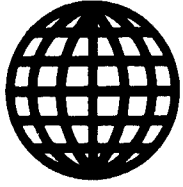


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9 JUNE 1988



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# **JPRS Report**

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# **East Europe**

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# East Europe

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Population Trend for Next 20 Years

24000097a Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech  
20 Apr 88 p 4

[Report by Czechoslovak Press Bureau: "Population Prognosis"]

[Text] The latest population projections, worked out by the Czech Statistical Office, through the year 2010 facilitate the comparison between existing and anticipated population trends in the CSR. Analyses point up the extensive character of natural population reproduction, characterized by a relatively low birth rate and a higher death rate, the result of which is also a low population growth rate. The new population projections anticipate a slight improvement in the natural reproduction factor. In the last decade of this century, for example, the natural population increment should amount to more than 30,500 individuals. Of course, at the turn of the century the relatively weaker class of the 1980's and 1990's will enter the age of maximum fertility and the number of children born will decline. For economic considerations, the most important information pertains to the development of the population in the productive age. Thanks to a high birth rate during the first postwar years, the number of people of productive age will continue to rise favorably virtually to the end of the century, and the maximum number for the CSR will be achieved in 1998. After the year 2000, the number in the population of reproductive age will worsen.

05911

## POLAND

### GDR Government Officials Visit

26000287e Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25 Mar 88 p 2

[Text] A delegation from the GDR Ministry of Justice, headed by deputy premier and minister of justice Hans Joachim Heusinger, visited Poland on 24 March. Discussed in Wroclaw during plenary meetings among justice department heads from Poland and the GDR was implementation of decisions from the 1978 Berlin convention on cooperation in the field of carrying out penal law. The delegation from the GDR also became acquainted with the work of the courts in Wroclaw and Legnica.

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### PZPR, Bulgarian CP Contacts, Visits

26000287c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
28 Mar 88 p 2

[Text] As part of interparty cooperation between the PZPR and Bulgarian Communist Party [BPK], a group of lecturers from the BPK Central Committee [KC]

visited Poland from 21 to 25 March. Stefan Efremow, section director of the BPK KC Ideological Policy Division, headed the delegation.

During their stay, the Bulgarian guests attended many meetings in various social and professional circles in our country.

The lecturers' speeches dealt with restructuring of the national economy and current ideological problems in light of resolutions of the BPK National Party Conference.

Andrzej Czyz, director of the PZPR KC Ideological Division, met with the Bulgarian lecturers at the conclusion of their stay.

12776

### Japanese Information Office Opens in Warsaw

26000287g Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25 Mar 88 p 2

[Text] In accordance with the intent of the parties expressed in letters exchanged during Gen Jaruzelski's official visit to Japan in June 1987 by ministers Orzechowski and Kuranari, notes were exchanged on 24 March at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the opening of a Japanese Information Center in Warsaw and the possibility of opening a similar Polish center in Tokyo. Deputy minister of foreign affairs Boleslaw Kulski and Japanese ambassador Mitsutaka Akiho carried out the exchange.

12776

### Warsaw Control Commission Reviews Ideological Training

26000214d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
28 Jan 88 p 7

[Text] During the 27 January meeting of the Presidium of the Warsaw Control-Auditing Commission [WKKR], the results of the latest achievements were presented by the Problem Group. On the basis [of these results], the efficiency of the ideological training activities in certain Warsaw workplaces and academic posts was evaluated. The meeting underscored the need for a better approach in dealing with these environments, especially youth, so that the grounds of Marxist-Leninist ideas as well as the structural foundation of the socialist state would reach these circles in a more straightforward manner and be reinforced by lucid arguments so as to become self-evident. The task of these measures is also the connection in society's consciousness—in a convincing way—of its own aims with the directions of transformation inspired by the party in our society.

Jan Jasinski, chairman of the WKKR, presided over the meeting.

### **Direct Youth Participation in Policy-Making Needed**

26000287b Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
24 Mar 88 p 2

[Text] How to ensure influence by young people on socio-political decisions. The influence of youth organizations on decisions in social, political and economic matters cannot be limited merely to presenting the most appropriate opinions and positions; most crucial is active participation by young people themselves in working out decisions and implementing them, it was stated at the plenary session of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth Main Board on 23 March. The discussion was devoted to issues related to the political nature of the organization's activity and the effectiveness of its influence on decisions in general social matters and matters affecting youth.

12776

### **Michnik Views Main Currents of Soviet Debate on Stalinism**

26000326 Krakow *TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY* in Polish  
24 Apr, 1 May 88

[Article by Adam Michnik: "More Dreams! (Questions About Stalinism)"]

[No 17, 24 Apr 88 pp 1, 4]

[Text] My Neapolitan friend Gustave recommends sobriety to glasnost enthusiasts. He says, "Of course every symptom of literary thaw in the USSR should be scrupulously recorded, but this should not be done in an enthusiastic tone, rapturously, as if the miracle of change in the older brother were ripening just around the corner. Every sign of loosening due to the Soviet perestroika (which I interpret as "peredyshka" [breathing room]) should be considered and utilized, but one should not grow fervid, or make others feel fervid, about rapidly welcoming some finally embodied 'good news from the East.' Gentlemen, [I recommend] fewer illusions and keeping a greater cool and calm distance, and more dreams, too...."

So then: fewer illusions and more dreams. I transcribe these words as a motto and a warning. This warning is needed for my reflections below, since they are to be an attempt at recording and interpreting one of the aspects of the current thaw. I shall concern myself with the process of the recovery of historical memory by a national community as exemplified by the debate on Stalin and Stalinism.

The appearance of the catchword "Stalinism" signals a broadening of boundaries of speech. In recent months this repeatedly excommunicated expression has bounced back into the eyes of the Polish reader from Russian newspapers. And the old debate about the meaning of the thaw has returned, too. It calls to mind so many

similarities! The changes initiated by Khrushchev and the current changes have a common denominator: they were initiated by party leaders.

To people outside the pale of official institutions these changes have been very unclear and have not inclined them toward active participation. They have been viewing the sudden transformation of yesterday's representatives of the apparatus of power into critics of Stalinism and into democratic reformers as yet another fraud or a maneuver in social engineering. Cardinal Wyszynski—it suffices to read his prison notebooks—attached little importance to a thaw during which party newspapers were free to criticize Stalin but there was no room for the Catholic Church. Witold Gombrowicz, an observer from distant Argentina, was hardly tempted by the loosening of censorship. "Freedom by permission, a concession of relative freedom—what is that?" he noted in his "Diary."

Zbigniew Herbert dedicated his poem on the thaw to "Deceitful Protectors." He was mistrustful. The thaw brought not only hope but also a kind of peril. The thaw disintegrated the fixed image of a Poland enslaved by Stalinist governments. It hurt the standing of the "intransigent ones" and made a Manichean representation of reality meaningless. When the Union of Polish Writers Abroad appealed in October 1956 for a continuation of the boycott of domestic periodicals, it guided itself by precisely this reasoning: since not all emigre books can be published in Poland, none should be published at all, because freedom and truth are indivisible. How to answer this? True, freedom is indivisible. But should opportunities for a gradual extension of its boundaries be disregarded? Should the prohibition against publishing the political writings of Zygmunt Krasinski be reason enough for abandoning the publication of "Nie-boska komedia" [Un-Divine Comedy]? And what are the social consequences of such an inexorably uncompromising attitude?

There are no simple answers. Perceptions of the thaw must have differed among rebellious ZMP [Polish Youth Union] Members, amnestied prisoners, and internal or external emigres. To the first, the Thaw was an effect of the "Earthquake," to the second, a glimmer of hope; and to the third, a mistrusted gesture of the authorities. Of a certainty, they all were right. Still, the Thaw was something more: a social process with far-reaching consequences.

In observing the current "thaw" in the USSR, those discussions of Khrushchev's times should be borne in mind. Whom has time proved right? Those who had enthusiastically supported Gomulka and sang to him, "May you live to a hundred!" were disillusioned. He turned out to be a conservative and narrowminded politician. But those who urged boycotting the thaw also were wrong. The changes, though limited, proved to be lasting. The Stalinist order did not return, and neither did collectivized farming, a church dislodged into the

catacombs, or a regimented intellectual life. And although the reform program lost out—and so did those who had supported it—the very process of struggling for a reform has transformed Poland. This logic of events should be borne in mind by all internal and external emigres. I myself, who am about to put down my reflections from the standpoint of an oppositionist, should also bear it in mind. The well-known essayist Yuriy Burtin has provided (“OKTYABR,” No 8, 1987) a reassessment of the Brezhnev era when the “creeping rehabilitation of Stalinism” led to a sharp conflict with the democratic intelligentsia, a conflict that culminated in the emigration of many intellectuals and in court sentences. Developing this topic in OGONYOK (No 49, 1987), Alayev, a 33-year-old technologist from Checheno-Ingush Republic, openly demanded, “Many of those sentenced by courts during the Brezhnev era should be rehabilitated. After all, we all know that honest and idealist persons who combatted negative phenomena were deprived of their freedom.” Lastly, there is the pure voice of Andrey Sakharov....

Thus, reading such comments, I perceive, while still feeling skeptical and mistrustful, some source of hope for Poland too in the present-day Russian discussions.

### I

Yuriy Bondarev, a writer also known in Poland, had in April 1986 publicly asked that a city's name be restored to it. He meant Stalingrad. The equivocal nature of this matter is striking: the custom of naming cities after Stalin is invariably linked to the entire cruelty of Stalinist dictatorship, but the word “Stalingrad” is a symbol of the heroism of Red Army soldiers. What then was Bondarev defending? The tradition of heroism and truth or the cult of Stalin?

The question was indirectly answered by the writer himself. In his oft-cited comment (FORUM, 20 Aug 1987) on the conflict between conservative and reform-minded literati, he declared, “Foreign correspondents are asking me whether this is really a ‘civil war.’ And I deny it. This refers to the period before 1941 when the progressive forces, putting up a disorganized defense, surrendered the field of battle to ‘civilized barbarians.’ If we shall continue to retreat, and if there is not a new Stalingrad, this will end in the loss of our national values, and everything of which the nation is spiritually proud shall crumble into nothingness. Pseudodemocrats have lighted the stolen torch of openness [glasnost], and our mass media advocate only one of its aspects—the aggressive, destructive aspect that opens the gate wide to lies, vanity, and pseudo-Jacobins....”

Bondarev's comments represent the most explicit articulation of a Stalinist diagnosis of their present changes in the cultural atmosphere. Others (e.g., Prokhanov) add comments about the “literature of total negation” and they call Abuladze's film “Repentance” “a typical attack against socialism.” The drama of the present situation is

enhanced, they add, by the invasion of models alien to the nation, such as the writings of Gumilov or Nabokov. Such supporters of Hitler as Zinaida Gippius and Merezhkovsky [as published] are being rehabilitated. Attempts are being made to supplant the already classical canon (Gorki, Fadeyev, Sholokhov) with other names (Pasternak, Akhmatova, Tsvetayeva, Mandelstam, Bulgakov). This love of dead writers whose works are nowadays being published has been given the peculiar appellation of “necrophilia.”

A rebuttal came from Yevgeny Yevtushenko (SOVETS-KAYA KULTURA, 7 Nov 1987). He wrote, “Ominous signs are appearing. I include among them the offensive concept of ‘necrophilia’ linked to the process of restoring to our nation its literary heritage. I also include among them the idea of ‘the need for a new Stalingrad,’ which points to an inadmissible analogy between the foe's assault early in the war and our contemporary national criticism. I hope that such an idea was merely the outgrowth of polemical fervor.”

