw hotels:

1. I am hopeful that the hotel will return to its previous functions: tourism, vacation, and gastronomic-recreational. The guests in uniform who have been stationed here will be replaced by our usual clients. True, I will have more work than now

(instead of contacts with the garrison commander, I will have to "face", individually, each of over 500 hotel guests), but then there will be more time in the afternoon (now I must be on duty at all kinds of hours, including nights).

2. I do not see any dangers that may result from suspension of martial law and believe that most of the people in our country feel the same. After all, what happens after martial law will not be anything abnormal, but on the contrary, it will be a return to normalcy.

Danuta Ossowska, director of the personnel department in the Bolechowo-Zamysl producer cooperative in the Poznan voivodship:

1. I believe that it is still too early to suspend martial law. The memory of what happened in our cooperative prior to 13 December, when any unsettled matter threatened a strike, is still fresh in my mind. I remember Lubogora. 13 December put an end to this. The people want to work in peace. What will happen after martial law is lifted is a great unknown. In January, the trade unions are supposed to move full steam ahead--I dread to think what will happen if a union group would form in our cooperative, similar to that of a year ago, which tried to show who was in charge rather than help the people. It is true that the law on trade unions does not provide for unions among members of cooperatives, but...

2. I believe that certain rigors of martial law were removed too rapidly thus far, which made it possible for various evil social instincts to be let loose. I say this on the basis of personal experience: in September my automobile was robbed, and in October my purse has stolen. If we remove all of the restrictions, a further increase in crime may occur. Perhaps we will not be able to cope with speculation. I am afraid that certain forces will again make themselves known, and we still have too many things in the country that have not been settled. I am afraid of living in fear from the 13th to the 13th. More and more people think the way I do.

Zenon Plech, cinder-track motorcycle racer, contestant in the Gdansk "Coast" and the "Sheffield" English club:

1. As a sportsman I do not have much reason to complain about the arduousness of martial law. Even after it was declared I could travel almost weekly between Poland and Great Britain and fulfill the terms of my contract without any problems. Also, the number of fans at the cinder-track events increased, despite a large increase in the price of tickets. The repeal or suspension of martial law will probably change nothing from this standpoint. However, I am wholeheartedly in favor of such a decision. I think that it would be a real help in eliminating the weariness of society, the unnecessary frustrations and irritations, so apparent at all times. My English club colleagues show almost no interest in the situation in Poland, but it is a fact that we are constantly in the center of the world's attention. A return to normalcy would lessen this greatly or give it another, less negative, undertone. We have come to believe that from the time that martial law was declared there has been a drop in crime, robberies, burglaries, etc. Based on the experience of my closest friends and on my own experience, exactly the opposite is true. I see an improvement in this situation with the return of the local police to their normal, everyday functions.

2. I do not fear any negative consequences of the suspension of martial law. People have learned a great deal, and in addition, the authorities, too, must have good information before they make such a decision.

Prof Stanislaw Gebethner, attorney and political scientist:

It is difficult to answer these questions in three sentences.

The day on which martial law will be lifted will be no different in my private life than the day before. I am conducting research in the historical and comparative-law plane on various types of states of special danger as an institution of constitutional law. (The state of war [martial law] in Poland is also in this category.) That is why I have no illusions (which many of my countrymen have) that the decision on lifting martial law will bring drastic and immediate changes to their personal or public life. The exception here should certainly be a change in the situation of persons who are interned.

Quite naturally, a decision to declare any type of state of special danger carries with it immediate and drastic (and sometimes shocking) consequences. And the emergence from such a state is a slow and gradual process. Even after the official repeal of such a state, its consequences--both legal as well as real--remain for a long time in the reality of everyday life. Some changes and decisions ensuing from the imposition of martial law are, indeed, irreversible. I am also inclined to regard the changes occurring in the social consciousness, in the civic perception of the essence of the state authority, as lasting--the authority that naively can no longer be regarded simply as the "good-hearted uncle", who is only the giver of social benefits and material goods. The social experience gained from the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981 must, and will, influence the behavior of the citizens in the future. We must realize this. But on the other hand, along with the lifting of martial law will come a certain kind of stress relaxation, the consequences of which, both positive and negative, in the behavior and attitudes of the citizens is difficult to predict.

As far as other fears connected with the lifting of martial law are concerned, it should be no secret that there is a real possibility of a return to destabilization of the political system. Under the umbrella of martial law, the system did not recover internal balance nor was its credibility fully restored. Obviously, the very fact of the lifting of martial law should help in this restoration. But it must be quickly rebuilt in such a way as to enable it to face the challenges of the environment brought about by the structural economic crisis, and to enable it to gain full strength to control by social processes, and particularly, economic processes.

The long period of martial law was not, in my opinion, fully utilized for the indispensable institutional reconstruction of our political system. I am referring to the fact that on the one hand the mechanisms and procedures which would safeguard the political system against the loss of internal balance were not applied. On the other hand, the mechanisms preventing the alienation of authority continue to be highly imperfect.

In the first case, I am referring to bringing into our political system the office of the president of the Polish People's Republic, with relatively broad powers (especially in the fields of foreign policy, defense, and national security, and supervision over the government and the administration), but subject to democratic control and radical reorganization of the government guaranteeing success of the economic reform now underway, or the appointment of a Constitutional Tribunal.

In the second case, I am referring to building authentic institutions of self-government and social control. The version of the draft law on people's councils, submitted for deliberation in the Sejm, is not heartening in this regard. Changes must also be made in the electoral system. There is a burning need to develop legal-institutional frameworks that would promote the formation of self-governing and democratic signs of citizens' participation in the settlement of public matters, with the citizens thus assuming joint responsibility for the accomplishment of these matters.

Considering the many strata (social, political, economic and psychological) of the crisis we are now experiencing, I would be rather in favor of replacing martial law with a state of threat to the national economy and standard of living, imposed for two to three years. If necessary (i.e., possible local disturbances of public order) it could be locally temporarily assisted by ordering a short-duration state of emergency. This would be nothing unusual, because in a number of countries (including the United States, France, and West Germany) such was done in the past in similar situations of special danger. In this way, the coming out of martial law and the state of crisis would be more in conformance with the social sense of lawfulness and citizens' anticipations of democratic reforms of institutions of the socialist political system. Not only would this remove many psychological obstacles in the path of the mobilization of social forces for overcoming the crisis, but it would also prevent the revival of autocratic methods of governing, to which the construction of extraordinary powers of authority would draw some people.

A student at Warsaw University, suspended after 10 November:

1. As a student I will simply feel more secure, because the laws of martial law which make it possible to suspend or expel students who were charged in a collegial court or whose cases are underway may no longer be binding.

2. Will anything change in public life? I think that nothing will change. That part of society which is on the side of the authorities will remain so. And those who do not agree with them, also will not change their outlook.

Col Henryk Gorny, director of the District Board of Penal Institutions:

1. I do not believe that anything will change in my personal or professional life after martial law is suspended. In my opinion, suspension of martial law will not produce a final normalization in the country's sociopolitical situation. We must remember that this situation is closely linked with the economic situation, which, although it is on the right path, is still far from good order. The drastic drop in society's standard of living, due to familiar reasons, is causing all kinds of social strains which will continue to appear after martial law is suspended. That is why the organs of public authority, including prison management, will certainly

not see a drastic reduction in official duties, which, of course, will not be as great as they were in the first few months after martial law was declared. In my opinion, more democratization of public life will take place. The self-government organizations will play a particularly important role. As of 1 January 1983 the trade unions will begin their activities, and this should have an important effect on the normalization of life. That is also why it is important that all Poles know how to use their democratic freedoms and that the situation of 1980-1981 not recur.

2. Martial law was imposed during a period of national danger, the signs of which have not yet totally disappeared. The foreign centers of ideological propaganda, inimical to us, have not ceased their activities, and the extremist activists of the former "Solidarity" not too long ago, for it was 10 November, called for a nationwide strike. That is why I believe that at the present time it is advisable only to suspend martial law and to invest the government with special and effective powers of authority to ensure law and order in the country in case of sudden need. Only as the country's socioeconomic life becomes more normal should the possibility of lifting martial law be investigated.

Censor in the Main Office for Control of Press, Publications and Shows:

1. We should expect to return to the provisions of the law on control of publications dated 31 July 1981, which the decree of 12 December of 1981 amended under martial law. What will change in my personal life, the life of an ordinary citizen, after the decree on martial law is suspended? Nothing--literally, nothing. My schedule of daily duties will remain the same as it was--daily work, then rest. The arduousness of martial law was eliminated long ago. There is no curfew, there are no restrictions on freedom of movement. Public life goes on without interference. Pietrzak [Jan Pietrzak, political and social satirist] has announced that his cabaret appearances will begin again. What it comes down to then is that in the plane of activity mentioned at the beginning the only difference between our today and our anticipated tomorrow will be the absence of the voice in the telephone receiver announcing "This call is being monitored".

2. Insofar as public matters are concerned, there are subjects which, at the moment that the 12 December 1981 decree is lifted, should be discussed with concern. Not the least of which is the need for an undisturbed functioning of the national economy.

In the recent past we were harassed by interruptions in work and by demonstrations. There were various motives behind them. To the justifiable demands for reform of the economy and social relations were added also grievances dating far into Poland's past, giving them a priority importance in political activities.

It is a fact that our history abounds with tragic events (moreover, we were not always victims). We find examples of our peculiar national masochism everywhere--in the newspapers, in films, in the theater. We are living too much in the past and frequently foreign, great statesmen have publicly made comments to us about this, advising us that while we remember those who gave their lives for Poland we should primarily concern ourselves with the fate of those who are living.

We dream that this time, after so many bitter lessons, the Pole will stop being an Utopian and base his life here and now on his own daily, persistent and creative work.

ROLE OF BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 43, 5 Dec 82 pp 4, 9

[Article by: Wladyslaw Kata [deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Science and Education Department]: "The 'Noblesse Oblige' of Party Membership"]

[Text] The editors of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI approached me for a statement on current tasks of the PZPR training organizations. This problem's time has come, because the reporting campaign is now coming to an end in all the party organizations. In the course of these meetings the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress is being assessed. Every party organization and each of their members are expected to answer the question of the extent to which they contributed in their group to carrying out the tasks set down in the resolution of the Ninth Congress and how they worked to draw colleagues outside the party into participation in the socialist renewal.

At the report meetings there is also the listing of new tasks, the specification of the most important directions of action.