Whereupon he added, “Perestroika has its enemies, and the most dangerous of these are masked opponents who mince their words about it, cynics.”

Still, is Yevtushenko completely right? In his opinion, the defenders of Stalinism are a category of people who perceive the reform policy as a threat to their entrenched interests—the bureaucracy, the previously omnipotent apparatus. That apparatus, Yevtushenko claims, will defend itself. Its struggle against glasnost is not so much ideological as biological in nature. And the opposition of certain writers toward glasnost is a veritable paradox. “How inconceivable! Writers who nostalgically long for censorship!”

Yevtushenko's irony is easy to understand, and so is Kavertin's article (OGONYOK, No 46, 1987) which openly claims that the return of great Russian literature will transform criteria and relegate to the shadows the literary mediocrities who owe their careers to servility during the Brezhnev era of stagnation. It appears, though, that this polemic has its roots in different perceptions of reality. Thus, Igor Klyamkin (NOVYY MIR, No 11, 1987), a penetrating critic of Stalinism, has offered a kind of apology: to him, Stalinism is not just an era of crimes or of the creation of the state's might; it also was a time of a great social change. The Great Purge also meant social advancement for millions of people. Stalin functioned as a symbol of energy and hope. That is why [his death] was bewailed.

Stalin's defenders reject the very term “Stalinism” and instead speak of the “period of the cult of personality,” “the Beria period,” “mistakes and distortions,” “deviation from Leninism,” and “excesses.” They do not want to write a history of those times. They shrink from debating the nature of the system. What do they think of Stalin?

They admit that there are some secrets about Stalin. Some claim that the "mistakes" linked to his name were the fault of bad entourage—Yagoda, Yezhov, Beria. Others are inclined to link these "mistakes" to traits of Stalin's character (about which Lenin wrote)—to brutality, mistrust, coarseness. But his contributions are more essential. It was Stalin who had broken up the opposition in the 1920s, carried out the collectivization and industrialization, and was the victorious leader in the Great Patriotic War, and it is to his name that the might of the USSR is linked. He was a charismatic leader who unified and mobilized the society.

Stalin's times were characterized by the enthusiasm and romanticism of the pioneering period of the Revolution when people were conscious of shaking the world's boulder from its foundations. They were times of rigorous customs and rigorous laws, of the modesty of party activists, and of uncompromising struggle against the class enemy. They were times of a ruthless struggle against crime and corruption—times of law and order. They were times of the creation of a socialist culture, times of a ruthless struggle against bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

Opinions of this kind, often criticized in the Russian press nowadays, dominated during the Brezhnev era of "creeping rehabilitation [of Stalin]." Andrey Dravich, an outstanding expert on these matters, pointed to the psychological factor. He wrote, "The quarter-century of life under Stalinism affected the lives of those who took a politically active part in it and shared responsibility in it. To them all the condemnation of Stalinism represents the condemnation of part of themselves or at least places in doubt the meaningfulness of their actions." That is why they are obstinately repeating that one cannot make an omelet without breaking eggs and pointing to Magnitogorsk and Stalingrad.

The defense of Stalin and Stalinism is the defense of legitimacy of great-power status and of the title of the architect of that status. By his attack on Stalin, Khrushchev demolished the integral concept of the continuity of the Soviet state. For how can one be proud of his country's might and at the same time condemn the principal architect of that might? Hence, a different image of Stalin was created. To Aleksandr Chakovskiy Stalin was a man who "hated lies and was deceived," a man who was both heroic and mistrustful, who despised flattery but tolerated it, etc. Others went even farther by writing poetry and prose full of apologism.

It was they whom Grigoriy Pomerants warned, "Having proved to be a despot and a murderer, Stalin cannot become again worthy of respect, let alone love. Resurrecting respect for Stalin, given the knowledge of his deeds, means teaching respect for denunciations, tortures, and executions. This was not tried even by Stalin himself, who preferred hypocrisy. Resurrecting respect for Stalin means placing a moral monster on our banner."

But orthodox literati rebut such conclusions, "Name any other country in the world where its own history is so slandered, onesidedly represented, and dragged into the mud."

This was written by Anatol Ivanov, editor-in-chief of MOLODAYA GWARDIYA, in his polemic with Venyamin Kaverin (OGONYOK, No 48, 1987). He combined this challenge with an interesting interpretation of the history of Soviet culture. According to Ivanov, the entire pre- and post-revolutionary history of Russia is being slandered and sons are being set at loggerheads with fathers. In this way, young people are deprived of their national history, and this leads to cynicism and lack of faith in the future of the socialist fatherland. Such is the significance of the "filling of blank spots," i.e., of the rehashing of long since resolved matters. The buzzword glasnost is used to sling mud at the past, and the buzzword truth is used to delete worthy names from history. Who is the historical precursor of this strategy? Of course, Lev Davidovich Trotsky—it was he who viewed the great Russian culture as fertilizer for a "new culture."

Stalin's era had shaped a style of thinking about political affairs and crisis situations. An excellent assessment of that style was described in the monthly EKO, published by Novosibirsk scientists (see TRYBUNA LUDU, 11 December 1987). According to it, the Stalinist is unfamiliar with the term "crisis" but has heard of "excesses" and "deviations." Every "excess" is an isolated occurrence and can be repaired. It is not permitted to independently declare something to be an excess—that is what the central authorities and Stalin are for.

Reluctance toward public criticism is not a sign of authoritarianism but a mere patriotic reflex: why wash dirty linen in public? Once, however, the crisis becomes too obvious, "the country should be brought into order with a strong hand and one that is, to boot, armed with iron claws."

The iron claw appears to be the ultimate argument in the dispute with "religious prejudices." The Stalinist, who views the world through the prism of catechized dogmas, does not understand the mystery of religion too well. Still he understands one thing: that mysterious world of the spirit imbues people with the strength of personal dignity and teaches them that they should genuflect to God alone. How can this be grasped with the aid of atheist brochures about religion being the opium of the people? Is it not simpler to order that the "G" in "God" be written in the lower case?

Stalin's critics—those referring to God, to the declaration of human rights, and to Lenin—all strike at the very core of the Soviet statehood. Their attack on Stalin is simply an attack on the fatherland, which they blacken under the pretext of unmasking "mistakes and distortions."

## II

Vyacheslav Molotov wrote, a year after the 20th Congress, "We are aware that during the implementation of such great and important historical tasks sporadic—and even major—mistakes are unavoidable and in this respect no one is protected by any safeguards."

This formula produced the pattern which operated during the following decades: the attempts to weigh the good against the bad. V. Murshakov (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 18 December 1987) offers the following conclusion, "We should view from the vantage point of the truth of history both Stalin's indisputable contribution to the struggle for socialism and the defense of its accomplishments and his grave political errors and arbitrariness, for which our nation paid a high price. Some people claim that Stalin was ignorant of the facts, but in the light of documents this is not true. Hence his responsibility—and that of his closest entourage—for the lawlessness and mass repressions is incontestable." He adds that Stalin is guilty of not only "mistakes but also crimes." Moreover, he admits that the subsequent crises cannot be understood without a penetrating analysis of the Stalin era.

However, every particular judgment of the past is colored by a special ambivalence: to be sure, Stalin violated the principles of democracy, but the oppositionists (Trotsky, Kamenev, Bukharin) were still worse. To be sure, the collectivization was accompanied by great sacrifices, but they were inevitable. To be sure, innocently imprisoned people built the White Sea Canal, but the canal was needed. To be sure, Stalin incarcerated and slaughtered millions of innocent people, but that was a result of capitalist encirclement. In a word, Stalin was and was not right, was good and bad, and his deeds were both praiseworthy and disgraceful.

Such formulas provide ammunition to both defenders and critics of Stalin. This type of thinking, politically inevitable and intellectually barren, is the fruit of compromise. It is to reconcile fire with water, to reconcile the defenders of historical lie with the defenders of historical truth, conservatives with reformers. The fundamental weakness of this position is not the tendency toward compromise but an attempt to codify a compromise-oriented point of view which is to be a way of legitimizing the authorities. Ability to compromise is a prerequisite for a pluralist culture: opponents must coexist and contend with each other by following agreed-upon rules. However, any attempt at codifying knowledge of history is a victory for the monopolist temptation, Stalin's posthumous victory.

The Stalinist is incapable of substantive discussion. He is familiar with the line he must follow and he constantly watches for deviations. He can only "offer resistance," argues Tatyana Ivanova in her essay, "Sincerity in

Return for Sincerity" (OGONYOK, No 46, 1987), resistance "to anyone who thinks differently, whose sensibility is different, who evaluates historical facts and current events differently, and views the future prospects differently. It is he who offered resistance to Academician Vavilov and the composer Shostakovich, to the poet Pasternak, the editor Tvardovsky, and the singer Vysotsky. Resistance. And if not resistance then at least a letter to the appropriate authorities. If the letter does not help, then a denunciation."

As if in affirmation, Aleksandr Yegorov (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 44, 28 Oct 1987) cites Rose Luxembourg, "If political life is suppressed, no institution will avoid progressive paralysis. Without universal elections, freedom of the press and assembly, and a free contest of ideas, life in any social institution will decay, become a sham, and bureaucracy will become the only active element of real life."

## III

The dispute about pluralism is the crux of the matter. To some the idea of pluralism is attributable to "fervid phrasemakers," "fishers in troubled waters," while to others, e.g., to Yuriy Afanas'yev, it means the defense of diversity. In his well-known article, "Upbringing Based on Truth" (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 1 Sep 1987) he devoted considerable space to "the illusion of unity." There is not and cannot be, he argued, any exclusive image of the past. This accounts for the need to protect diversity of views, the spirit of discussion and dialogue, and the right to personal interpretation of the process of history. Blending diverse points of view into a single mandatory schema "would be lethal to science—were science mortal." Citing this observation by Mikhail Bakhtin, Afanas'yev argues against the Stalinist mode of historical reflections. He recalls the "ideological hounding" of Professors Platonov and Tarly and the subsequent hounding of the organizers of that hounding, historians of the Pokrovsky school. The annals of Russian historiography, he observes, are as dramatic as the annals of genetics [a reference to Lysenkoism]. But the nature of the tragedy lies not in the misdeeds of individual bootlickers—it is the system that was decisive. Under an authoritarian system based on a bureaucratic hierarchy and militarized channels of command, historiography was unnecessary. "History as propaganda of success was necessary." That is why modern Russian historiography is practically nonexistent.

Yuriy Pompeyev (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 10 Nov 1987) even mentions "an acute shortage of historical truth" and advocates a pluralism of viewpoints and a break with Stalin's legacy. For Stalin, Pompeyev observes, knew as much about the economy as "an Abyssinian negus knew about advanced mathematics." Lacking an understanding of the laws of economics, he attributed economic failures to "counterrevolutionary activities of enemies of the people." He turned political activists into overseers lording it over the country with

whips, and he replaced democracy with a chinovnik [officialdom-style] bureaucracy endowed with perks and the template of ready-made solutions. Independent thinking must have seemed a harmful deviation. That was a time, Pompeyev cites Aleksandr Latsis, "when dossier-style precision was more tragic than any artistic creation." Vitaliy Korotych, editor-in-chief of the weekly OGONYOK, declared, "There are people who want to live in the year 1948, and there are some who prefer 1937. Every era must have its own Middle Ages."

This idea was elaborated by G. Popov in the essay, "As Seen by an Economist" (NAUKA I ZHIZN', No 4, 1987). Analyzing the Stalinist system on the basis of Bek's novel, "The New Domination," he declared, "Underlying this system are centralization of decisions and a thorough, absolute, and zealous execution of directives 'from the top' and especially personal directives from the 'Khozyain' [Boss] Stalin. This mechanism reduces man to a cog, a passive instrument for implementing decisions from the top." Therein consists the "System of Administering," as Popov terms it.

In his penetrating analysis of mechanisms of this kind Popov points to the conservative nature of the solutions applied: The System of Administering is incapable of applying new technologies; since subordination is the decisive factor, personnel policy is characterized by negative selection. And one more thing: the System of Administering is fundamentally based on fear of repressions. The relationship between Stalin and Beria was the backbone of that system.

Popov comments that it was the very repressions practiced by the security apparatus that weakened the System by eliminating tens of thousands of devoted communists. But that was only one side of the problem, because without these repressions Stalin would not have become the "Khozyain," and the System itself would have acquired a different shape. How could it assure obedience to itself without material incentives?

"It ensues," Popov states, "that the internal logic of the System of Administering requires the existence of the right 'from the top' to eliminate anyone holding a lower post. And thence can arise the right to deprive the subordinate of his life."

The "undersystem" of fear was indispensable if the concentration camps were to become a reservoir of cheap and disciplined manpower and Beria himself was to remain the "consultant for basic economic tasks."

Popov's essay is a distinctive illustration of the brutal opinion once voiced by Sternberg, the people's commissar of justice in the Leninist Soviet of People's Commissars, "On the one hand, intoxication with power, triumphant insolence, calumnies, petty malice, base motives of revenge, sectarian suspicion, growing contempt of

subordinates—in a word, the new rule; on the other hand, discouragement, fear of repressions, impotent anger, mute hatred, sycophancy, incessant lies."

Nikolay Shmyelov ("Assets and Liabilities," NOVYY MIR, No 6, 1987) declares, "From the very outset this entire system guided itself by an economic romanticism that was often based on economic semi-illiteracy and an incredible exaggeration of the effectiveness of the so-called administrative factor." It was believed that anything could be controlled, and this introduced total anarchy in the economy.

And overlying all this was the obedient mendacity of the official publications: "Thinking identically, we became accustomed to vacuity of thought" (Yuriy Pompeyev). Thus arose the problem of the "white spots" on the map of history—the problem of unfamiliarity with the legacy of history. How can Chernyshevsky, Lenin, or Stalin be studied without knowing the works of those who had polemicized with them: Leontiyev, Solovyev, Berdyayev, or Trotsky? Yuriy Afanas'yev or Igor Klyamkin declare openly: Yes, precisely, three generations of Russian intelligentsia were brought up in an atmosphere of ignorance about facts and mendacity. Such an education resulted in that historiography, instead of being part of "social ecology," became a grab-bag from which arguments could be taken to justify any stupidity. "Once again," Afanas'yev wrote, "shreds and strips close to the hearts of various individuals are ripped off history and sewn together into banners," and under these banners "hatred is propagated."

#### IV

The question of the rebirth of nationalism resurges. In comments made by Ukrainians or Lithuanians it is always accompanied by the question of Stalinism. For the cognitive horizon of the Soviet ethnic minorities is characteristically colored by concern for the fate of their cultures. To them, Stalinism is not only a system of terror and lies but also a policy of denationalization, and the struggle against Stalinism is a struggle for national identity.

This topic is treated variously. For example, two Estonian academics, M. Titma and A. Vakhemets, one a philosopher and the other a historian, published (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 3 December 1987) an article on the "white spots" in Estonia's modern history. Taking as the point of departure the demonstrations of 23 August 1987 in Tallin, Vilna, and Riga on the anniversary of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, these academics ponder the past. They state, "Speaking frankly, the reaction of the local press to the demonstrations of 23 August can hardly be considered proper. By glossing things over and evading the real issue, they poured oil on fire." Next they recall the Stalinist era with its mass repressions, forced collectivization, the warfare against the partisans, the "brethren of the forest," and



the deportations of some and escapes abroad of others. All this, together with the "violations of Lenin's nationality policy" was viewed by Estonians as "national oppression."

A similar topic was raised in SOVETSKAYA LITVA by a reader, Algis Butrimas. He wrote, "The people do not believe in glasnost, so long as it is not total." The elimination of "white spots" is rightly being mentioned, but how little has actually been done in that direction. "At any rate there are no signs that an objective depiction of the circumstances under which the Baltic countries were incorporated in the USSR can be expected. And hence, the lengthy article on the events of 23 August, published on 1 September, devoted barely a few lines to that question. It mentioned that treaties were concluded and that the parliaments supported the incorporation of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia in the USSR. But not a word about the manner in which those new parliaments had been formed and the idea of abandoning the status of independent statehood had arisen. After all, the people cannot be deceived."

Butrimas also draws attention to the consequences of the Stalinist language policy. Proceeding from the premise that "in the future the nations will coalesce into one," and that "laws of development" have to be considered in practice, a policy of active assimilation was pursued, even though that expression was avoided amid declarations of "equality of peoples and languages." This policy "imperiled the existence itself of the non-Russian peoples." Its consequences "to the Russian nation practically coincide with the objectives of Russian nationalists, while to non-Russian peoples they mean disappearance in relatively near future. It would be unreasonable to believe that their representatives are blind to this. In practice the native inhabitants of the non-Russian republics exist in a situation of second-class citizens with hopeless prospects, as a kind of relics condemned to cultural extermination and deprived of the possibility of deciding their own fate" (quoted from CZERWONY SZTANDAR, 29 Oct 1987).

The argument usually employed against such conclusions is that of the need for "bilingualism." Rasul Gamzatov, a writer from Dagestan, explained, "I am in favor of bilingualism." Like Chinghiz Aytmatov and Fazil Iskander, he viewed it as a solution. To these writers the Russian language became as it were their second natural language. "But bilingualism cannot be imposed. I am speaking of my own people, but that is just as well the personal affair of Georgians or Estonians—do they or do not they desire bilingualism?" Concern for one's native language is a duty. "Without language and without historical memory there is no nation." Abuses are easy: "I read in some article on Islam that names and surnames relating to religion should be changed. I do not wish to defend Islam, but will the author of that article live better if he changes his name from Rasul to Vasil Gamzatov? A nation shapes

itself and selects its own names. The use of force here is fruitless. When at one time mosques were destroyed, the history, architecture, and culture of the nation also were being destroyed."

Gamzatov confessed that he mistrusts the condescending Russian opinions that disregard studies of the history of other peoples. After all, "Uzbekistan has an ancient history. So does Georgia. So does Armenia. Can this be doubted, and in the name of what? Some have a longer history and others a shorter one. They should learn from each other, not envy each other."

He next asks if there is any sense to repeating that Russians are older brothers. After all, this only excites nationalistic emotions... "And why does the citizen of an ethnic republic have to write a petition in Russian? Why is a high school graduate from an ethnic republic denied admission to a university because of a [grammatical] mistake in his application? I think it unfair."

Gamzatov commented as follows on the Stalinist years: "Meetings, criticism, self-criticism. I had taken part in some of these meetings and condemned somebody. I wrote about this in a letter to my father. He at once summoned me to Dagestan. 'Are you familiar with the works of the writers whom you condemned?' 'No, but the newspapers write about them.' 'Then what right do you have to judge a writer without having read him?'"

"And what happened to my nation in those years? A destroyed intelligentsia, the burning of books and libraries collected over many years by persons subsequently declared guilty of treason."

Or consider the fate of Shamil, Dagestan's national hero. He had fought Russia for the freedom of Dagestan and was therefore excommunicated by Great Russian Stalinists. "I respect Russia. I have translated many Russian writers. Why is it then that other Russian writers and academics unceremoniously judge our history and falsify and distort it?" Why do they call Shamil a "British agent"? It was not Shamil who had attacked Russia. It was the tsarist generals who had ordered razing our villages. Shamil undertook the struggle for freedom against colonizers. Why is it then that, contrary to the opinion of Marx, Chernyshevsky, and Dobrolyubov, he is declared a reactionary? After all, Shamil's sole crime was to fight Russian tsarism, a fight which he had valiantly continued for 25 years!

"Why is it then that Stalinist views of Shamil persist? Why [is it that] poetry and plays about him are not allowed to be published?"

"What are we afraid of? History? Truth? Are we again being frightened with the specter of nationalism? But Dagestan has its own history that includes the fate of

heroes and complex paradoxes! Why excise and splice fragments of history? After all, history is not a film reel. We shall not allow excising Shamil's name from our past. We shall not!"

Attitude toward history and defense of national traditions have been the topics of numerous comments by the Ukrainian writer Oles' Gonchar. P. Tolochko, director of the Institute of Archeology, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, called Gonchar "the guardian of the national soul" (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 17 Nov 1987). Recalling in the article "The Churches of Our Souls Which We May Destroy by Our Own Soullessness," Gonchar's novel "Sobor" [Church], Tolochko discusses Stalinist destruction of Ukrainian culture. He describes how a church, a relic of Old Russian architecture, was destroyed, how a bulldozer demolished the ancient building which had resisted the pick and the shovel. "And no one's hand trembled—not the executors' and not the overseers'." And yet, reconstructing the church would inscribe anew in human awareness the creation of human genius and resurrect the historical memory of the nation.

In one of his public comments (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 7 Oct 1987) Oles' Gonchar described how "Ukrainian-language schools were shut down in dozens and hundreds, curriculums in Ukrainian history were slashed, the hours of Ukrainian-language radio broadcasts were cut, urban dwellers were deprived of the Ukrainian-language afternoon newspaper—and all these measures were acknowledged as virtually meritorious to propagating internationalism." In another place he warned that Stalinism desired to transform the Ukrainian nation into "the population of South Russia." This was the meaning of the pogrom of Ukrainian culture in those years. Nowadays Ukrainian writers clamor about the victims of that pogrom and their books.

Also clamoring for national identity are Belorussian writers. But they do it in different ways. Some are horrified by the invasion of "nationally alien elements." Thus, "Andrey Voznesenski acted as an initiator of the strident campaign to celebrate the anniversary of birth of Marc Chagall," and "Belorussian cosmopolitans" are attempting to establish a museum devoted to the painter in his native Vitebsk. Yet, as known, "Chagall was neither a Soviet nor a Belorussian patriot; he was a Zionist, a cosmopolitan, and one of the creators of a synagogue in Jerusalem." They also are disturbed by the popularization in Belorussia's literary press of Rybakov's novel "Children of the Arbat" which presents "a bourgeois interpretation of Stalinism" and "an anti-Soviet theory of the totalitarian state."