On Behalf of Dialogue

A great deal of the discussion is devoted to the problem of the patriotic movement for national rebirth [PRON]. Our teacher group, owing to its social-upbringing role and function, has great possibilities for entering into the current of socialist renewal in the towns, in rural areas, and in the great industrial centers, and indeed, many of the party training organizations, particularly in the rural areas, have inspired the national rebirth movement. The basic party organizations [POP] in the urban areas have also entered into it. The active participation of teachers who are PZPR members in this movement proves the understanding of the current situation and the desire to contribute to stabilizing our sociopolitical life. It is after all a question of resolving all meritorical problems through dialogue rather than rubble and rocks, the defiling of the graves of Soviet soldiers, the misuse of national symbols and the instruction of school children in the principles of conspiracy, or infecting them with mistrust

of the socialist system and hatred for the USSR. Regardless of whether or not a teacher belongs to the party, regardless of the world view he holds, it is his duty and basic charge to protect our young people from exploitation by enemies of socialism to commit acts to disrupt law and order in the Polish People's Republic. During the period of martial law, which prevented anarchy in our country, through the work of officers of the Polish Army and enlightened teachers we managed to protect many pupils from getting into the underground struggle and from propaganda coming from radio broadcast centers of ideological sabotage.

What sort of tasks do we face in the light of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, and the report meetings of the POP in the schools?

In Defense of Secular Values

The defense of the socialist system of values in teaching and moral training, of the secular nature of the school, and of the principles of tolerance of world views, these are our tasks stemming, for example, from the provisions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. It is not without reason that I am writing this, because the phenomena which appeared in 1980-1982 -- here I have in mind the fanatical parents' hanging religious emblems in the schools -- were a violation of the Polish Constitution, especially Article 82, and the Polish Sejm's 1961 law on the system of education and moral training.

The violation of the secular nature of the Polish school is a phenomenon which could be understood in Western schools and it undermines the integrity of the progressive nature of contemporary Poland. The secular school is a great achievement of human civilization. It is a universally accepted principle just about everywhere in the world. The secular nature of the school, after all, insures respect for human dignity, freedom of conscience and religion, equal rights for all citizens, regardless of their religious convictions.

The division of church and state is the basis for the application of these principles. This is not just in our country but also in the Western countries. At the same time the party takes the position of not dividing but of unifying the Polish nation on the basis of respect for civil rights and the citizenry's harmonious life together, regardless of world outlook. The history of many countries, Poland included, shows that it is just the adherence to the above-mentioned principles, especially division of church (and religious ties) and state, and therefore school, that is the best assurance of respect for the right of every citizen to his own world view.

Here I want to emphasize that our party is not demanding that every teacher be a Marxist, but the party has the right to require every teacher to give children and youth information in the realm of his subject, using the most modern achievements and according to the curriculum being employed.

The stand taken by teachers and education officials on behalf of the secular nature of the school and its protection from clericalism are their duty stemming from Article 82 of the Polish Constitution and the 1961 law on the system of education and upbringing, regardless of the private world view or religious convictions one may have.

The principle of division of church and state, of school and faith, is not formally questioned by the church hierarchy. The Catholic church in our country recognized the fact of the division of church and state in a general formulation, but it has not adjusted to this principle in the sphere of upbringing. This is also the reason for the slogan of the "ideologically neutral" school. There have been other terms too: the multiview school, the school of world-view pluralism. This is also the reason for the spectacular drives conducted by the church, like the college pastorate, oases for children during the vacation period, and so on.

Nowhere on the earth is there a society with a single world view (Islam, Buddhism, Catholicism, and other religions exist), all nations in this respect being pluralistic, but this by no means implies the need for the mechanical transfer of the habits and customs of religious belief to the state legal, governmental, and political system. Regardless of the political system, the modern, contemporary school is a secular, lay school which is tolerant, one in which children are taught and brought up in keeping with the principles developed by science, on the basis of the ideology of the system of values and political structure existing in the given country.

It has long since been recognized that our socialist system of education and upbringing serves training for peace, moral training for living together in a socialist society directed in a democratic manner, that it develops people to participate in life, that this system is based on a scientific view of the world and that it recognizes tolerance of world view and religion.

The secular nature of the school assures respect for the dignity of each pupil. It prevents a division of the pupils into believers and nonbelievers. The basic criterion for assessing the pupil is his knowledge and behavior, regardless of whether he goes to church or not.

We must remember that it is only the secular nature of the school which assures tolerance, prevents a division of children and young people into believers and nonbelievers, and introduces the supreme value, regardless of belief, of learning, recognition of the laws of the development of nature and society, and the assimilation of a socialist system of values.

Following from the constitutional principle of the separation of church and state is the state's obligation to insure equal rights for all its citizens, regardless of their views on religion, to guarantee them freedom of conscience and religion. Respect for these principles also in

terms of the secular nature of the school is the best guarantee of the peace needed in the process of instruction and upbringing in the school and the respect of every pupil's right to choose his own world outlook.

Concerning Youth Matters

The other current task of POPs in the schools and of party echelons is to give special care, concern, and friendship to ideological and moral training organizations for youth and to the pupil self-government which makes up the democracy of the school. School youngsters' interest in the issues of renewal, the restoration of proper values to real socialism, contemporary events, modern literature, and the most recent history must not be exploited for purposes contrary to socialist principles of upbringing. No school organization can be guided by private persons outside the school or by teachers who fail to recognize the socialist nature of upbringing. In the schools, especially those above the elementary level, attempts are being made to circulate inimical flyers, and illegal publications encouraging participation in street demonstrations. It is the duty of teachers who are members of the PZPR and pedagogic councils to protect youth from these dangers.

School children have reacted spontaneously to the development of the situation and has assessed it emotionally, often to the extreme. This has led to a shattering of attitudes, to increased distrust in adults, and to the criticism of the actions of officials, but despite the instances where young people have taken to the streets and tried to resolve problems with rocks, for the most part they are not negative on the ideas of socialism or its universal values like social justice, the dignity of human beings, the creation of equal opportunities for all, or the recognition of work as the source of personal success. They are not against the PZPR as the leading force in the state. They are against the warped mechanisms of the functioning of officials, against the progressing differences in wealth. On the other hand, they are clearly subject to myths and allusions on the value of bourgeois democracy and the Western lifestyle. This is partly the result of glaring gaps in knowledge about the laws of social development and of ideological and class struggle, partly the result of lack of familiarity with the processes and facts of most recent history, including that of People's Poland. And the teacher and the school are responsible for that to a great extent.

We are not bringing up young people. We limit our influence to a verbal presentation of the basic values. It is a question of so organizing the life and activity of those being educated that they may come to those values on their own, that they may become aware of them and convinced of them and begin to assimilate them as their own. Pedagogic theory teaches that effective ideological and political training consists of the process made up of the following three major elements: recognition, experience, and action. In the practice of our upbringing, there has been no cohesiveness among these elements. There has also been a loosening of the

upbringing ties between the school and its teachers, and children and youngsters, between the school and the parents. Meanwhile, in our situation the school, in the upbringing process, should play the role of coordinator between the teacher and the family and peer environment. The youth organizations are allies of thoughtful influence.

The youth movement is based on the principle of ideological and political unity in a variety of organizational forms. This principle will remain timely for a long time, owing to the specific nature and traditions of the Polish youth movement.

The variety of forms of youth movement organizations has many advantages. It makes it possible to meet the social and ideological interests of specific groups of youngsters. It provides the opportunity of choice as to organizational membership. It liberates the initiative and ambitions for having an impact among youth outside of organizations. It facilitates the satisfaction of cultural and vocational ambitions and the creation of new things.

The organizational forms of the youth movement are not a goal in and of themselves. They are to serve the supreme goals of ideological activity and its meritorical content, to liberate and activity and initiative that is consistent with the socialist upbringing ideal.

The basis of the ideological unity of the various forms of youth movement organizations is the recognition of the socialist system of values in the sphere of consciousness and therefore the socialist upbringing ideal and in the sphere of the basis of recognition of the social ownership of the means of production and socialized forms of management in the national economy. The youth movement also is involved in recognition of the state Constitution and that of our international allies, along with the leading role which the PZPR plays in building socialism in our country.

Commitment to Partnership

The tendency towards modern thinking so natural among youth, the ambition to make one's own contribution in creating lasting values, must be recognized by the society and officials. We should also take note of the tendencies so natural among youth, those involving changes, the improvement of what is, the instigation of innovations and reforms within the framework of the socialist way of being and lifestyle. In treating the subject of youth and youth organizations, we must gear ourselves to partnership, to independence fitting the intellectual level, to ideological inspiration, and to meritorical discussion and polemics. In our contacts with the youth movement, any attitude of dictating to youth or of being satisfied with the mediocre, of rubber stamp approval, must be relegated to the past.

Party echelons and organizations must provide the youth organizations with the conditions for implementing the self-upbringing process,

statutory tasks, the structuring of attitudes, views, the exchange of ideas, judgments, and opinions. To this end, the basic party organizations should devote more attention and time to the problems of the work of youth organizations. They should show them more friendship, understanding, and help, and at the same time they should practice a respect for these organization's self-governing ability and independence.

The youth movement longs to make its contribution to the socialist renewal by restoring the authentic content to the regime's ideals, by taking a greater part in the institutions of socialist democracy and the building of social self-government structures, by creating human relations which fit the socialist principles of living together in society, by combatting the adverse phenomena of socioeconomic and political life and divergences from the principles of socialism.

Contacts between the party and the youth organizations must not be formalized or bureaucratized. We must remember that the party's leading role vis-a-vis the youth organizations does not mean interference in their internal life. Respect for the independence of the organizations, ideological inspiration, and partnership treatment are only a few of the requirements which the POPs and the party echelons must meet with regard to the youth movement.

Equally important is the structuring of partnership relations between the school principal's office and pedagogic council, and the school POP, and in the future this will also involve the teacher union movement. The current interest of this task stems from the continuing divisions in the pedagogic councils. It is a question of avoiding conflicts, real and potential, and of shaping proper human relations. The basic party organizations can achieve this goal, if they manage to meet two conditions: to insure partnership and to see that PZPR members excel in instruction and upbringing activity. The social activity and initiative of the POP can lead to a better school atmosphere and higher-level work in the schools. It can also exert an influence on the process of democratizing the management of school facilities. In our party's concept, the development of self-government in education means increasing the shared responsibility and participation of teachers, pupils, parents, extramural institutions, and youth organizations, involvement in the effects of education and upbringing. The real socialization of the school consists of just this.

How to Gain Moral Authority

The congress resolution and statute define the tasks of every POP and the requirements made of PZPR members. The Marxist-Leninist parties have come to treat the statutes as the party constitution, that is, a collection of the basic principles and norms regulating intraparty life, the duties and privileges of party members, and the rights and responsibilities of the party echelons.

The party headed the renewal movement aimed at maintaining and bolstering in practice the values, ideas, and principles of socialism. After August 1980 many POPs in the schools got lost and were unable to stand at the forefront of the renewal process. Many party members who were teachers left the ranks of the party, unable to stand the psychological pressure of bearing the blame for the mistakes they committed. Party membership in education declined. At the present time about 30 percent of all teachers belong to the party.