In a rejoinder to the authors of such articles, V. Byegun and V. Bovsh, the well-known Belorussian writer Vasyl Bykau wrote in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA of 10 December 1987 that these well-known experts "at

unmasking world Zionism" and "tracking down all deviations" resolved to join in perestroika. Well, in Belorussia too many errors and mistakes have piled up over the decades. "Our native language is in danger of disappearing and [the names of] a large number of creators of science and culture who were subjected to repressions in the 1930s still wait to be rehabilitated, which, strange as it may seem, is being opposed with a tenacity worthy of a better cause by certain learned colleagues of Byegun and Bovsh. Others (e.g., V. Shcherbin), not bothering to resort to modern arguments, transcribe verbatim from Yezhov-Beria files the accusations against the repressed ones, as if nothing had changed in half a century. For many years the republic's public has been ineffectively demanding the withdrawal of preposterous charges against Tishka Gartnovy (just consider: he attended the Christian funeral of his brother-in-law and dressed in the Jewish style—he wore a tie!). But no, it turns out that questions of mercy and justice are hardly attractive to the opponents; in times of perestroika; they keep on looking for new concealed enemies."

Who are these people? They are the same people who had, the aforementioned Tolochko writes, in those times, following a command from "the top," demolished churches with such cool indifference in order to eliminate "the opium of the people." Nowadays they no longer argue in favor of that. On the contrary, they are straining their throats to howl about "their eternal love of historical landmarks, writing articles in newspapers, expressing their outrage, condemning others, making appeals, yet actually doing nothing to defend the landmarks." They prefer, Bykau comments, "to unmask Zionists and freemasons."

Their philippics echo well-known Stalinist campaigns against cosmopolitanism. But the Ukrainian or Lithuanian hears something more: his perception of Stalinism is, in the nature of things, somewhat different from that of a Russian writer. The cruel Georgian is to the ethnic minorities yet another embodiment of classic Great Russian chauvinism.

In his intimate diary of 1945, recently published in OGONYOK (No 43, 1987), the Ukrainian film director Aleksandr Dovzhenko wrote, "Stalin, my comrade, even if you were God I still would not believe in you, because I am a nationalist who should be branded and persecuted...."

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V

However, Stalin persecuted not only the other national cultures but also Russian culture. Russian nationalists often accused him because of it. To them, Stalin was above all the destroyer of the spirituality of Old Russia.

In that context, what was Stalinism? It was an era of the dictatorship of "rootless cosmopolitans" who destroyed historical landmarks, broke up the rural community, persecuted the Russian Orthodox Church, and caused the ideas of the "rotten West" to dominate Russian intellectual life. The Bolshevik Revolution was accomplished by Jews, Poles, Latvians, and other foreigners. It was Jews who murdered the tsar's family; it was Poles who organized the institution in charge of the terror; it was Latvians who were the executioners of that terror. In other words, the ones guilty of past sins always are either foreigners or Russians dominated spiritually by alien value systems.

Nevertheless, the Georgian Dzhughashvili was rarely attacked as a foreigner: his image is too ambivalent. On the one hand, he is a destroyer of tradition. Vladimir Soloukhin said, "In this country everything was done for decades to make us forget our past. Before the war the word 'Russia' was not even used, and the word 'fatherland' was considered offensive. A major state activist of the 1920s declared, 'Cursed be patriotism.' What is worse, such slogans were not only proclaimed but translated into reality. In my country all the church bells were broken up for scrap and 10,000 churches were demolished (400 in Moscow alone), along with other historical landmarks and relics—together, 92 percent of all landmarks and relics" (from an interview given to SLOWO POWSZECHNE in December 1987).

But another image of Stalin also exists. According to Andrey Dravich, "Here Stalin is the ideal patron: as the ideal of the man on horseback, the inheritor of the tradition of Russian despotism, a leader who disregards costs (and about whose qualifications it is not, of course, seemly to ask), one whose actions have resulted in covering Russian arms with glory and expanding the boundaries of the empire, and who was the co-architect of the new division of the world." Stalin and Stalinism, in this interpretation, also exerted a beneficial influence on culture, purging it of "cosmopolitan" influences and emphasizing genuinely "national" values.

Ivan Shevtsov, the author of a once-famous novel, "In the Name of the Father and the Son," characterized the 1920s as a struggle between Stalin and the Zionist conspiracy which had seized control of the Central Committee. Thus, the struggle against the anti-Stalin opposition can be presented as the return to the right path: accordingly, in the 1930s and 1940s cosmopolitan ballast was discarded, the avantgarde and foreign influences were condemned, epaulets were returned to the officer corps, and homage was paid to tsarist generals (Suvorov, Kutuzov). Then also occurred a rapprochement with the Russian Orthodox Church and the ethnic nationalists were dealt with. Stalin is the man on horseback, the continuator of the work of Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great.

Such is the thinking of the extreme chauvinists represented in degenerated form by "Pamyat," an organization proclaiming its desire to protect architectural landmarks, which bears a remarkable resemblance to the

Polish "Grunwald." As interpreted by those of "Pamyat," the destruction of the landmarks is due to freemason-Jewish-Trotskyite agents who, from concealment, are directing the actions of the Kremlin. Proofs are not difficult to find: suffice it to mention that the employees of architectural offices include many Jews. It can also be argued, as part of the campaign against alcoholism, that in Russia the indigenous tradition is to drink tea, not alcohol. As known, the Russian people was infected with vodka by foreigners.

The discussion relating to the anti-alcohol campaign served to articulate the viewpoint of these particular champions of "national rebirth." Characterizing their way of thinking, L. Ovrutskiy ("Keys to the Gate of Sobriety," SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 12 Nov 1987) comments, "The absolutization of prohibitions consists not only in the striving to extend them to all domains of life but also in demanding more rigorous sanctions against those who do not reason 'properly,'" in demanding not just complete prohibition but "to have moonshiners shot by the firing squad—they are enemies of the revolution." Ovrutskiy adds, "When you read something like that, you keep asking yourself whether it is to be sobriety for people or people for sobriety?.... And instead of a sociological analysis there is the shout, 'Enough!' and one hears the sacramental utterance, 'Eh, if only I had a gun in my hand.'"

Bribetakers and moonshiners should be squashed like bugs! Idlers, bureaucrats, and hippies should be condemned to clearing forests! Alcoholics, demagogues, and parasites should be sterilized! In this way we shall purge the country of the slime. "Put 'em up against the wall, shoot 'em, bury 'em, and we shall live in sobriety and merriment."

"In terms of its genesis," Ovrutskiy writes, this 'philosophy' is rooted in nostalgia for an era when, 'although the times were hard, there was order!' It is said that the cult [of personality] is gone but its acolytes remain. They manipulate the sinful souls of their fellow citizens like lead soldiers: the play is over and now it is time to put them back in the box. The idea that human life is a value in itself is to these people just as remote as the danger of an error during surgical excision of a cancerous tumor." Hence they cannot conceive the possibility of achieving sobriety without bloodshed.

Such [the value of human life] and similar ideas are alien to them. Describing a scholarly session devoted to Siberia's place in Russian literature, Gennadiy Petrov (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 24 Nov 1987) devoted considerable space to speeches by persons associated with "Pamyat." The economist Antonov declared, "There was not and is not a more talented people on Earth than the Russian people!" Petrov commented ironically, "Is this bold hypothesis supposed to serve the strengthening of friendship among nations?"

The conclusions of the adherents of "Pamyat" present a coherent whole. According to them, Russia is being undermined by the conspiracies and diversionary activities of omnipresent enemies of the Russian people. Therefore, Russian nature and culture, Russian rivers and lakes, Russian architectural landmarks and temples, are being deliberately destroyed in accordance with a preconceived plan. The purpose of the conspiracy is to pollute national culture with alien miasmas and destroy Russian talents. That is why, Petrov observes, there is so much finger-pointing at people with non-Russian names; that is why it is being repeated that "Russophobes" are ruling over Russian cultural life and engaging in a planned and systematic drive to destroy the Russian nation. The tentacles of the enemies are everywhere: in the press, in theatre, at ministries, and at institutions of higher education. What ideology is imposing such an apocalyptic diagnosis? "The ideology of Marxism-Leninism," answered the economist M. Lemeshev when that question was asked in the auditorium, "and the ideology of 'narodnost' [populist nationalism]."

"What is the role of Jews in the conspiracy against the Russian people?" F. Gulov was asked. "They don't leave their autographs," fell the witty answer. And yet, Petrov comments, "Every decent human being knows how such provocations should be answered."

It is significant that P. Tolochko, who is himself actively committed to the protection of architectural landmarks, finds the people associated with "Pamyat" to be of a mental type analogous to that of the people who had demolished churches in the recent past. At that time, in the era of Stalinism, they had been unmasking the defenders of these landmarks as "enemies of the people," and now they again are unmasking "enemies of the people" by donning the togas of defenders of tradition. (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 17 Nov 1987). What is more, Professor Dmitri Likhachev, a renowned expert on architectural landmarks, was accused by "Pamyat" of "acting in behalf of Zionism" (OGONYOK, No 21, 1987).

Reflecting on the phenomenon of "Pamyat," Yelem Klimov observes that "some of its members display personal lapses of memory. For some time that was a latent disease, but now, unfortunately, it has come out into the open. The name of this disease is chauvinism, and it often is accompanied by anti-Semitism. My father, a rural physician, used to say that in former times an intelligent person would not shake hands with people who despise foreigners ('inorodtsy'). I cherish the memory and relics of history, culture, and the pages of beauty and ordeals in the annals of our nation. But when concern for memory is a mask for sheer chauvinism which terms itself patriotism, I am utterly opposed to it.

"Our culture has absorbed many sources before it itself became a mighty stream. What was the origin of Rastrelli? Whose descendants were Lermontov, Fonvizin, Zhukovsky, Blok, Vrobel, and Ayvazovskiy? And what about Pushkin?"

N. Dit'ya'yeva (OGONYOK, No 28, 1987) calls a spade a spade: "During the most complex chapters in our history the best representatives of the Russian nation publicly opposed obscurantism (mrakob'yes'ye) and the belief that everything is permitted (vsedozvolennost'). Yes, our history does include 'The Union of the Russian People' whose conscience is burdened by the Beylis Murder Case and the killing of Bauman, and it does include hundreds of pogroms which were angrily condemned by L. Tolstoy, M. Gorki, A. Chekhov, and V. Korolenko. To me this is history. And I myself remember the article by Ye. Kononenko, 'The People in White Smocks ['Jewish Doctors' Plot'?): I was an eyewitness of the atrocity; when I refused to speak at a mass rally held on the occasion of that slanderous article, I began to encounter 'unexpected' difficulties. The 'struggle against cosmopolitanism' was already once before part of the biography of my generation. When it was over we found many names in science, literature, and music to be missing.

"Memory is our culture, our conscience, and our truth. Obscurantists should not appropriate to themselves that word [memory = Pamyat]."

Comments by the leaders of "Pamyat," Yuri Afanas'yev has observed, recall the "shadow of the pogroms."

## VI

The obscurantists perceive the world as a great conspiracy against the idea of "true Russians." Its instruments include both the great literary historian Professor Dmitri Likhachev and the great physicist and public activist Professor Andrey Sakharov. Such judgments elicit both horror and laughter. But it would be a great mistake to disregard the "narodnik" current in Russian culture. The feeling that Stalinism was aimed against Russian national identity is not due to some mental aberration but has been the experience of an overwhelming part of the Russian intelligentsia.

Dmitri Balashov (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 7 Oct 1987), the author of historical novels about Old Russia, declared that he views his task as working to restore to the Russian nation forgotten pages of its history. "A nation lives so long as its historical memory is alive."

Let us reconstruct Balashov's conclusions: When memory dies, the nation dies. That is why the Polovtsy, conquered by Mongol tribes, died out—having lost the memory of their national legends, they became another nation. This is not the only historical example: whenever national self-knowledge perishes, individuals serve, like building bricks, to form another nation.