In every sociovocational group the position and moral authority of the POP depends on the overall sociopolitical situation in the country, but it also depends on the everyday attitudes of party members, on the content and level of party work, on the impact POP has on resolving a given group's most urgent problems. The position of POP in the school and in the group depends not only on its level of activity but also on the party echelon recognition of meritorical tasks facing a given POP. In party work we are striving to have the POP in the schools integrate their activity and create local committees. The spokesman for educational interests at the gmina level should be the POP of the consolidated gmina schools, and at the voivodship echelon, it should be the education commissions of the voivodship committees, or, in large urban centers, the local committees.

Each POP bears the responsibility of conducting activity in at least two directions. First, the whole realm of inner party life. Second, its impact outside, that is, acquainting people outside the party with its stand, in order to win followers. The basic condition for the POP to perform this external function effectively is activity within the party, and therefore a suitable level of work among party members, the living pulse of party activity and the setting of new tasks which the POP is about to undertake.

In the case of the teacher, party membership means a great sense of responsibility for the level of teaching, for the socialist content of upbringing. This means identifying with the program and decisions of the party congress and statute. Party membership also creates the obligation of presenting the party's position to colleagues at work.

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KOSZALIN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Local Social-Political Situation

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 5 May 82 p 3

[Article by A. Cz.: "The Sociopolitical Situation in High Schools and at WSluz [Higher School of Engineering]; Industry for Agriculture"]

[Text] (Own information) At yesterday's [4 May 1982] meeting of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] Executive Board, which was conducted by KW secretary Zdzislaw Chmielewski, the sociopolitical situation in voivodship high schools and the WSluz in Koszalin was discussed.

The atmosphere among high school youth is more positive than it was last year. While the tensions and unrest that plague various social groups are also felt here, in recent months and weeks young people have manifested a more responsible attitude and they have become more disciplined. In some schools, effective teaching-upbringing has helped to bring this about, together with the activity of young people's organizations and student self-governing bodies. In some institutions, however, youth organizations and self-governments have not become active, and their ranks are dwindling.

According to an assessment of the situation conducted by the school superintendent's office, most post-elementary teachers have the proper ideological-political attitude. Some members of the teaching cadre, however, are passive, have closed minds or hold views that are hostile to our reality and the socialist model of upbringing.

Such a divergent situation among youth and teachers required that party organizations in the schools step up their ideological-upbringing activities and their efforts to consolidate the teaching community around the tasks that face the school in the socialist state.

The same tasks confront the party College Committee [KU] and all of its members at WSluz. The atmosphere at the school is calm, but the sociopolitical situation here is still complex due to a campaign lasting many months that was carried out by marginal Solidarity elements and the Independent Association of Students [WZS]. After a period of serious difficulties, including internal

problems within the higher school party organization, the PZPR KU is now becoming more active, and is trying to focus intraschool discussions and actions around the problems of the further development of the institution, the improvement of its teaching activity and the expansion of scientific work and its closer connection with the needs of the region.

Another topic of yesterday's KW Executive Board deliberations was the issue of an increase by Koszalin industry in the production of machinery, equipment and replacement parts for the needs of agriculture. Many steps have been taken in this direction. For example, AGROMA [Agricultural Equipment Trade Enterprise] organized an information exchange and clearing house in order to encourage plants to undertake production for agriculture. Thus far, 46 plants from the voivodship as well as several school and trade shops have made production bids, announcing that they will go into production of approximately 100 items of spare parts and small farm equipment. Contracts have been signed for the production of coal steaming plants, harrows, blowers, fertilizer spreaders, meadow rollers, farm trucks and the like. Some of these products are already on the market.

There is a great deal of interest in plants in the production of farm equipment. Further proposals are being made; trial models of small equipment are being produced. However, state local industry has made a poor showing in this area, since it has not yet announced any proposals for going into production for farming, despite the fact that this is possible.

What has been done thus far is merely a start; our needs run much higher and we are far from meeting them. In spite of serious raw and materials shortages, however, the potential of our plants is also much greater. We must do everything we can to get them moving as soon as possible.

The KW Executive Board also heard reports on the current sociopolitical situation in the voivodship. The 1 May holiday festivities went very well in Koszalin; there were mass manifestations by working people, marches, rallies, meetings and cultural programs.

Voivodship People's Council Activities

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 9-10 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by (A. B.): "An Assessment of the Work of WRN [Provincial People's Council] Councilmen-PZPR Members and Non-party Members; The State of Preparedness for the Tourist Season"]

[Text] The PZPR KW Executive Board of Koszalin, which deliberated yesterday [8 June 1982] under the chairmanship of KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek, was informed about the work of WRN councilmen, both PZPR members and nonparty members. The basis of the report, which was prepared by a group appointed in January 1982, were the reports of party echelons at the basic level and the parent party organizations, as well as observations made by the WRN office. Many changes have been made in the WRN during the present term. At present it is composed of 120 councilmen, including 36 workers, 25 peasants,

53 white-collar workers and 6 annuitants and pensioners. Most of the councilmen--PZPR members and nonparty councilmen--were spoken of favorably. They are comrades and citizens who are generally beyond reproach in the fulfillment of their professional and social duties, well-known and respected activists at their workplace and place of residence. They take active part in the work of the WRN, in its organs and commissions. In their work, this group of councilmen demonstrates their concern for their constituents and for social problems of the community.

The group also reported that some councilmen treat the mandate entrusted to them by constituents too formally. They have too few meetings with their constituents and lack participation in the work of basic level people's councils and are not active in the work of the WRN itself and its commissions.

Based on the report and discussion, the KW Executive Board made recommendations aimed at streamlining the work of WRN, PZPR-member and nonparty-member councilmen's groups, and at increasing their direct impact on decisions rendered during WRN sessions. It was decided that private conversations should be conducted with councilmen who are not fulfilling their obligations properly. Many recommendations were likewise made concerning the cooperation of party echelons with Provincial People's Council WRN councilmen and basic level councils.

Next the Executive Board learned of the state of readiness for the coming tourist-recreational season. According to a survey done by the UW [Voivodship Office] Physical Culture Department, there is room for about 81,000 people at tourist and vacation facilities, or 2,000 more places than in 1981, and 22,000 people can be fed (outside of FWP [Workers' Vacation Fund] networks and plant centers). The average price for a 2-week vacation ranges from 4,800 to 6,800 zlotys, depending upon the organizer. By the end of May 1982, vacation-tourism enterprises and organizations already had sold 80 percent of all available spaces for the entire (June-September) season. Interesting cultural presentations and sports-recreational exhibitions have been prepared for vacationers and voivodship residents. However, many matters must still be finalized, including steady deliveries of supplies of food, fuel and sanitation-cleaning supplies.

The KW Executive Board recommended that on-the-spot inspections be done of places and routes having special tourism-sightseeing value. The results of the inspections and recommendations will be presented at the next meeting.

Next the KW Executive Board was given a current assessment of the sociopolitical situation in the voivodship by the KW Political-Organizational Department. Actions taken by political-administrative authorities to ease social tensions in various fields of life were discussed. The Executive Board also learned of the development of the ranks of the voivodship party organization during the 5 months of 1982.

Local Economic Reforms

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 28 Jun 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by (w1): "The Implementation of Economic Reform"]

[Text] (Own Service) We are nearing the 6th month since the principles of economic reform began to be put into practice, the 6th month since independent thinking and decisionmaking have become indispensable. How do these processes shape up in daily practice, under crisis economic conditions, given the procurement problems and import restrictions, as well as the resistance of the various groups interested in preserving the old order? The voivodship conference of the party-economic aktiv, which took place in Koszalin last Friday [25 June 1982] was to answer this question. The conference, which was presided over by first KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek, included the participation of enterprise directors, heads of cooperatives and secretaries of plant committees and party organizations of the larger factories throughout the voivodship.

KW Secretary Dzzislaw Chmielewski reported on the state of industry and construction at the time of the initiation of economic reform principles and on the results achieved during the past 5 months.

The assessment of economic results of Koszalin voivodship enterprises for last year was not good. The economic-financial situation of 198 enterprises was evaluated. Of these, 53 enterprises showed combined losses of 3.1 billion zlotys, and the other 145 enterprises showed a profit of 2.1 billion zlotys.

These unfavorable results reduced very severely the turnover funds of enterprises. At the end of 1981, only 27 enterprises were spared this problem while most of the enterprises did not have enough reserves of goods and materials. Construction enterprises were the worst off.

With these drawbacks, the enterprises began to implement the reform--a reform that assumes self-financing. As a bank analysis of enterprise activity shows, this caused some enterprises to lose their credit worthiness as established on the basis of the criteria presently in effect. As of 7 June 1982, the bank had refused basic credit for four enterprises, and in seven cases it made the granting of credit contingent upon an improvement in financial management.

Over the 5-month period in 1982, we did not achieve satisfactory economic results within the voivodship. By comparison with the same period in 1981, the value of production declined by nearly 10 percent. Forty-five enterprises showed a decline in production volume and value, including enterprises that produce and process foodstuffs and manufactured goods to supply the market. In May the unfavorable trend was reversed and the value of production increased by 6 percent over April 1982. However, this left it still below the last April 1981 figures.

To what degree was this the result of the reform regulations?

It was made clear both in the report and in speeches that the economic reform is being initiated under very unfavorable conditions of economic crisis and severe restrictions of imported indispensable raw and other materials. Given these shortages, the market as the basis of the new economic system does not function normally. In its place are the compelling forces of state controls and distribution lists fundamentally complicating the smooth operation of enterprises. For example, particle board producers cannot sell this product to local tradesmen, refrigeration plants are forbidden to supply frozen foods to retail stores and the like. There are also a number of restrictions in the new financing system that inhibit the creation of the necessary incentives for better, more productive work and cause indifference among direct producers. To be succinct--the conditions still do not exist enabling the worker to see the impact of his work upon the results of enterprise activity.

However, there are also still too many examples of the failure to understand the idea and the sense of economic reform. In too many enterprises, the economic reform is identified with the price reform. This happens because shifting over to a new system of operation (which means different methods of work in many enterprises) takes time. Meanwhile, in the practice of enterprises and economic organizations, the reform principles have been implemented for 3 months, i.e., since the Sejm approved the entire packet of laws imposing a new legal order.

The cooperative, which has operated for a long time under the regulations that are now mandatory both in industry and in state construction industry, is in the best position. In these organizations, some revision are being made in organizational structure and authority is being transferred to basic units in some cases. Representatives of cooperatives were quick to point out that they operated according to the self-financing principle long ago, when no one was willing to cover their losses.