This was the covert meaning of Stalinism. For self-protection, action must be preferred to contemplation, but an element of that action must be continuing memory of the common good and greatness of one's nation. And one must always feel part of one's own fatherland

and feel, in the most difficult situation, bonds of blood with one's compatriots, bonds linking one to the soil and fields and rivers, to the land which gave birth to us. Only such feelings engender readiness to make personal sacrifices, including even the sacrifice of one's life, for common causes of a higher rank; hence the courage of responsibility and concern for the distant and unknown future of the nation. The traditions of Old Russia include ability for collective ("sobornoye") action, for exerting supreme efforts born out of a national self-consciousness that torturously matured over centuries. It was in the nature of Stalinism to desire eradicating these traits of the Russian spirit. Yet, these traits have not completely vanished. This is proved by Russia's victory in the last war. But at what a price? Twenty million dead, compared with the much fewer casualties of the aggressor. "And yet throughout history, in all their clashes with Mongols, Russian troops were, as a rule, outnumbered three or four times by their foes. The statistics of the Crimean wars of the 18th century show that the thirty-thousand army of Prince Rumyantsev defeated a Turkish corps of 150,000 in the Battle of Koluga."

How did it happen? The secret of these victories is to be found in the oft-analyzed "enigma of the Russian soul." After all, the Russian climate itself and natural conditions dictated a hardy and sharply graduated year-round life. Only by adhering to these principles was it possible to survive field work. Death threatened unless one sowed or harvested and stored grain in time. Every kind of labor had its rigorous schedule—no one thought of napping and having a good time when it was time to begin mowing hay and harvesting. This centuries-long habit of solid work determined the principal traits of the Russian national character. Above all, the ability to concentrate physical and mental strength, the ability to focus on emergencies, endurance in withstanding attacks by eternal enemies—disease, starvation, natural disasters, foreign incursions. These elemental traits, which saved the nation from perishing, manifested themselves at every critical point in Russian history.

Still, is not some cheap idealization of the past at work here? The ancient Russians had fought for power, were far from being disinterested, and committed all the sins that are part of human nature. But how are those sins comparable to present-day careerism and corruption, to worship of materialist values and loss of national feelings? After all, Stalinism initiated the "most terrible of terrible processes"—the fading of the nation's historical memory. The inhabitants of ancient Russian cities lost all interest in their birthplaces and habitats, in their native culture and history. Nowadays self-defense against loss of [national] identity means a firm stand for the protection of natural environment, of lakes, of air, of landmarks and other relics of the past; it means caring for old buildings, books, and pictures. Because a peril is harbored in the undertakings of the industrial poisoners of the environment, both those who wanted to change the course of rivers, and all those who are destroying the life-giving resources of Russia.

"As long as we live," Balashov wrote, "We are obligated by the concept of freedom of choice, of our collective ('sobornoye') action, and when we die, historians will look for patterns governing our fate and the fate of the nation, of the country, and of the world." The road toward the extinction of mankind leads through the rejection of traditions, the severing of continuity with the entire past.

## VII

In 1935 Stalin ordered expurgating a passage from the so-called "Chronicle of Nestor" or, "Tale of Past Years, by Nestor, a Monk of the Feodor Pechery Monastery, About the Origins of Russian Land, About Who First Began To Rule in Kiev, and How Russian Land Arose." That sentence was a kind of appeal by the inhabitants of Russian land to the Varangians, inhabitants of Scandinavia, and their prince, Rurik: "Our land is great and abundant, but there is no order in it. Come then to rule and reign over us."

That passage has been the subject of longtime polemics and wide-ranging divisions of opinion. This concerned the manner of viewing Russian past, two kinds of contending with national complexes. The Russian nationalist perceived this sentence as an anti-Russian libel and an insinuation that Russians are incapable of independently forming their own statehood. The Russian liberal-Westernizer found that insinuation to inhere in the nationalist reaction to that famous sentence; does not this hysterical response imply that Russians are incapable of facing their own history?

For the Russian democrat will echo Pyotr Chaadayev, "I did not learn to love my fatherland with a blindfold over my eyes, with a sunken head, with a gagged mouth. I believe that a man can be useful to his country only when he views it clearly."

Precisely this statement was quoted by the Russian publicists A. Golovkov and A. Pavlov in forefront of an article polemicizing with the "Pamyat" group (OGONYOK, No 2, 1987). And this is the direction of their comments on the "Russian soul." They also quote Vasilii Grossman, "The point here is not the soul. And were the French, Germans, Italians, or the British to have sunk their roots in accordance with these parameters a thousand years ago, among these forests, steppes, deep lakes, and plains, on this field of battle between Europe and Asia, on the vast, tragic Russian expanses, the law of history would operate in the same way as in the case of Russians."

This motif often recurs in Russian polemics, most recently in the well-known essay by Igor Klyamkin (NOVYY MIR, No 2, 1987). Its central thesis is, "The fate of Russia differs from that of Europe because the history of Europe is the history of the growth of freedom, whereas the history of Russia is the history of the growth of enslavement by the state. It is precisely this centuries-long enslavement that has created the myth of the Russian soul."

Stalinism took an ambivalent position on this dispute. During its pioneering period, the period of great upheaval, it viewed the spirit of Old Russia as its chief enemy. At that time it was a destroyer of Old Russian tradition and mythology, and the [excision of the] passage from Nestor's chronicle suited perfectly the cultural iconoclasm of the revolutionary era.

However, once it had triumphed, Stalinism abandoned its iconoclastic rhetoric. And although it retained its destructive practices, it clothed them in the phraseology of a great and indivisible Russia. That also is why criticisms of Stalinism display precisely such a dual nature. Some associate Stalinism with violation of democratic principles and trampling of civil liberties, with lawlessness and despotism, with praise of the autocratic tradition (Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great), with attacks on "rootless cosmopolitans" and "the rotten West." To others Stalinism means the invasion of elements alien to Russian mentality, an attack on religion and national tradition, imitation of Western models (is not Marxist thought a product of the West?), and destruction of Russian cultural tradition.

To some Stalinism is fanaticism and dogmatism, while to others it means nihilism and duress. The history of Stalinism provides both sides with arguments, because the accusations of—imaginary or real—opponents by Stalinist prosecutors have undergone a significant evolution. "The cosmopolitanism of the 1940s corresponds more or less to participation in the monarchist conspiracy during the First Comintern Congress," Vassiliy Grossman explained tersely.

Both these prospects represent a distinctive continuation of the 19th-century division of the Russian intelligentsia into Slavianophiles and Westernizers. Both readily display traces of the famous polemics between Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov.

However, this discussion, which also is an attempt at reconstruction and interpretation, and which considers the question of responsibility and future, is not reducible to that classical division. Attempting to sum up the most recent pertinent discussions and articles, the Georgian poet Shota Nishnianidze (*LITERATURNAYA GAZETA*, 1 Jan 1988) perceives the most important fact to consist in the publication of classical and previously prohibited works of Anna Akhmatova and Aleksandr Tvardovsky. "It would be hypocrisy to claim that it is only now that we are reading these works. Such things, once written, cannot remain unknown. They had been propagated in handwritten and xeroxed copies and through samizdat." But their official publication is gaining them new readers.

Yuriy Afanas'yev (*SOVETSKAYA KULTURA*, 5 January 1988), while also respecting literary works, persists in his view that no turning point as yet has occurred in historiography. Historians are declaring their opposition to "zones of silence," but they no longer have the time

and room in newspapers to announce publicly previously suppressed facts. Not much has been done either "to explore, understand, and overcome that sociopolitical phenomenon which, by lack of a better name, we call Stalinism." New "veils" are appearing, and it has become clear that not all historians are "on the same side of the barricade." People who owe their careers to their participation in lies are firmly defending their positions. "They assure readers that all the archives already are accessible and the only trouble is that researchers do not avail themselves adequately of these archives." Others wade still farther in the tried and tested techniques of the "half-truth." Others still draw up an "eclectic" picture: "on the one hand—but on the other." "On the one hand, mass murders; on the other, great accomplishments and quotidian joy. So that our glorious past would in no way be blackened." Still others are ready to sacrifice Stalin himself, to declare him a paranoiac, in a word, to answer the question of whose fault it is? so long as they do not have to answer the question: why?

## VIII

It has been a long time since Russians have talked with each other in this language on the pages of their official press, the press which is proclaiming the powerful appeal by Prof Dmitri Likhachev, "We need repentance!" Repentance for all those murdered, hounded, condemned to oblivion.... The struggle for their rehabilitation is an act of repentance. And they are being rehabilitated: Vavilov, Bukharin, Pasternak, Akhmatova, Platonov, and Grossman.

The weekly *OGONYOK* (No 41, 1987) provides some information on the fate of Grossman's legacy. In 1970, during a search, a KGB team confiscated the manuscripts of his books. Only one copy survived, and that copy is now the basis for present publications. I shall discuss Grossman's novel at another time. For now let me cite the opinion of Viktor Yukht, a literary expert, who postulated in *OGONYOK* (No 44, 1987), "Is not it time to pass over to more precise formulas and describe matters completely to their end? Who had ordered the confiscation of the writer's manuscripts—of his children, his life's work? On whose conscience lasts the brand of that unusual barbarism perpetrated at a time when the thaw was in its plenitude? Who is responsible? The inhabitants of other planets? Agents of international imperialism? Freemasons? How could it have happened?"

"I propose to the Writers' Union that it demand of the proper agencies an explanation of that crime. It is necessary that all the details of that base and lawless act be revealed and the names of the persons responsible published."

Yukht writes as if he were hearing the summons of my friend Gustave, "More dreams!"

## IX

My intent was to characterize the main currents of the Russian discussion of Stalinism. I am aware, however, that reality is much richer in views on this topic, while that discussion itself is surging ever more tumultuously, growing in dynamism, and becoming a form of dispute about the present and the future. To some it may seem that this is merely a dispute between adherents and opponents of perestroika, between a healthy center and the extremes of dogmatism and liberalism, or, too, a new dispute between Slavianophiles and Westernizers. But the picture is not that clear. Views overlap and the liberal current gets intertwined with the nationalist idea, but at the same time the slogans of nationalism may be utilized by the defenders of Stalinism in their philippics. New views evolve—such is the mechanism of the process of recovering the memory of [national] identity; such is the mechanism of the rise of pluralism in intellectual life.

To a Pole, reading the Soviet press is all the more interesting because I find in it another version of our own disputes. I feel close to some opinions, while in others I find a glaring inconsistency, or an excessive consistency. But in each opinion I find something familiar resembling our own Polish polemics. After all, I am so familiar with the comments on the need to extend the domain of civic liberties, the concern for national identity, and the belief in the value of religious rebirth and a return to tradition. I am also, and unfortunately, familiar with the belief in the blessings of xenophobia and national megalomania.

The fact that Russians are discussing these matters with increasing openness is of tremendous importance to the present and the future.

We Poles still have such discussion ahead of us.