Participants in the conference spoke of the pessimistic sign of employment continued at its previous levels. The fear that the reform would cause unemployment has not been borne out in practice. In May, 4,126 openings were announced--some of these positions have been vacant for 3 years. An insignificant decline in employment was caused by the retirement of approximately 2,000 persons and the upbringing leaves taken by approximately 6,000 women. After a temporary lack of growth of employment of white-collar workers, we now observe an increasing trend here as well. Such tendencies contradict the idea of the reform as aiming to shift workers from offices into the production line.

Investment services are very anxious under the present situation. In this particular area, the results take several years. Meanwhile, neither local authorities nor enterprise management possesses long-range economic plans on which investment activity is based.

Speeches revealed the conflicting interests of various professional groups and enterprises. Speakers said that they were used to administrative directives

and prohibitions; at the same time, they demanded vociferously that the various types of collusion among manufacturers be counteracted, including identical pricing and the like.

The conference showed that in the Koszalin voivodship, as in other regions, the economic reform is only in its initial stages. In conjunction with this, considerably more intensive and more effective explanatory and propaganda activity is needed. For example, speakers said that the economic reform as a basic element of the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress and the operational guidelines do not have a proper propaganda frame. Effective visual propaganda explaining the most important reform principles to workforces is lacking. Likewise the party organization in factories has clearly weakened of late and must be more active. It was noted that the party assumed the obligation of implementing the reform and it must fulfill this obligation with consistency.

Executive Board on KC VIII Plenum

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 30 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by (jap)]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday [29 June 1982] the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] Executive Board met in Koszalin under the chairmanship of KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek. Koszalin governor, commissioned Colonel Zdzislaw Mazurkiewicz took part in the meeting.

The most important issue of yesterday's Executive Board meeting was an assessment of the state of implementation of the Seventh PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum by voivodship party echelons and primary organizations. The tasks emanating from the resolutions of this Central Committee plenum, which were then made more specific by the Central Committee Politburo in a pertinent document, were implemented in the Koszalin voivodship party organization according to a special operating schedule adopted by the KW Executive Board. A plenary meeting of the voivodship echelon was also devoted to this subject.

The assessment was based on detailed reports of actions undertaken and implemented by party municipal committees in Kolobrzeg and Szczecinek, the KM-G [City-Gmina Committee] in Baily Bor and the gmina [parish] committees in Goscin, Kolobrzeg and Silnow. The first secretaries of these echelons also participated in the KW Executive Board meeting, answering the many questions and offering their own personal reflections.

The written reports and verbal statements showed that the voivodship, city, city-gmina and gmina committees approached the issue of the total, rapid implementation of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum resolutions with the proper seriousness and concern, often taking valuable initiatives. They paid special attention to such weighty questions as the party's authority, the unity of its ranks and the self-identity of PZPR members in their own communities, and they evaluated the attitudes and the degree of commitment of activists

assigned to work in leadership positions in the state and economic apparatus as well as in institutions and social organizations.

It was emphasized in discussion that a basic question for the effectiveness of party activities is now the quality of work of its primary and section organizations. The effectiveness of their endeavors and their impact upon particular social groups should be a permanent element of an assessment of their work. At the end of this part of the meeting, KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek stated that the systematic, consistent implementation of Seventh Central Committee Plenum resolutions is the only route by which the party can regain its authority in society. This is a long-term effort requiring constant improvement and intensification. Special assistance in this area should be given to groups whose numbers are small and who are in some instances still organizations struggling to exist.

Next the KW Executive Board heard reports on the readiness of tourism-recreational routes and spots for this year's summer tourist season. Groups made up of Executive Board members and responsible employees from the Voivodship Office [UW] prepared these reports on the basis of surveys they had made. The state of readiness for the tourist season is unsatisfactory, especially in the field of ensuring law and order. Consequently, the KW Executive Board charged the director of the UW Sports, Physical Culture and Tourism Department to eliminate any deficiencies that are discovered and to prepare a report by 15 July 1982.

Later in the meeting the Executive Board approved the assumptions of a plan of voivodship echelon work for the third quarter of 1982. This document will be submitted at the plenary meeting of the KW planned for 14 July 1982. This plenum will be held to evaluate work with young people.

At the conclusion of deliberations, the Executive Board heard a report on the efforts of the KW Secretariat and the current socioeconomic situation in the voivodship.

Executive Board on Local Tasks

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 21-22 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by W. N.]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday [20 July 1982] the party KW Executive Board met under the chairmanship of KW Secretary Zdzislaw Chmielewski. Reports were made on the implementation of socioeconomic tasks in the voivodship during the first half of 1982. According to the materials submitted by the PZPR KW Economic Analyses Group, trends in the Koszalin economy reflect nationwide trends. In many industrial enterprises a further decline in production occurred over the same period in 1981. Throughout the socialized economy, the sale of manufactured goods declined by 7.9 percent by comparison with the first half of 1981. While many objective factors have an impact on this--the shortage of raw and other materials, for example, there has also been

considerable organizational carelessness, low work productivity, overly high production costs and the like.

The situation in housing construction is very difficult. During the first half of 1982, less than 25 percent of the planned assumptions for 1982 were executed. The KW Executive Board proposed to devote one of the KW plenary meetings to the problems of construction in the Koszalin voivodship.

The assessment of the socioeconomic situation in the voivodship also shows that everyday services for the people declined, mainly due to their high prices. Export production likewise declined. Market supply basically covered rationing needs. The situation with other nonrationed food items and manufactured goods is worse. In this context, reports were critical of operations in some economic sectors. For example, it was pointed out that farmers are complaining that they have too many eggs, which they cannot sell; meanwhile there is a shortage of eggs in the stores, even at high prices.

During the period under discussion, less grain was procured in the voivodship than during the same period last year. On the other hand, the procurement of butcher cattle increased by more than 22 percent, while procurement of other types of slaughter animals declined, including a decline of more than 6 percent for hogs, a decline of 37.5 percent for sheep, and a decline of 57.6 percent for poultry.

Next the KW Executive Board heard a report prepared by the KW Propaganda and Agitation Department of the subject of discussion of the ideological-programmatic draft declaration "What We Are Struggling For, What We Aspire Toward." Discussions took place in all primary organizations and in local echelons. Members of the voivodship echelon and the KW Secretariat and Executive Board took part in them, as well as instructors and the KW aktiv and the aktiv of local echelons. The contents of the draft declaration was also discussed at regional meetings of the party aktiv. In the estimation of the KW Executive Board, the discussion was not of a homogeneous nature. In many cases, however, it was of a formal nature; for the most part it covered the problems of a given community or factory, rather than the ideological-political contents of the draft declaration. It was also learned that not all PZPR members are fully aware of its contents.

In the Koszalin voivodship, the idea of the declaration was approved by party members; however, many remarks and proposals were made during the discussion. It was generally remarked that it is written in difficult language that is not understood by the average party members.

Next, Executive Board members familiarized themselves with a report from the KW PZPR Political-Organizational Department and the Statute-Organizational Commission concerning the number of members in the party voivodship organization at the end of the first half of 1982. Currently the voivodship party organization numbers more than 35,000 members and candidate members in 59 plant organizations and 125 primary party organizations.

The voivodship party organization is currently made up of 43.1 percent workers, 7.5 percent farmers, 37.5 percent white-collar workers and 11.9 percent from other socioprofessional groups. Members and candidate members include 28.7 percent women and 29.1 percent comrades under age 29.

During the 6-month period of 1982, 108 persons were expelled from the party and 3,430 persons were stricken from the books. The primary reasons for decisions to strike members from the books were the lack of interest in party life, the neglect of statutory duties and requests made to this effect by particular members and candidate members.

During the period under discussion, party organizations took 119 comrades into their ranks. These included 49.6 percent workers, 7.6 percent farmers, 35.2 percent white-collar workers and 7.6 percent from other socioprofessional groups. These are the first positive signs that the process of purging the party is accompanied by the perceptible if slow infusion of its ranks with worthy, ideologically committed people.

Executive Board on Farm Situation

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 28 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by W. N.]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday [27 July 1982] under the chairmanship of KW Secretary Zdzislaw Chmielewski, the KW Executive Board deliberated in Koszalin. They heard a report on the situation in the Koszalin farm industry in light of the July census done to record the number of head of slaughter animals. This census showed a sharp decline of beef cattle and sheep and a dynamic growth of hogs. Beef cattle declined 3.9 percent by comparison with the same period in 1981, including a decline in cows of 1.5 percent. The number of sheep dropped by 6.6 percent. The number of hogs rose by 13 percent, while the number of sows dropped 3 percent.

This year's census shows varied results, both for particular kinds of animals and for agricultural sectors. Private farms fared best, showing a great increase in the number of all types of animals, except sows (for example, the number of heads of cattle increased by 7.4 percent, including a 4.7 percent increase in cows, a 12.7 percent increase in hogs and a 6.4 percent increase in sheep).

Such a significant increase in numbers in this sector emanates both from the stepped-up process of animal production on private farms and from the expansion of animal raising for household use, especially hogs within cities and housing developments. This is likewise the result of the profitability of animal production and the accumulation by farmers of their own fodder from 1981 production.

The socialized sector of agriculture yielded considerably worse results. There were many economic reasons for this--high production costs, procurement prices

and the like. Many recommendations were made at the KW Executive Board meeting for improving the situation in this important economic sector of the voivodship.

Next the KW Executive Board heard reports on the activities of Koszalin youth organizations: the Union of Socialist Polish Youth ZSMP, and the Rural Youth Union ZMW. The ZSMP now has more than 20,000 members, while the ZMW has over 2,000 members grouped together in 106 rural circles. It should be emphasized that there are also rural ZSMP circles; approximately 40 percent of all ZSMP members in the voivodship organization are rural youth. Working class youth (10,000) are the largest group of ZSMP members, and the rest are teachers (more than 8,000). This organization has become somewhat more stable, especially with regard to school-age youth.

The ZMW, on the other hand, grappled with tremendous organizational problems last year--new circles, attempts to appoint gmina boards and the like. Thus far seven ZMW gmina boards have arisen within the Koszalin voivodship. School-age youth likewise make up half the membership of this organization. Only 54 ZMW members are employed in rural educational and cultural institutions and in gmina offices. Only 89 young farmers have ZMW membership cards; 126 ZMW members work in socialized farming.

This numerical data from both organizations needs no further comment. It is indicative of weak elements in the organizational and ideological-upbringing work of both the ZSMP and the ZMW. Much time was also spent discussing these problems at the KW Executive Board meeting. Examples were cited from discussion during the meetings that took place recently with young people in the Koszalin voivodship and included the participation of members of the KW Executive Board and Secretariat. The recommendations resulting from these meetings will be presented during deliberations of the PZPR KW plenum, to be held on 4 August 1982 (materials for the plenum were discussed by the KW Executive Board).

The KW Executive Board also heard a report on the work and operational directions of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP]. These were operations both in the area of party jurisdiction and in preventive measures, broadly understood. In the first half of 1982, 158 party members were expelled from the ranks of the voivodship organizations; approximately 50 percent of these were workers and farmers. During this same period, 3,430 persons were stricken from the party rolls (including 557 PZPR candidate members). Workers and peasants also made up the largest group here (67.5 percent). Most of these left the party at their own request (58 percent), a significant percentage was stricken off due to a lack of interest in the work of the POP [primary party organization] or neglect of statutory duties and the like. WKKP members (four worker-delegates to the Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference were appointed to this commission this year) also conducted many conversations with party members who had violated statutory principles and ethical moral standards; they took part in the meetings of party organizations, discussions, consultations and the like. Similar work is being done by 27 local party control commissions.

The most important tasks being implemented by the WKKP include: counteracting phenomena and attitudes that threaten party unity and violate its ideological and program principles; consistently purging the party of unprincipled people who break statutory norms; and supervising the implementation by party echelons and organizations of their own resolutions and recommendations.

Local Party Meeting

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 25 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by (mir)]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday [24 August 1982] a meeting of first secretaries of local echelons and the regional directors of party work centers was held at the party KW headquarters in Koszalin. KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek opened the discussion by presenting the most important tasks in intraparty, political and socioeconomic work in the near future.

The state of preparations for the election campaign, this important political campaign for the party, coincides with the operating schedule adopted by the KW. Everything possible must be done in party activity to see that the tasks confronting every place of work are executed.

The first secretary discussed the current sociopolitical situation in the voivodship and throughout the country, emphasizing that every echelon, organization and party member must do everything possible to restore calm to our country, for this is necessary to take us out of the crisis.

The work of local party echelons and organizations was discussed. Speakers focussed on resolving supply and economic problems, as well as problems related to the approaching school year. Economic reform issues were also touched upon. Unfortunately, management still knows more about these matters than workers. Participants in the meeting likewise heard a report on the membership figures of the Koszalin provincial party organization.

The meeting, whose purpose was to exchange information and experiences, was concluded in the assertion that there is no vacation in the party. In this work one cannot count the number of hours that echelon members are to spend among the people.

Executive Board on Local Situation

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 3-4-5 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by (W.N.)]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday [2 September 1982] the Executive Board of the party KW met under the chairmanship of KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek.

Participants evaluated the current sociopolitical situation in the voivodship, taking into special consideration the events that occurred in Koszalin on the afternoon of 31 August 1982. Words of recognition were expressed for plant workforces that worked normally through all the changes, despite the intensive propaganda of domestic antisocialist forces and enemy radio broadcasts. The excesses that were provoked in Koszalin center city were censured; law and order forces were thanked for restoring calm quickly. At the same time, many recommendations were made concerning stepping up the political and propaganda activities of party echelons and organizations and conducting a more active campaign against the opponents of socialist Poland.

Next the KW Executive Board heard a report from the KW Socioeconomic Department on the assessments made by primary level organizations and echelons of programs for overcoming difficulties and emerging from economic crisis.

The KW Executive Board recommendations concerning the operation of enterprises address the need for continual assessment and analysis of the implementation of programs in effect and for greater commitment by scientific-technical associations in such efforts.

Next the KW Executive Board discussed the state of preparations for fall field work. The planned harvest for this year in the voivodship is 86,600 hectares of winter grain, including 11,100 hectares of wheat, 72,200 hectares of rye and 3,300 hectares of barley.

About 3,300 hectares more of grain was sown this year than in 1981. The stock of certified seed covers the entire producer need. Mechanical equipment efficiency for fall field work is somewhat worse than during the same period in 1981. According to a report from the Voivodship Farm Board, active efforts are under way to improve the situation in this field.

Also discussed at the KW Executive Board meeting were developments in the matter of wasted tomatoes in Karnieszewice on which we have reported many times in the newspaper. The KW Executive Board ordered the director of the Koszalin NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] delegation to inform Koszalin residents via the press about the results of an inspection conducted in Karnieszewice and charged the KW Farm Commission to make a thorough analysis of the entire picture of the activity of this enterprise.

The KW Executive Board heard an evaluation of the program of artistic presentations that took place in the voivodship during July and August 1982.

Reporting on Local Party Activities

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 15 Sep 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by (wn)]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday in Koszalin a meeting was held at the party Voivodship Committee headquarters that included the participation of the

voivodship aktyw, the first secretaries of local party echelons and the directors of regional centers of party work. Participants discussed current sociopolitical problems and tasks of the voivodship party organization for the PZPR reports campaign that is to begin during the next few days.

During the first part of the meeting, KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek discussed the current sociopolitical situation throughout Poland and in the voivodship. Then he outlined the related tasks confronting voivodship party organizations and echelons and, most of all, party members. He likewise informed those present of the progress of the meeting of KC [Central Committee] First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski with the first secretaries of PZPR voivodship committees and of the recent decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON].

During the second part of the meeting, issues related to the commencing reports campaign within the party were discussed. According to KW Secretary Zbigniew Krenz, the purpose of this campaign is to help strengthen party organizations and echelons, to help consolidate the ideology of PZPR members and unite them in their work. The campaign will be an important point of departure for assessing thoroughly the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress, subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee and voivodship committees and resolutions and recommendations of the POP [primary party organizations] and local party echelons. During the course of the campaign, an assessment will be made of the implementation of recommendations and demands announced last year by party members during the reports-election campaign that preceded the Ninth PZPR Congress. To this end, special groups of the aktyw in POP and party echelons are being appointed at meeting preliminary to reports meetings. Their task is to analyze the implementation of resolutions, recommendations and demands, to prepare assessments of what has been done, what has not been done and why, and what must be done. This is an issue of utmost importance to the party, its credibility and society's confidence in it.

During the meeting, much time was spent in discussion of the forms and methods of work of the KW Sekretariat aktyw, which will be directed to assist primary organizations and local party echelons. Moreover, it was emphasized that the primary task of this aktyw is to prove itself by active political work in its own POP and sociovocational elements, by having an irreproachable attitude and being committed. It will participate in the sociopolitical life of cities, gminas and work places. However, as was especially emphasized at the meeting, it will maintain direct contact with the POP's, with working people in town and in rural areas.

The party KW in Koszalin has already prepared detailed plans for conducting the reports campaign in the voivodship party organizations; it has defined the goals and tasks that confront PZPR members.

Executive Board on Heating Season

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 21 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by W. N.]

[Text] Yesterday [20 September 1982] the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee deliberated under the chairman of KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek. Assessments were made of the state of readiness of the Voivodship Heat-Generating Plant Industry Enterprise [WPEC] for the approaching heating season. The discussion at the meeting concerned issues of vital interest to city residents in the Koszalin voivodship. KW Executive Board members asked the representatives of the institutions and enterprises responsible for this field of our life the basic question: Are they sure that we will have heat in our residences this fall and winter? If they are not sure, then what are they doing to correct problems that are occurring?

Answers to these and many other questions were provided not only by WPEC representatives, but also by the Voivodship Municipal Management Board [WZGK], the Voivodship Housing Cooperative [WSM] and the Voivodship Office [UW]. The situation is much improved over last year at the same time. Most important, there is plenty of fuel. Thus, the major tasks confronting the people who keep us warm in winter revolve around the repair and renovation of heating equipment and the preparation of stokers, who have a high rate of turnover, especially in small boiler-rooms. In the Koszalin voivodship, WPEC manages 164 boiler-rooms, of which only 64 are large, housing development boiler-rooms with a steady crew of workers, for the most part.

In spite of improvement, WPEC, municipal management enterprises and housing cooperatives still have considerable problems caused by materials shortages. There is a shortage of window glass, building paper and insulating materials--rock wool and the like. The lack of a WPEC repair base complicates matters. The Executive Board, drawing upon the recommendations made during last year's heating season when many residences in voivodship cities were insufficiently heated, charged the Koszalin voivodship governor and the KW Economic-Social Department to oversee systematically the implementation of their recommendations.

Next the KW Executive Board heard a report on the actions taken to combat speculation in the Koszalin voivodship in 1982 and the results of these actions. This is an extremely important problem from the social and political point of view. In spite of the fact that in the Koszalin voivodship this problem does not take on the proportions it does in other regions of the country, the KW Executive Board members concluded that it must be accorded much more attention than in the past.

Upon the recommendation of the Voivodship Defense Committee [WKO], an operating schedule of activities was prepared for combatting speculation in the Koszalin voivodship. It stresses preventive measures to keep speculating from arising. KW Executive Board members placed special emphasis upon the need to develop internal control within plants and enterprises, and especially within

the trade network: WSS [Voivodship Consumers' Cooperative] SPOLEM, WZSR [Voivodship Union of Agricultural Cooperatives] and WPHW [Voivodship Domestic Trade Enterprise]. It was stipulated that internal control be placed entirely under superiors. In accordance with KW Executive Board recommendations, a special meeting of the internal control employees of trade enterprises will be devoted to these issues. It was suggested that the members of statutory control (for example, auditing commissions and others) be included in the war against speculation).

The KW Executive Board stated that society senses that the war against speculation is too feeble--it is a sham battle. We hear about it, but see no results. Decisive action is needed; stiffer fines must be imposed upon those who take advantage of our economic problems to prey upon society. In the Koszalin voivodship, UW representatives informed Executive Board members that the work of organizing inspection control brigades has begun. These brigades are to include workers, Citizens' Militia [MO] voluntary reservists and soldiers. These brigades will be organized within all local commissions to fight against speculation.

Next the KW Executive Board heard a report from the KW Department of Science and Education concerning the state of implementation of the PZPR Central Committee Ninth Plenum Resolution on youth issues. Many meetings, deliberations and discussions have been held over these issues. Primary organizations and local echelons are preparing their own programs of action in this area. The KW Executive Board learned, however, that these resolutions are being implemented too slowly. Additional recommendations were made on this matter.

During the final part of this meeting, the KW Executive Board heard a report on the sociopolitical situation in the voivodship and on the current work of the KW Secretariat by Zbigniew Krenz, KW secretary. Following the 31 August 1982 events, most POP's had meetings at which party members censured the disruptions of social calm and law and order. The workforces of many plants did the same. Like the rest of the country, the residents of the Koszalin voivodship want calm, solid work and our country's emergence from the crisis economic that plagues it. However, the antisocialist opposition will not concede. Whispered enemy propaganda is increasing; fliers slanderous of the authorities are appearing, as are slogans that are inimical to socialist Poland. In the name of the good of all voivodship inhabitants, we must oppose these groups of irresponsible people.