1386

**Dollar Exchange, Availability Issues Discussed**  
*26000296b Warsaw POLITYKA-EKSPORT-IMPORT*  
*in Polish No 4, Feb 88, pp 17, 18*

[Article by Pawel Tarnowski: "Better and Worse Money"]

[Text] Last year, we witnessed yet another "miracle on the Vistula." The exchange rate of the dollar declined almost everywhere with the exception of Poland. The dollar was lower against the yen, the mark, the franc and sharply higher against the zloty. The rate of growth was equally steep in the bank and with speculators in the street. Continuing devaluation of our currency is, after all, a process which by no means has run its course and, as a matter of fact, does not come as a surprise to anyone.

The "miracle" was possible because the zloty is cut off from the international currency market and, unfortunately, will remain so for a long time. The unofficial

exchange rate is set by constantly changing supply and demand, as well as the level of prices for the goods sold simultaneously by regular shops and "Baltona," "Polmot" and "Pewex." The official rate is adjusted "manually" to the needs of the Polish foreign trade. As is known, the latter should facilitate the restoration of a relative external equilibrium in the entire economy by taking off due to, among other things, active exchange rate policy by the state. This, however, is far from certain.

The day these two rates coincide, even for a moment, the zloty will cease being a sick currency. At the moment, it is going through an acute illness for various reasons. The bank program of reinforcing the currency is supposed to help it overcome the current predicament.

In a situation when one can buy nothing for zlotys abroad, and few sought-after goods inside the country, the demand for hard currency cannot but increase. Also, at the current rate of inflation in Poland, keeping zloty savings makes no sense. Those who have the opportunity and find a way switch to dollars, marks or francs. The United States, FRG, France and even Switzerland also have inflation, but it can hardly be compared to ours.

The realities of our economy, which we are trying to open to the world gradually and carefully, have caused Poland to become in practice a dual-currency country. Increasingly many transactions take place in dollars or [hard currency] certificates, and not only in "Pewex" and "Baltona," but also between citizens. Houses and cars, VCRs and satellite dishes are sold, apartments are rented and other services are rendered for dollars. Nobody can quantify the scale of this phenomenon, but everybody seems to be aware of this development.

### Numbers Out of a Hat

What amount of hard currencies, primarily dollars, in which we have the greatest, often irrational, confidence, do Poles have? At the banks, they say that all estimates released from time to time could only be pulled out of a hat. In reality, their authors had no basis to even estimate the order of magnitude. The amount of dollars circulating in Poland remains a secret for everyone, including the minister of finance.

A share of this money (we do not know how big a share compared to all of it) finds its way to the banks, primarily to the PKO [Polish Security Bank] SA, where Poles have deposited about 80 percent of their known hard-currency savings, and almost all of the remainder—to the NBP [National Bank of Poland]. The banks are secretive and mistrustful in nature. They do not like to boast their turnover, to say nothing of profits. However, it is known that in recent years the growth rate of deposits in personal hard-currency accounts has been very high. As recently as 1982, the savings in these

accounts totalled about \$300 million, whereas at the end of 1984 the total soared to \$700 million; in 1985, it exceeded \$1 billion, and at present it stands at \$2.5 billion.

And this is not all. The turnover and savings by citizens are still increasing. Due to changes in regulations in the fall of 1984, the money stopped rushing through accounts like a hurricane. Little by little, the latest wave of emigrants is beginning to make decent money. Some are coming back. Others are helping their families from far away. Contributions on the order of \$30,000 or \$40,000 after several years of absence from the country are not a rarity anymore. Lately, 600 new accounts have been opened every day in Warsaw alone. A recent reduction in interest rates did not discourage people from contacting hard-currency banks. The populace acknowledged that keeping the money in their pockets or hiding it under the floor to be a lousy alternative. Nor could the populace turn to a competing financial institution, since such does not exist.

People bring their money to the banks not only because they have come to trust them more, as the official version suggests. Firstly, they can calculate which deal is better for them. Secondly, gradual liberalization of banking regulations is also a factor, though it is easy to see that in the 1980s there have also been measures to the opposite effect.

#### Accounts Thawing Out

Recently, a marked thaw has been setting in. Last fall, the "N" accounts finally began to bear interest and \$100 certificates of deposit for individual bearers appeared, bringing handsome profit (\$500 denomination is still being printed). They can be purchased by an owner of undocumented hard currency. The PKO SA bank has begun to purchase certificates for zlotys.

As a result, the black and the official markets, at least their segments which the populace deals with directly, began to dovetail more and more. Finally, the speculators have run into any competition at all and, perhaps, some of their clients no longer use their services. After an initial period of stagnation, the certificate repurchase business took off markedly, achieving a decent level, as they see it at Traugutt Street [the PKO SA].

Thus far, the bank has purchased merchandise certificates worth over \$6 million from private holders as an agent for the CZSS [Central Union of Food Producers' Cooperatives] "Spolem", the CPHW [Central State Domestic Trade Office], the "Moda Polska" [Polish Fashion House] and the "Centrum" Department Stores. Despite the bank commission, horrendous taxes and high customs dues, other enterprises interested in turning dollars into merchandise have already approached the PKO SA. So far, they have been turned away. The bank does not want to sign new contracts, because it is

not sure that they can be carried out in time. The demand of retail enterprises for the dollar certificates appears to be sky-high, whereas the supply is certainly limited.

Unfortunately, there are two sides to every coin including this one. The skeptics maintain that entrance of the PKO SA into the certificate trade has made prices more rigid. A new purchaser, and a big one at that, has arrived. To be sure, he pays 5 percent less on the average, but responds slower to fluctuations in the trend. On balance, current prices are not as capricious as they used to be. Presumably, the PKO SA is contributing to pushing the quotations higher.

It is difficult to verify this theory. After an incredible dollar boom before the referendum, caused primarily by the expectations of very high price raises in our country, the black market quotations have come down to the level of 1,200—1,300 zlotys.

#### The Lack of Logic

Observing the swings in quotations out of professional need rather than curiosity, the bankers thus far have come to the conclusion that there is no perceptible, logical justification for differences between individual cities, which occur and change all the time. Polish ports may either have the highest quotation or one of the lowest. The capital city is unpredictable. The black market rate also shoots up occasionally in provinces where the influx of foreign currency from abroad is permanent.

Should the bank, in view of this, also sell the certificates and push the quotations down by offering competitive prices? The answer to this can only be yes, but at least for now the goal cannot be achieved, say bank representatives. Beginning such trade would make sense when the seller has a decent stock of goods, in this case—certificates. At present, the PKO SA does not have sufficient resources for this. Beginning of the sale would almost certainly create additional demand (some citizens are not inclined to purchase from the speculators). If this demand is not met, then the black market rate will go up again. The actual effect would be the exact opposite of that intended. Therefore, it may be assumed that the PKO SA will first stockpile the ammunition, and only later shoot from the new cannon.

#### The Bank Looks Like the Butcher's

Before these salvos happen, customer service departments of hard-currency banks should cease resembling butcher shops around rush hour. In both places, people crowd, curse, shove and stand in lines for hours. Unfortunately, as of late this has been the case year round.

The situation appears to be paradoxical. On the one hand, the banks and the state treasury have a vital interest in increasing deposits in hard-currency accounts.



On the other hand, the standard of service has been declining drastically in recent years. The number of branches is not increasing, whereas the number of transactions in hard-currency banks is increasing by 100 percent a year. In the capital, the PKO SA has failed for years to break out of the "golden triangle" of Czacki, Kredytowa and Mazowiecka Streets. The recently introduced electronic data processing system was necessary, but it only reduced the lines for a short while. Without decent space, the banks compromise their reputation and punish their clients. A situation has come about when a branch with a 600-meter hall services at present 300,000 hard-currency accounts. In countries with more sophisticated banking, the norm for such a branch is 4,000 to 8,000 accounts. The PKO SA branches are open much longer and operate under much worse conditions than the NBP branches, which are open for customers only until noon. It only remains to be determined when this entire business will come to a screeching halt.

I will bet dollars against nuts that the introduction of magnetic cards for identifying customers and the installation of automatic teller machines in minuscule booths, which the bank is considering, will not markedly improve the standard of service either. The situation with space for banks is horrible in Warsaw and bad throughout the country. Even now some PKO SA branches are not opening new accounts; some are still doing it, though they should have stopped long ago. The NBP would gladly send the people with dollars over... to the competitors. Without opening new branches, the banks will further compromise themselves in the eyes of customers. A run on the banks is only possible under conditions of a full monopoly, given the miserable service. In any other situation, the banks would have to reckon with what the customers think of them.

Eventual further projects of liberalizing the provisions of the Polish hard-currency law will run into purely technical barriers, apart from the economic ones. After all, any loosening of the binds causes a natural increase in turnover. At present, the banks are not prepared for this. Usually, they are bursting at the seams.

### Sticks in the Wheels

Units of the socialized economy, and primarily state enterprises, which have also begun playing the green-[back] due to the relatively novel institution of hard-currency auctions, do not have all these problems. However, the auction business is getting underway with difficulty because there are incomparably more buyers than there are sellers of dollars (they may only come from the ROD [retained hard-currency allowance] accounts). The gap between demand and supply has been widening from one auction to the next. Under such circumstances, a sharp price increase would appear natural. Surprise! At the last auction last year, the price went up only by 3 zlotys, to the level of about 1,035 zlotys (compensation for the seller plus the official exchange rate). It is easy to guess that someone (could it be the

banks?) began to poke sticks in the wheels of the machinery of auctions, which in theory has a built-in arrangement for a free setting of quotations.

Such actions aimed at holding down the price can lead to only one thing. The supply of dollars will decline even further, and the auctions will become what they once were—a semi-dead institution.

In theory, the number of sellers could be increased by letting enterprises which have dollars other than from the ROD take part in this game. The BRE [Export Development Bank], which has been holding auctions for a year, keeps receiving such offers. Among others, potential exporters for whom the official rate is too low to break even, and for whom subsidies are not a possibility, knock on the bank's doors. The bank turns them down, and not only because accepting such a request is banned by regulations. BRE Chairman Krzysztof Szwarz states that accepting hard currency other than from the ROD for auctioning would in practice be equal to a return to differentiated rates of exchange in Poland. For years, we have fought hard for a uniform official exchange rate of the dollar, and it would be difficult to let it go to waste now.

Technically, the system of hard-currency auctions for units of the socialized economy has been completely divorced from the free currency market in Poland. However, I suspect that if the mechanism of free price setting had not been violated during successive sessions, then the free market rate and the auction rate would have pulled very close together, regardless of what we think of its present level.

The following may be the conclusion from the above reasoning: it is not only difficult to obtain hard currency in Poland, but also to conduct business in it. The compartmentalized market is not a cohesive entity, and perhaps it does not even deserve that name. Gradual, though still timid liberalization gives us hope that this won't last forever. However, we will only be able to say that the situation is becoming normal when the newly installed cameras intended to scare away particularly importunate speculators disappear from the entrances to bank branches. This still appears to be far in the future.

9761

### Economic Talks With Sweden

26000287f Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25 Mar 88 p 2

[Text] On 24 March the under secretary of state in the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation, Janusz Kaczurba, hosted the head of a Swedish delegation, Ulf Lewin, who chaired the delegation at the 16th session of the Polish-Swedish Joint Commission.

Discussed during the meeting was the current state of economic relations between the two countries and prospects and opportunities for development of trade, and industrial, technical, and scientific cooperation.

It was stated that conditions are good for development in such fields as agriculture, food processing, construction, and environmental protection.

12776

### **Enterprise Negotiations Improve Consumer Goods Situation**

*26000289a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
22 Mar 88 pp 1, 9*

[Text] In a week the first quarter will be nearly over, but the flow of consumer goods to the market still remains statistically a variable quality. Admittedly, we know that this year's industrial deliveries will greatly surpass 2 billion zloty in value, but it is still hard to describe how they will look in individual trades and stock categories.

Both the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Domestic Trade are conducting negotiations with manufacturers. Representatives of both departments are also meeting jointly more often. As a result of these discussions there are more optimistic decisions now than at the beginning of the year. Also to come are jointly undertaken investment and modernization ventures.

In part in the agreement with industry, a concept has been prepared for expansion of manufacturing capacity of household chemicals plants. This year, production of toilet soap will increase to 50,000 tons, which would completely fill retail and market orders.

By tightening the foreign currency belt in less painful areas, the department of industry has also saved funds to import raw materials crucial to laundry detergent factories. Already a total of \$3.9 million has been put in service, which will allow an increase in detergent production by 8,000 tons. In total, supplies of detergent are to exceed 260,000 tons this year, 15,000 more than last year. The problem with shaving cream has been resolved similarly. Half a million dollars extracted by the ministry would give the market 500 additional tons of shaving cream. In sum, production will increase to 3,500 tons, compared to 2,600 tons last year.

On the other hand, it is not known exactly when problems with buying towel will end, but it should happen this year. In any case, the industry recently prepared and filed with the Ministry of Domestic Trade an internal plan for expanding manufacturing capacity that anticipates increasing turkis towel production by about 10 million meters.

Especially promising are the most recent pledges from the Ministry of Industry on the question of seer stock-

ings. Recently, the department gave manufacturers \$4 million, which means additional production of about 20 million pairs of stockings.

The matter of fabric for diapers and recycled cotton fabrics remains open. Let us begin with diapers. Recently the department of industry, together with the cotton industry, has prepared a detailed proposal on increasing production of tetra, which requires providing foreign currency funds to the firms. Requirements have been estimated at \$400,000, which is necessary to purchase spare machine parts and ancillary materials. The production of an additional 4 million diapers depends on that amount. From preliminary discussions conducted by the department of industry and consumer goods, it is apparent that the ministry of consumer goods is interested in the offer. The decisions should come "any day." The question of recycled fabric is similar. There are real possibilities for increasing production of these fabrics by half a million meters. Everything depends on the foreign currency moves of the ministry of consumer goods.

On the other hand, there are many indications that further discussions on voltaic batteries will no longer be necessary. Admittedly, the Ministry of Industry does not want to disclose what arguments it used in recent negotiations with the factories, but it is a fact that the manufacturers committed themselves definitively to supplying 200.9 million batteries, compared to 196.9 million announced in the plans. If one adds that deliveries of batteries last year reached barely 166.2 million units, the secret of the ministry's success in negotiations is all the more intriguing.

As is apparent from the explanations submitted by minister Jerzy Bilip at the last session of the Sejm Industry Committee, the new department has worked out a plan for modernizing the paper industry and new initiatives whose implementation will remove the toilet paper problem from the agenda. Indeed, the first large machine will be installed in Krapkowice this year, where it will be sufficient to extend the existing factory floor by 15 meters. Preparations for major modernization and reconstruction are going in other factories.

One can count on results starting next year. Currently consumer needs are estimated at 400 million rolls. In two years, as is apparent from the prognosis of the Ministry of Industry, we should therefore surpass the critical level.

12776

### **Controversial Economist Speaks Out on Reform, Party Connections**

*26000307 Warsaw REPORTER in Polish  
No 3, Mar 88 pp 12, 13*

[Interview with Prof Jozef Kaleta, Wroclaw economist, by Aldona Lukomska]

[Text]

[Question] Are you lonely, Professor?

[Answer] I would think not. Indeed, without a doubt—no. I publish a lot and am always being asked for new articles and commentaries. I receive many letters from readers who support my arguments. And, finally, there is a group of prominent economists who think as I do. These include Professors Mujzel, Beksiak, Nasilowski, Wilczynski, Fedorowicz, Goscinski, and Jozefiak who for years have been fighting for a reform model convergent with mine.

[Interviewer] Not such a large group if you consider the fact that several dozen people are on the Commission for Reform alone and that each one of them considers himself/herself a reformer...

[Answer] The reform is as the reformers are. The "successes" of the first phase are over—I would think that there is no doubt as to that. There are numerous advocates of the reform today in the Commission for Reform. However, there are also those in it whom I would call, with full responsibility, adversaries of the reform. Let us take note of who speaks the loudest on this subject: former Gierek advisers or prominent figures from past terms, e.g., Pajestka, Madej, Jedrychowski, Albrecht, Lesz, Bien, Kisiel and many others. They advised then and their mouths are full of suggestions now.

[Interviewer] Everyone has the right to change his or her opinion...

[Answer] Yes, but on condition that this is not done for show. It is really not so difficult to check someone's intentions if one observes the effects, results of performed activity and not just listens to talk. Unfortunately, it saddens me to say that within my social sphere, i.e., that of economists, such a change of outlook comes all too easily to many. I have colleagues who at first were trumpeters for the former administration, then they immediately signed up with "Solidarity" and were its advisers, and when martial law was introduced—they were the first to support it. Can such people be relied upon?

[Interviewer] But the classification of people and their intent according to what they did in the past is not always precise if only because of the fact that every person over 30 [years old] was involved in one way or another in that which had occurred previously.

[Answer] Agreed. But that is exactly why I hold that the genuineness of one's views must be proven through actions and not just by changing one's calling card. Despite appearances, outlooks cannot be changed so easily upon reaching a certain age. Someone who for years has been used to agreeing with and praising everything that the administration does will change his opinion along with cabinet changes. It is hard to find a worse adviser.

[Question] You don't speak very highly of the Commission for Reform. Are you not a member of it?

[Answer] That is a rather enigmatic matter. I was formally requested to participate in the work of two groups: the first and ninth. I know that the latter is still active. However, I have not been invited to the meetings for a long time now.

[Interviewer] I have been looking rather persistently for your name in the membership of various representative and social bodies and I have not found it...

[Answer] That is probably the price I have to pay for not being humble. Sometimes it even results in amusing situations. I had been a member of the Bank Research Council for years—today, I no longer am. I had also been a member of the Research Council affiliated with the minister of finance and the Institute of Finance and no longer am. The procedure was always similar. At first, I was not sent invitations to the meetings. Then, my term was coming to an end and I was not reappointed. The funny thing is that I am perhaps the only professor of finance in Poland who does not have the "Minister of Finance Merit Award" distinction. Now, I am even glad because this means that I had no hand in the country's difficult financial situation. This ostracism has its good points: I have more time now.

[Interviewer] It is difficult for me to believe that you are happy with this excess free time. For very many years you were extremely socially active: delegate to several consecutive PZPR Congresses; chairman of the National Council in Wroclaw; rector of the Economic Academy in Wroclaw for three terms of office; and member of numerous commissions, councils, etc. From such a past, the accusation may also be made of your having changed only your calling card...

[Answer] I see that I have to start from the beginning. I joined the party during the 1950's being a fervent supporter of the slogans that it propagated. During the first crisis in 1956, I was active in the so-called Revolutionary Committee. Already at that time, I called for a far-reaching economic reform: the elimination of many ministries, the restoration of the market, etc. Later, when there was less and less talk about the reform and even none at all, I tried to remind about the necessity of reforming the economy in that which I advocated and wrote about. The effects could be measured here with the activity of censorship. In 1967, my book under a rather banal title "Regional Budget Planning" appeared in which once again I placed the system of managing the economy under criticism and repeated my reform credo. Then came 1971 and the 6th Party Congress. At the time, they named me the militant delegate. I was, in any case, the coauthor of a very good congress resolution. I was a member of the party-government commission for improving the functioning of the state and the economy, the so-called Szydlak commission. A year later, following

a speech in which I criticized the government for not implementing the congress resolution, they thanked me for my participation in the work of this commission.

At the Eighth Party Congress, I had a voice only in the commission which at the time was headed by Kisiel and Gebala. My speech, in which I called for radical reforms, was interrupted.

Shortly afterwards—the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. I came out with the demand for a thorough reform of the Center. As a result, I was appointed to a commission that was debating over the party program. I participated in its work for 2 years. And again at a certain point in time I stopped receiving invitations, although, I had not been dismissed formally.

[Interviewer] Professor, the entire history of your social activity is inseparably interlinked with the party. Even during the most dramatic moments, you did not turn in your party membership card despite all the critical remarks which you do not spare this party...

[Answer] Yes. That is because I am convinced that, above all, the party needs critical people. Agitation is needed. We have enough apologists. After all, even water in a river will stop flowing if there are no level differences. When at the beginning of martial law, some of the professors from my department began turning in their party membership cards, I tried to dissuade them from this maintaining that the party needs people with a critical mind who do not go along with the rest. That is why I am glad that the proposal has been made to create the opportunity for these people to return to the party.

[Interviewer] From criticism to the accusation of revisionism is not such a long road...

[Answer] I am a professor and by definition professors should be revisionists. Progress depends on the revision of the hitherto existing outlooks. Prof Ossowski has already said that it is the moral obligation of professors to be insubordinate in thought and to maintain a critical stance.

[Question] That has a nice ring to it but life tends to place a muzzle on those who do not conform. What is necessary then: character, nerves of steel to find the courage to say "no"?

[Answer] I would think that a little of everything. Although, currently, consistency and the refusal to agree to cheap compromises count above all. I once heard the following statement from a high ranking official: "We wanted to start with Warsaw and you are criticizing us..." The only thing is, I don't want Warsaw. What do I need Warsaw for?

[Question] A propos. Do you have ulcers or a heart condition?

[Answer] I am as healthy as a horse. Such problems do not affect me. I am a mountaineer [goral] and mountaineers are strong people.

[Question] So how does it go? Are you, therefore, an exception to the rule that dictates that there is no place in the party for critical people or has the rule changed already?

[Answer] Most probably, I am still the exception, although, I must admit that there are more and more such exceptions. I could name a lot of people who consistently defend the right to express one's own opinions. To confine myself to my own academic sphere, let me mention Professors Reykowski, Wiatr, Kozakiewicz, Gulczynski, and Tymowski.

[Interviewer] And yet this is what I heard from the mouth of a man who is a very active defender of the right to critical views within the party: "It is not right that people such as Prof Kaleta are tolerated in the party just because they are tagged as, excuse me, deviates."

[Answer] I am aware of this but since attaching such a tag to me improves the frame of mind of those who nod in agreement in order to advance their careers or because of plain cowardice—then let them. Time will tell and perhaps it is already telling who was really right.

I feel that today I have found my defender in Gorbachev—in what he says and in the assistants that he selects. A recent BBC report stated that Gorbachev selects advisers similar to Kaleta (Aganbegian, Abalkin). With the entire exaggeration of this statement, I have the right to believe that the time has come for giving an ear to radical and critical opinions.

[Interviewer] There is one more label attributed to you: "Kaleta is an advocate of market socialism."

[Answer] I have also heard that one. Of course, I am not an advocate of market socialism. After all, I do not rule out the possibility of state influence over the economy. I am only for the introduction into it of a market mechanism because there simply is no other that would be just as effective. After all, categories such as: price, money, and credit are outside the system of government and are objective just as a kilogram or kilometer. They are neither revisionist nor progressive. The Chinese say that shoes are neither socialist nor capitalist—and they are right.