Executive Board on Bialogard Situation

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 6 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by (wn)]

[Text] A meeting of the KW Executive Board was held yesterday [5 October 1982] under the chairmanship of PZPR KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek. It was an unannounced field-trip meeting that took place in Bialogard. KW Executive Board members visited 11 production plants and city institutions

and familiarized themselves with the activity of primary party organizations and with the work of enterprises; they visited production departments and spoke with workers about current socioeconomic subjects and social/daily living issues and about the work of trade and service establishments. Next, meetings were held at the plants being visited, at which the problems rankling Bialogard workforces were also discussed. The KW Executive Board members answered the many questions put to them by workers.

Following the plant visits, a joint meeting of the KW Executive Board and the PZPR KM [Municipal Committee] Executive Board was held at the Municipal Committee headquarters. Secretaries of POP's and the directors of the plants that KW Executive Board members had visited also took part in this meeting. The problems that had been brought up by plant workforces were discussed at the meeting. Representatives of the city authorities--the KM first secretary and businessmen from WPHW and WSS SPOLEM--offered explanations. As the meeting ended, KW first secretary took the floor to present the recommendations drawn from the KW Executive Board field-trip meeting, with regard to city authorities, plant directorates and voivodship authorities. Comrade E. Jakubaszek also discussed the most important tasks of party work.

Executive Board on Social-Political Situation

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 13 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by W. N.]

[Text] (Own Service) Yesterday [12 October 1982] the Executive Board of the party Voivodship Committee met under the chairmanship of KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek. They evaluated the sociopolitical situation among plant workforces and the state of efforts related to the organization of a new trade union movement. KW Secretary Zbigniew Krenz gave a report on these subjects.

Calm reigns in Koszalin plants; current production tasks are in progress. Meanwhile, the spirited discussions and conversations about the Sejm trade union law continue. Opinions vary, but most people stress the need for the rapid organization of trade unions as necessary for working people--unions that are concerned for their interests. At the same time, workers express the view that the Sejm trade union law is an important prerequisite of the full normalization of domestic sociopolitical life.

As of yesterday [12 October 1982], approximately 600 initiatives groups had arisen in Koszalin voivodship plants conducting activity aimed at organizing trade unions. Most of these groups came into being in Koszalin city plants. Their members say that the doubts and ambiguities that plant employees express most often emanate from their lack of familiarity with the Sejm law. Thus, making people aware of its content is a matter of extreme urgency. Plant radio centers should be used more for this purpose--both to familiarize workforces with the law itself and to broadcast commentaries and the statements of the representatives of particular Sejm deputy clubs. In many plants, special

consultation centers are being set up in which plant employee services explain the content of the law and offer practical counseling. The law is displayed on bulletin boards and messages are posted concerning the organization of initiatives groups and their activities.

The problems of the trade union movement are also spoke of at plant party meetings.

Next, the KW Executive Board heard a report from the KW Political-Organizational Department concerning sociovocational changes and changes in the membership of the voivodship party organization. The Koszalin voivodship PZPR now has 36,000 members and candidate-members in 58 plant organizations and 1,242 POP's. The voivodship party organization breaks down into 42.8 percent workers, 7.5 percent farmers, 37.7 percent white-collar workers and 12 percent in other sociovocational groups. The PZPR voivodship membership includes 28.5 percent women and 28.9 percent comrades under the age of 29.

Significant changes have occurred during the past 2 years in the number of members in the voivodship party organization. Over 9,000 persons left the party, either being stricken from the rolls or expelled. From 1 January 1982 to 30 September 1982, more than 4,000 persons were stricken or expelled. While the reasons for this varied, as a rule those who left were passive; those who, by their attitude, or behavior undermined the party's authority in their plants or their milieu were expelled. Ultimately this helped to consolidate the party, to strengthen it and to put it on the offensive. During this same period, 165 new candidate-members were accepted into the party.

A reports campaign is now underway in the party voivodship organization. These meetings have already taken place in more than 100 POP's. At the same time, the training of POP secretaries is being carried out in regional party work centers. This is of considerable help to them in their execution of party activities.

Executive Board on Reporting Campaign

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 27 Oct 82 p 6

[Article by W. N.]

[Text] (Own Service) The Executive Board of the party Voivodship Committee met yesterday [26 October 1982] under the leadership of the PZPR KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek. Executive Board members familiarized themselves with the progress of the reports campaign in the voivodship party organization. Andrzej Lewandowski, director of the KW Political-Organizational Department, presented a report on preparations for this extremely important political-organizational campaign and on its progress thus far.

The reports campaign in the Koszalin voivodship has been preceded by political-organizational work in POP's and local institutions. Training has been conducted for 1,500 POP secretaries and plant committee secretaries in

regional party work centers. In many POP's, preliminary meetings either have been held or are now being held to assess the state of execution of the recommendations and demands made during the past year, as well as to evaluate the implementation of PZPR Ninth Congress resolutions and those of subsequent KC [Central Committee] and KW plenary meetings.

Approximately 10 percent of the reports meetings have been held thus far in the Koszalin voivodship party organization. The primary motive for these meetings is to take account of motions and resolutions, to strengthen the POP's ideologically and to unite and consolidate the operations of party organizations and echelons. These problems have been widely discussed; plant activities to organize new trade unions and to improve the work of social commissions have also been discussed extensively. They became much more sharply defined during discussion at the KW Executive Board meeting that included the participation of first secretaries from the large production plants: KAZEL [UNITRA] Electronics Industry Plant [ZPE] and UNITRA [UNIMA] Vacuum Technology Plant [ZTP] in Koszalin, UNITRA-UNITECH Technical-Production Enterprise in Bialogard, POLAM [SZCZECINEK] Installation Equipment Plant in Szczecinek and TELKOM-TELCZA Sub-Assembly and Telecommunications Equipment Plant in Czaplinek. This produced a substantive discussion on the place and the role of the party in the production plant and on the duties and obligations of party members in production, in actions taken to improve the working and living conditions of workforces and in their commitment to the struggle against our political and ideological opponents. The recommendations made by the KW Executive Board aim at giving POP's more help than in the past in their daily ideological-upbringing work.

Next, the KW Executive Board familiarized itself with the socioeconomic situation in the voivodship during the past three quarters of 1982. During that period, 77.5 percent of the yearly plan was completed. The least progress in the yearly plan for the sale of products and services was made in the Bialogard Tanning Factory, the Metal-Timber Labor Cooperative in Swidwin and the VIS Tool-Cutting Plant in Koszalin. There are also significant delays in housing construction (this will be the topic of the next KW party plenum). Tasks in export production are being implemented in a satisfactory manner. The market situation continues to be difficult. Shortages of food items occurred for the following: jams, juices, food concentrates, teas, grain coffee and natural coffee. The KW Executive Board passed motions on these issues aimed at eliminating the rank carelessness in this area.

Next, the KW Executive Board familiarized itself with the plans for the voivodship celebration of the 65th anniversary of the Great Socialist October [Russian] Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the birth of the Soviet Union. A public celebrations committee was appointed with PZPR KW First Secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek as its chairman.

The KW Executive Board also familiarized itself with the operational principles of the PZPR KW readership for the 1982/83 academic year and approved the list of KW readers. During October, a Voivodship Center for Ideological Training was opened. The KW Executive Board approved the appointment of Stanislaw Konczak as its director. He was formerly the director of the KW Education and Science Department.

STUDENTS GIVE OPINIONS ON NEW ASSOCIATION

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 29 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Krzysztof Domarecki, Janina Wysoczanska, Andrzej Wojciechowski, Eqa Dziarska, Andrzej Palichowski, Piotr Pradela, Andrzej Wilk and Dariusz Dumanowski, by Ewa Kupczynska, Ewa Grunert, Dariusz Koniec and Marek Truszkowski; date and place not given]

[Text] Several days after the Fourth SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] Convention and the ZSP [Association of Polish Students] founding Congress, we decided to poll student opinion of the creation of a new organization. The statements gathered by our correspondents follow.

Krzysztof Domarecki, second year philosophy student at Wroclaw University: I believe that the Fourth SZSP Congress perceived the historic opportunity of creating a student organization open to all students, regardless of their world view. It saw that a union that has a political program cannot appeal to the masses, since this requires a high level of awareness of all members, and the academic community holds diverse political and world views. It is necessary today that the student movement be adapted to the pluralistic, very fragmented nature of our community. Students today are generally disinclined toward the existing structures.

I believe that the new organization has many opportunities for reaching all students. It places major emphasis upon the operation of activist student groups, upon the activity of people linked together by a common passion within the framework of the student club, the student theatre, academic circles, tourist groups and dormitory self-governments.

It is important and of value that during the ZSP Congress, all groups making up the academic community, including members of the former NZS [Independent Association of Students], former SZSP activists and ZMD [Union of Democratic Youth] activists came to an understanding. After many hours of discussion, they emerged with a common understanding. A formula was prepared that was clear enough to satisfy the needs of all students. I attended the ZSP Congress as a representative of the self-government of dormitories; I saw how diverse, sometimes extreme views clashed during discussion. Nevertheless, we did reach an understanding.

The ZSP is a great opportunity for the academic community only if students do not mistrust it from the beginning, but calmly examine the proposals that the ZSP Congress included in its basic documents.

I believe that is is an opportunity enabling students to be the first group in Poland to find a common language, in spite of their diversity and their various factions.

Janina Wysoczanska, fourth year pharmacy student at the Medical Academy in Wroclaw:

I find it a very hopeful sign that the ZSP is to be a sociovocational organization representing the interests of all students. I am counting on the fact that the new organization will be solidly occupied with issues of student everyday life, and social issues. These are very important under today's circumstances, especially for students who live in dormitories and often encounter serious material problems. It was difficult for us to approach the SZSP with our problems. My girlfriends and I did not feel that this organization was doing anything in this area. During our first and second years, we did not know where to go with our problems--we were always looked down upon.

The ZSP declaration promises a great deal; in my opinion these are still mere slogans. I will wait and see whether it is only the banner that has changed. I will see who will be in a position of authority, and whether the authorities will be former SZSP activists. This is important. I hope that not only the name will change. I would like to be active in the ZSP but only if this organization fulfills my expectations. Otherwise, I will restrict my activities to my present work in the dormitory self-government.

Andrzej Wojciechowski, Wroclaw Polytecnic:

I have a sneaking suspicion that the "s" that is taken out of the organization's name is calculated to lure students. The SZSP declaration from 1980 is very similar to the 1982 ZSP declaration. Then why change the name? Personally I do not believe that it will be a new organization. Changing the name every few years does not mean an automatic change in operations.

Ewa Dziarska, Lodz University:

I believe, along with others in our faculty, that the Congress fulfilled most people's expectations. By "most" I mean not only the members of the former SZSP or NZS, but also that majority that was indifferent to the actions of both of these organizations. Previous formulas left them out, while the newly adopted formula that says that the ZSP is a sociovocational organization that is open to people holding diverse world views is broad enough and objective enough to be acceptable to this majority.

I followed the Congress in the papers and on the radio. I was disturbed by two things. Why were deliberations carried over an extra day? There was a great deal of consultation and ground work before the Congress. Second, I was disturbed by the election of the ZSP chairman--there should have been

at least four rounds. Are these "reverberations" from previous months or is a new organization really being organized? Was the election of the organization's head democratic? Our delegates will have to answer these questions for us. When all of the materials from the Convention and the Congress are in, we will find out for ourselves.

The ZSP will gain many adherents if it abides consistently by the contents of its declaration. The student population is divided--it is perhaps the most divided group in the country. Thus, the Association should act in accordance with the moods and needs of the majority. In this way, the academic community will coalesce relatively rapidly and the existing barriers will be broken down. These barriers make life uncomfortable. We must also remember, however, that we must reject everything negative about the activity of the former ZSP. I have in mind in particular the year 1968.

Andrzej Palichowski, Lodz Polytechnic:

The Convention and the Congress ran according to my expectations. I believe that the majority expected the results and provisions that came about. The delays and electoral democracy were somewhat calculated from above. This does cause one to wonder, since it is to be an organization of all students. I do think that the ZSP will be an organization for all students--whether from the NZS, the "Young Democrats" or Catholic groups. It is to be an open organization in terms of world view, but for all those who accept its statute. Some people believe that initially it will be difficult for the ZSP. Students will be skeptical. This is not surprising. If an organization is to be credible from the outset, it must have an entirely new cadre, one that does not have a history of activism in the SZSP or other organization. New people may be awkward at the beginning, but they are much more sincere and without liabilities. One who has done something is already labelled. It is the same in the student community as elsewhere. The activity of organizations and of those people who hold positions in them should be the result of all tendencies that occur in our society. However, it should also be the result of our expectations--the whole gamut of them. And this can be fulfilled only by new people.

Regarding the politics of the ZSP, Cezary Droszcz accurately observed in an interview that there is no apolitical organization. The current ZSP formula enables one to discuss, express his views and deepen his knowledge. I am especially pleased with the announcement of the development of "political" forms. On the other hand, it is good that the issues of SZSP and ZSP property were settled immediately. Perhaps some bargaining took place, but we in the "backwoods" knew nothing of it. This is the property of students--former students, present students and future students.

Piotr Pradela, fifth year student in political science, Slask University:

The now-concluded SZSP Convention and ZSP Congress were without a doubt very great events in the student movement that reverberated throughout the higher school student community, not merely throughout the community of those previously associated. Personally I believe that the deliberations of this association had a number of results expressed in terms of the two most vital documents--the declaration and the Association program resolution.

Perhaps the elections of the authorities did last a little too long, prolonging deliberations by one day. Perhaps the results of these elections were not entirely pleasing to our community, and not only because our candidate "did not get in." Generally, however, the Warsaw meeting of the academic aktiv should bring about the necessary changes in the social and vocational activity of the student movement. I believe that the ZSP has many opportunities for becoming an integral part of the higher school community, but this will certainly not happen immediately, nor will it attract everyone--but this is not the issue. The Association, drawing upon the extensive achievements of the SZSP, has changed significantly the formula of its operation by comparison with the former organization. While it is open to all regardless of their world view, it does not seek to represent the entire student community. In other words, if the SZSP was an organization for students, the ZSP is an association of students--here lies the basic change. The Association will have no room for "mannequins," but only for those who are truly active within their particular groups and agendas. Everyone, not only association members, will be able to take advantage of the events organized by the ZSP. But a basic criterion of membership is activism; activism is also the basic guarantor of the organization's becoming more authentic and genuine.

Andrzej Wilk, fifth-year student in the mining faculty of Slask Polytechnic in Gliwice:

I think that the new formula of operation of the student movement affords a greater opportunity for this organization to become a real representative of academic youth, both internally and externally. Clearly this will not happen immediately; time is needed for the working out of a suitable program. While there are many who are willing, I do not anticipate a flood of ZSP membership requests. The formal admittance in the Association and the possession of a membership card are not the issue here, but active work and social activity above all. A credible student organization was greatly needed by the community, and this organization should be trusted, especially since we are not starting out from zero, but from the foundation built by the SZSP and its predecessors.

Dariusz Dumanowski, second year student in history, Gdansk University:

The SZSP Convention summed up the 9 years of this organization's work and capped the discussion that has lasted for over half a year within the SZSP and among active student groups. In accordance with the recently discussed draft of a three element model for the student movement, i.e., the self-government as the sole representative of students, a sociovocational organization and ideological-upbringing organizations, the SZSP and students who were not SZSP members concluded an understanding and jointly created the ZSP.

The ZSP Congress was very stormy and real. Those people who attended saw why deliberations lasted for 40 hours without a break and with full determination.

The new organization is creating a plane of understanding of all students. The hope is growing that the ZSP will be an organization that suits better both those who were active thus far and those who will join us in the future.

Our opportunities depend upon the work of the people who will build the ZSP, upon the creation of a conductive atmosphere and upon the elimination of certain distortions, i.e., reading Convention documents contemporaneously and not opting for a reading in terms of the past. I believe that during the initial period, students will approach the ZSP with distrust, but if the ZSP tries to solve important matters for people and if its members have a real impact upon directions of operation, these obstacles will be overcome. It is a vital fact that the policy of the ZSP rests upon its members' keeping an open mind upon the issues of crucial importance to the student community.

There is thus the hope that the Association of Polish Students, an organization of a sociovocational nature, will fulfill the expectations of the community. In any event, the Convention and Congress deliberations and the resultant documents engender hope. As always, they will be infused with sense and meaning by concrete individuals, people who, by their everyday work and new ideas, will want to fill in the framework sketched out by the higher-ups. The student organization, fighting for student issues and founded upon the experience of the student movement, is beginning its work in the higher schools. We offer our best wishes for its success.

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HISTORIAN DISCUSSES PILSUDSKI, HISTORY, POLITICS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

/Interview with Dr. Andrzej Garlicki, professor of interwar period history, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz; date and place not specified/

/Text/ /Question/ During the past two years, we have heard repeatedly about the need "to deny" history. This idea derives its negative origin in the connection of history with politics. And this--at the beginning--lets us talk about the dependency of history and politics, especially as regards the interwar period. This period in the Polish People's Republic has been presented and interpreted in various ways, depending upon the tactical needs of politics.

/Answer/ History, especially contemporary history, can never completely tear itself away from politics. This is especially true when there is either a change in the authorities' views or a change in the political system. Each new government looks for its genesis in history and has the right to define for itself what is most important. However, it is forbidden to manipulate history and change it to suit the needs of the moment.

It is said that gentlemen do not discuss facts. The same must be with history. Various facts can be interpreted, commented on and fought over or used for propaganda, but one cannot silence facts nor negate them. Then it is not history.

If facts are falsified or disturbed, a political risk arises. The receiver can check the facts relatively easily. If he/she finds that deception has taken place, then the receiver will not believe the rest. This is why the use of history by politicians in an instrumental way is against their interests.

/Question/ Why has the Pilsudski period been so one-sidedly and negatively interpreted and modified in the postwar period? It has been beaten into our heads that everything before the war was bad, and especially the "sanacja" regime. Pilsudski was a dreary, threatening and tyrannical dictator, all of which has been put into the minds of the younger generation, along with thinking that he was a fascist. At the same time, other views have been expressed at home. Even today older people hang portraits of "The Grandfather" or "The Commander" on their walls. Pilsudski is remembered as kind, warm and funny with his large and trustable mustache.

/Answer/ What you have said is proof that myths cannot be used to fight the facts, no matter what the historical needs of a given moment. But first a condition, I do not like the term "Pilsudskiism". It is pejorative, and came from the political battles that took place even before the war. From now on we shall use the term in a neutral sense.

/Question/ Let us return, however, to the reasons for the postwar character assassinations.

/Answer/ In 1944, there came to power those groups, among them the intelligentsia, which not only had been in the opposition during the interwar period but also had been frequently repressed. They had then, naturally, very negative views toward the regime and its reality. These views were made negative by sheer emotion.

/Question/ It is from this then that the political evaluations were made and the terminology was derived?

/Answer/ Of course. They were above all political evaluations. They became an element in the lives of these people, in many ways formulated during the years of imprisonment by the "sanacja" regime. In such a situation, during a continuing political fight, conditions did not exist for objectivity, research or evaluation. During the period of the mid-1940's, mid-1950's and even to the end of the 1960's, a "denial" of the period occurred.

This is also why there were harsh evaluations of the 1920's and a continued misrepresentation of what actually took place. All comparisons in the areas of economics, production and culture were based on the prewar period. Today one can laugh at this, but then the authors of the comparisons were people who spent their youth in that period. For them there was no history and the comparisons verified the credibility of their own actions. Moreover, the censors emphasized not only the war but also the change in the political system.

/Question/ You stated "to the end of the 1960's." Did the Gierek government then introduce "new" views?

/Answer/ In the case here, yes. These were people from another generation. Before the war, they were only in their early years and their formative years were spent in another time. Comparisons to the prewar period were funny to them. At the same time, similar annuals went into production showing this to be the best period of their childhood. Thus, for them a fight with the "sanacja" emotionally could be compared with criticism of Napoleon. In this way, the interwar period lost its political significance.

Every politician desires to have history interpreted according to his feelings for the rationale of the state. But during the 1970's, the 1920's stopped being looked at emotionally--it was then time to begin objective research.

/Question/ But if emotion has faded away, why then is there such crazy interest in this period by youth, writers and historians?

/Answer/ Just for this reason. Wider interpretations began to appear and new facts were revealed that broadened knowledge, which brought discord to the former one-sided views but also simplified the period, especially among younger minds.

/Question/ Then the denial began during the Gierek period?

/Answer/ It appears as such, but in reality no. In fact, at the time there began to appear more objective studies that moved historians and revolted politicians. But at the same time there existed the entire propaganda machinery and school programs that maintained the old line. There existed and continue to exist the older generation of grandparents who have told their grandchildren a completely subjective and inaccurate picture of those years of their youth. Thus it became like a cauldron boiling over with various views, interpretations, traditions and official truths; a cauldron in which the authorities "in case of emergency" clogged all safety valves. Objective historical studies do not have any influence on reality. What does it mean to have 1,500 or 5,000 new books?

/Question/ Then the cauldron had to explode?

/Answer/ That is the usual case. The results of such an explosion always are opposite those of the boiler. Views took a different path. This is why there is the current idealization of the period, a rebirth of old slogans and a return of pictures of the "The Grandfather".

/Question/ The opposition has taken advantage of the "denial" of history caused by this explosion, which can be uncomfortable for the current authorities.

/Answer/ Of course, that could have been easy to foresee. Many swindlers appeared "to deny" history in a way favorable to them as had been the case with earlier swindlers who made lies of history.

/Question/ A particularly sensitive historical subject in that period was the date of the prewar Independence Day--November 11. For many years, our propaganda has accepted for the moment the creation of the Second Republic on November 7, which marked the creation of the leftist government in Lublin. What is the real story here and is there something to quarrel about?

/Answer/ In my opinion, from today's perspective, this quarrel is groundless. It arose, after all, after the war. It was a result of a conflict of political interests from that period. Thanks to the conflict a date was selected that was apolitical and nonthreatening to all sides. After all, November 11 was not tied to any one person (it is difficult to tie it to Pilsudski's military takeover). Pilsudski returned to Warsaw on the 10th and took over full authority from the Regency Council on November 14. On the other hand, November 11 was recognized by the entire civilized world as the end of the First World War. And on that day, Poland and many other countries gained their independence.

This is why I feel the date is a good symbol. The date of November 7 was observed as the anniversary of the creation of the Lublin government by the Socialists and the People's Party. Likewise before the war. Our authorities thus did not think up anything new; they simply adopted leftist tradition. If I wanted to be clever, I could state that the Daszynski government came about through the initiative of the Organization Convention "A" that was a secret Pilsudski organization.

/Question/ Is this also why the government obediently eliminated itself on Pilsudski's recommendation?

/Answer/ Not so much his recommendation but rather from the government's own natural needs. For all Poles at the time Pilsudski was the only person of complete trust, a person not compromised politically. He was a politician who could create a government for the new Poland. I emphasize: for all parties and political orientations.

/Question/ Maybe not for everyone. This is seen in the 10 years of erasing by the authorities of the date from the social consciousness. The 7th was written about and discussed; sometimes small ceremonies even took place. The 11th was treated as a historical "mistake".

/Answer/ Agreed. This was the result of the desire by our authorities to seek a birthright. It was, after all, impossible to celebrate the greatest "sanacja" holiday. They silenced the tradition so arrogantly and uncompromisingly that the act created an opposite result. Thus, the date was maintained in the public consciousness. It was maintained on the principle of the "forbidden fruit". An even stranger thing happened: November 11 became joined with Pilsudski in the public consciousness.

/Question/ For a certain time there was launched a very strong theme about the influence of the Great October /Russian/ Revolution on Polish independence.

/Answer/ There were more such clumsy fictions. There is not a doubt that the events in Russia had a very fundamental influence on Poland's situation. However, the influence was small directly on the situation in Poland. She was, after all, occupied by the Central Powers.

/Question/ However, if the czar had not fallen, then Russia would have been in the victors' camp. What would have been the case then with an independent Poland?

/Answer/ We even know exactly. On the basis of agreements made among the powers, Russia was supposed to release the Polish territories from the remaining partitions and create something like Congress Poland.

/Question/ In other words, enemies of the Soviet state made possible our independence at the cost of lost territories in order to weaken communist authority in the East?

/Answer/ Yes and no but rather no. At the time, the West did not believe that Soviet Russia would last. It was assumed she would fall from counter-revolution and become an episode in the historical development of the world. This is also why there was no intention to create territorial faits accomplis in the East so as to avoid relations with Soviet Russia while awaiting a new Russia to emerge after a revolution. The West was not in agreement about the Polish issue. England especially did not want to upset the European balance, but France wanted to give Poland large portions of the eastern German territories. France was concerned about keeping her enemy--Germany--in constant disarray.

/Question/ Professor, can you briefly give us a character study of Pilsudski? Was he raised to such heights among leaders justifiably because of the moment in history, or was he advanced by his own colleagues at the time?

/Answer/ That is a typical journalist's question. I have written several books about Pilsudski covering various periods of his life, but I do not partake in generalizations.

/Question/ However, books are written toward some goal and we make conclusions. It is difficult to talk with humanists as they avoid generalizations.

/Answer/ Because there are no generalizations about great historical figures. If generalizations are made about these people, then more mistakes and distortions result.

/Question/ Can Pilsudski be classified as a hero?

/Answer/ He not only can be classified as such--he was and is a national hero. He was not brought into power by anyone, but he served his country for a definite period in our country's history. In Poland's initial period, as I have stated, only he had a clean political slate. He had fought with each partitioning power and had a splendid military past and exceptional political skills. Exceptional--no matter who evaluates him nor from what perspective.

There were several Pilsudskis. One was a leader of the legions, another a head of state and yet another the victor in the Polish-Soviet War. Another one led the May military coup and created Brzesc.

For evaluation I send readers to my books and those of other authors. On the basis of facts and various interpretations, one can form his/her own opinion on this figure and for certain the views will cover a wide range.

/Question/ Three years ago there was a broad attack on your books in SZTANDAR MŁODYCH . . .

/Answer/ Both the attacks and the means by which they were carried out--without my participation--were characteristic of that propaganda. We discussed this issue at the beginning of this discussion. I have nothing else to add. The unfortunate marriage of politics and history always finishes badly for both sides.

'POLITICIZED' RELIGION IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA DISCUSSED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Dzevad Tasic: "Politicians or God's Servants"]

[Text] In all likelihood only a thorough scientific analysis, which certainly would have to scratch under the surface to also reach the historical roots, could give accurate and complete answers to the question of what brings about the noticeable shifts in the sphere of religious consciousness and, even more so, movement among its torch-bearers here and now, so that their character and goals can be precisely defined. But even without such an analysis (one has to admit that swift reactions of this kind are very rare in society in general, and especially in our scientific world), it is not difficult to figure out with fairly good precision that, among other things, there is a particular escalation of attempts to politicize the religious communities, and that this requires serious attention.

Because even if this can pass more or less unnoticed somewhere else in the world, in a different climate and in another constellation of social relationships, experience and history teach us that escalated politicization of religious communities has always portended, or even brought ill-foreboding winds in the Yugoslav socialist self-managing society, or even more clearly, in our fraternal community of nations and nationalities.

Claim, Old Yet New

There are many current examples. We will take a couple of them, at random and without trying to order them by importance or significance.

In mosques, from a number of already well-known promoters of Moslem nationalism, and even in places of so-called religious instruction, sermons are being heard that take Islam not as a religion (and only as a religion) but make of it also a political ideology. This is not far from the claim that societal relationships, too, can (and should) be organized in accordance with Islam.

To claim Bosnia and Hercegovina, or at least some of its parts, for themselves, is one of those constant preoccupations of some clericalists of all three religious faiths that have now appeared again and anew in different ways.

Among the "great merits of the Islamic community" they count such gigantic progressive steps of our society and the League of Communists as the fact that the Moslems have attained national recognition. The faithful and the self-managers in our society are thus being told openly (and, one should add, without a bad conscience of which they [the clericals] should have shown at least a little in this case, according to their current preachings on morality, because they had also expressed different views, which are well known and recent enough to be still clearly remembered) where they should look and who is, in fact, "the real defender" of the Moslems' national development. By some kind of "logic" this gives rise to the thesis of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a "Moslem land."

The Roman Catholic Church also started (its) activities quite a while ago and in a similar way. A brochure published recently in honor of Fra [Brother] Dominko Mandic, who is known for his nationalist and pro-Ustasha positions, points out that the Croatian people, and here we quote, "have lost a great true historian who wrote about the Croatian regions of Bosnia-Hercegovina." The so-called Catholic Action has revived. Missionaries have started off all over the land to organize "spiritual exercises" and all kinds of similar activities. The goal advocated by Mandic and his kind can be realized, in the opinion of a few clericalists in the Catholic Church, by organizing the Catholic youth, from which it is only a short step to the "eagles" [youth organization].

In the Servian Orthodox Church there is an attempt to promulgate, especially through this religious community's press, the thesis about a "conspiracy against the Serbian people and their Church," the latter being "a thorn in some individuals' eyes." Counting on this as bait that will be easily swallowed as pure truth, this same press issues appeals for the unity of the Serbian people and the "Serbian Church."

In VESNIK (No 705/82), the newspaper of Yugoslavia's Orthodox clergy, the editors say verbatim: "Despite everything, the Serbian priests and monks cannot be denied the right to present their opinion on a question that is of historically vital interest to the Serbian people not in Kosovo only.... All the more so since this right is based on the fact that the Serbian Church is an inalienable part of the national identity, consciousness, and honor of the Serbian nation." This alleged "right" the clergy of the "Serbian Church" has exploited by sending (via PRAVOSLAVLJE) to the most responsible institutions and to some of the press their "appeal for protection of the Serbs and their sacred places and objects in Kosovo."

In particular and especially, one ought to save Serbianism in Bosnia and Hercegovina, claim the most recent declarations of some individuals, and to this they add then, "by all means available." It is not difficult to guess what stands behind this.

There are all sorts of examples, and even though taken randomly, they offer, we believe, an insight into the attempts to politicize our religious communities. The range is extremely wide indeed.

Our Watershed

First, there is a stepping out of purely religious activities, which are, after all, defined not only by the Law and Constitution but also, in good many cases, by behavioral norms prescribed by the religious books and religion, and room is being made for attempts to manipulate the religious beliefs of people, the faithful, and even entire religious communities, for political purposes, and this was almost always also the character of antisocial action.

Obviously, a rather old and often tested method is now being used again for this purpose: the attempt is being made, namely, to bring the religious community into the position of the nation's and people's protector and, in this capacity, into a partnership relation with the society.

This is, one must openly say so, one of the goals that probably neither the Islamic nor the Catholic or Orthodox Church will give up for quite some time in this land of ours. After all, for quite some time the [religious] hierarchy has openly asked why the religious community should not be included in the delegate system as the representative of the faithful.

Such patronage of "one's own people" or "one's faithful" inevitably opens the door to nationalism, which has obviously begun to make inroads among the clergy and to assume, here and there, a very militant form. A more careful observation of a series of examples of the religious communities' and clergy's current activities leaves the impression that these activities are, fundamentally, based on a failure to comprehend or accept the solution of our national question the way it had been solved by our party, based on AVNOJ [Antifascist Committee of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. By no means is this activity by a part of the clergy outside the broader context of activities carried on by nationalists and other embittered enemies of our socialist self-governing society. For example, it comes to terrific turnabouts. For instance, a Rankovic-ite sits on a church committee! It is difficult to believe that he is there because of his religiosity.

Thus, the politicization of religious communities has very obvious consequences which our society can accept neither now nor in the future. One ought to take this into account, as one also ought to know that our society has exactly as much room for political activity of citizens who are believers as for the activity of citizens who are atheists. Of course, this has no connection with the politicization of religion and of religious communities. Rather, such politicization is not possible except at the expense of these same citizens' political activity in self-management.

The socialist community of Bosnia-Hercegovina and our socialist self-management are capable of ensuring the free profession of any religion and the activity of all religious communities or sects and their followers, and is capable, at the same time, of accepting the members of all these religions in the front [action] for self-management.

Our basic watershed [dividing line] is not the question of who is a believer and who an atheist, but who is for socialist self-management and who is not.