Dogmatists maintain that power is based on having the economy and the party nomenclature in one's hand. After all, the experience of parties ruling in developed countries demonstrates that it is possible to have power and influence over the economy without controlling it directly and by limiting the nomenclature to only the highest posts.

[Interviewer] I feel that it is, above all, your critical stance toward nomenclature that causes you to have few supporters within your own party. It is interpreted as an attempt against the state of ownership and authority of this party.

[Answer] I constantly run into this type of thinking and practice as far as nomenclature is concerned. Although, I must admit that the questions concerning the referendum put me in an optimistic mood presently. Indications are that changes must occur in that area as well. The sooner the better because outside of everything else, nomenclature by its very nature destroys to a certain degree the possibility of critical thinking. However, if one's position or further career will depend on nodding one's head in agreement, then it is obvious that there will not be many of those willing to voice their own opinion that differs from the official one.

[Question] I have the feeling that you tend to overpersonify all phenomena. Names, people, their past, their attitudes—does everything really depend on this?

[Answer] Almost everything. We still do not say enough about people who head or spur certain processes. They are the ones who create reality. No one or nothing else. Those who make decisions and not at all those about whom it is often said that the "success of the reform is dependent on their approval" are the people who have all of society in mind. Of course, public support for reforms is extremely important but it has existed for a long time now. However, of utmost importance is the genuine will of the reform in decision-making centers, among people who are to implement it. In my opinion, things are not as they should be in this respect despite numerous declarations. Gorbachev is very right in calling attention to the fact that the most dangerous thing for any and all reforms is opposition within the party and the administration.

[Question] And what about ideology? More and more frequently we hear the call for a new interpretation of the classics...

[Answer] This is perhaps not so much a question of a new interpretation as of verifying, checking how the banners with which we have fenced up to now have proven in reality and casting aside those which do not fit into it. After all, this should be a completely normal process. During their lifetime, Marx and Engels changed their views many times on the subject of socialism whereas our dogmatists still want to shape reality according to 19th century quotations. Again I wish to return to Gorbachev. He has stated that, in principle, everything that has been created in the social sciences during recent times should be thrown into the wastebasket and that we should get a grip on the realities of life. In science—in any science the verification of hitherto existing views is necessary. If in the 19th century Marx and Engels predicted that total pauperization of the working class would occur in capitalism or that small enterprises

would disappear and that only large supranational oligopolies would remain and that did not happen—are we supposed to pretend that we do not notice this?

[Interviewer] We are entering a very heatedly discussed problem of the relationship of ideology to the economy...

[Prof Kaleta] To me it is obvious that we cannot look for economic justifications in ideology. In any case, for entire decades our economic practice was not even based on the ideology of the great classics but only on one of its interpretations: on the Stalinist interpretation and rendering of the concept of socialism into economic mechanisms—an interpretation that rejected common sense and the objective laws of economics and trampled upon the human experience of past ages in this regard. From this arose the image of socialism as a system of general impoverishment. And yet, Marx stated that socialism is, above all, high labor productivity. And what about this productivity? Perhaps the best example of economic functioning in a socialist system is given by the Chinese: "It is not important whether a cat is black or white. What is important is that he be good at catching mice." Why should we cast aside the excellent experiences of capitalism in the area of management, projection, etc. when they bring good results? Why should we remain steadfastly with general state ownership if practice has proven that this is a rather ineffective form? Let us form independent cooperatives; let us sell shares to workers...

[Question] And what about socialism?

[Answer] Socialism in terms of distribution. Here there is room for the realistic and practical implementation of the concept of socialism. All the more complete and fair the implementation, the more efficient the economy and the more there is to distribute.

[Question] Do you know what they say about professors who voice such daring and uncompromising theories? Thus, it is said that this comes easily to them because they are not accountable for anything. However, when the time comes for putting into practice that which they have been preaching, they immediately see a myriad of determining factors which prevent this. In any case, practice based on appointing notable professors to government positions in a way confirms this...

[Answer] And perhaps practice is already so falsified in its assumption alone that we resort to choosing from the body of professors people who are lacking in character and convictions to consistently stand by their views. Perhaps also the mechanisms of authority are such that they incapacitate, as it were, the professors in their activity. This happens when a person decides only about that which occurs in a small segment whereas his every movement is subject to decisions made by those of considerably higher rank.

And finally, the third reason: not all professors and particularly those who have had no contact with practice are capable of managing. That is also true.

[Question] Then perhaps we should remain with advising and voicing independent opinions. How does a person feel who for years has been repeating the same thing and for years has not been able to find understanding for his own cause in the decisions made somewhere at "the top"?

[Answer] If you are thinking of my proposals then things are not so bad. Slowly, very slowly but even for me the time is coming for a certain kind of satisfaction. When many years ago I spoke about collective ownership, people were tapping their foreheads. Today, I can read such an entry in the program of the second phase of the reform. When I spoke about enterprise shares, joint ventures with foreign capital and stock-exchanges, I was branded with infamy (most frequently by those "perpetual," good-at-every-turn advisers). Now, after years have passed it turns out that I was right, after all. When finally I began to convince others about the necessity of carrying out radical reforms under conditions of an unbalanced economy, I found myself in a very small group of economists who saw such a necessity. Now, after more than 6 years of reforming, we have an economy that is just as imbalanced. However, today even the most ardent supporters of at first balancing it and only then reforming it admit that they were wrong. Professor Bobrowski, for example. Only, how much has this cost us?

Recently, information has reached me that my "Scenario of Reform" ["Scenariusz reformy"] published in the columns of ODRODZENIE and so critically received by certain spheres, has been carefully studied by the highest ranking authorities. Therefore, something is changing! If only the fact that now I can, in principle, publish without the interference of censorship. And all sorts of things used to happen in the as yet not too distant past. I am now publishing in the official mass media and only in them despite the fact that I come across views that this is often journalism significantly more biting than even that of the "other circulations."

[Question] Are you an optimist?

[Answer] Yes. Despite everything I am an optimist. We must introduce radical socioeconomic reforms because we do not have any other chances for keeping pace with the competition from highly developed countries. If we do not do this, we shall bring about an even greater socio-political crisis than the last one. We shall annihilate socialism.

[Question] Do you have any plans for the future?

[Answer] No, I do not, other than my normal professional activity at the academy and, of course, relentlessly doing that which I have been doing in the case of reform.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

9853/9604

### **Electronics Industry Finds Advantages of 'Merging' Questionable**

26000296a Warsaw POLITYKA-EKSPORT-IMPORT  
in Polish No 4, Feb 88 p 19

[Article by Bogda Zukowska: "A Dangerously Integrated Circuit"]

[Text] They say that he is ahead in electronics who produces integrated circuits with a higher degree of integration. "Elpol" is our latest achievement in this field. This "integrated circuit" of the Polish electronic industry consists of 96 enterprises, including "Unitra" and three other foreign trade organizations.

"Elpol" has, or rather is supposed to have, only advantages and but one drawback. Namely, it cannot be built into any color TV, computer or even a simple radio. "Elpol" is going to be domestic, while the rest of integrated circuits will continue to be imported. In view of that, it should be questioned whether this arrangement and such integration are what the electronic industry needs.

### **Unity Is Strength?**

Jan Brukszo, director of the "Unitra" Foreign Trade Company, has no doubts of this nature. He explains: "We joined 'Elpol' because we felt it was in our interest." It is good to be large, but it is better yet to be a giant. Until recently, "Unitra" was an association of 37 enterprises. At present, the association itself is a partner in a company comprising about 100 firms. Therefore, full bloom is in the cards, primarily in the import department. "Elpol" wants to carry out "The Program of Electronization," but first it must make large-scale purchases. The coffers with hard currency are going to be relatively large considering this time of widespread poverty. Partners from the industry decided to transfer some of their own money accumulated in accounts of [retained hard currency] allowances. "Elpol" must secure the remainder from the state.

No wonder "Unitra" does not want to forego this opportunity. For a couple years now it has imported more than it has exported. During the last 2 years, purchases have accounted for over 60 percent of the trade turnover by this organization with foreign countries. Due to "Elpol," considerably more orders should be expected in 1988. "This is the way the Polish electronic industry is," explains the chief of "Unitra". This would hardly be something to harp on—after all, imports of equipment and especially subassemblies are not blameworthy in and of themselves—if it were not for the

apprehension that these lopsided ratios will be perpetuated. In this case, we will only have old and growing debts instead of a new source of hard currency generated by highly upgraded exports.

"We make it the goal of 'Elpol' to generate merchandise for exports." However, the skeptics do not share the optimism of director Brukszo.

So far, quantity has not converted into quality. The reason might be that the Polish electronic industry was not quite integrated. The "Unitra" association and a partnership operating under the same name and with almost the same partners did not satisfy such ambitions.

The foreign trade organization became a partnership in 1982 somewhat under the pressure of the so-called "external circumstances." However, later there was no excuse for failing to discover the virtues of the commercial code of 1934 and take advantage of all its benefits: set up joint enterprises, invest dividends into development or, finally, raid together the fund of small-scale restructuring for the cheapest and easiest-to-obtain loans for exporters, while the Ministry of Foreign Trade still had the fund.

Nothing of the kind happened. Instead, the Polish electronic industry entered the second stage of integrating circuits in November 1986, in the light of TV studio lamps and with popm and circumstance. "Unitra"—association and "Unitra"—foreign trade partnership signed an agreement on close cooperation. The usually sober-minded ZYCIE WARSZAWY let itself be carried away in the environment of general elation. The paper reported: "An agreement of this kind is without precedent in our country, and this may be the reason for such great interest in it."

Actually, the agreement was not as much of a precedent as it was an oddity. After all, it was signed by two hats off the same head: the Radio Enterprise "Eltra," as a member of the association—with "Eltra" as a partner in the foreign trade partnership, "Polkolor"—with "Polkolor," thirty some enterprises in all. The goal of it all was, of course, to develop production and exports.

A year later, both parties are satisfied with the agreement signed. "Working contacts have been streamlined," says the director of the "Unitra" foreign trade enterprise. "The agreement was an element formalizing the relationship," adds Jan Mazurkiewicz, a commissioned representative of the director of "Unitra" Association. Specifics, however, look less cheerful. Statistics of the association suggest that in 1987 exports to the countries of the so-called 2nd payments area [dollar-denominated trade] remained at the 1986 level, or about \$53 million. Ruble-denominated sales even declined, coming up to 370-380 million rubles instead of the planned 450 million. Dynamic growth is evident only in the column "business trips." There were 3,200 of them last year, 40 percent more than in 1986.

In earnest, what has been the result of the agreement between "Unitra" and "Unitra?" "This was an organizational palliative," honestly admitted director Mazurkiewicz.

As my interlocutors see it, only "Elpol" won't be a palliative, and one might envy them for being so confident.

### Large but Not Powerful

"The integrated circuit" called "Elpol," which was set up last December, is an addition to the list of giants in our economy having great clout needed to secure various goods in short supply, preferences, subsidies and hard currency from centralized resources. However, a confrontation with foreign competition will determine whether "Elpol" is powerful. On this score, we may come up short.

Let us go on considering "Unitra." To date, its exports have hinged on 6 enterprises. From among those, the share of exports to the West has exceeded 10 percent only at the "Polkolor" and "Diora." At the "Eltra" and "Fonica" factories it amounted to about 8 percent, and at "Kasprzak" and "Tonsil"—5 percent. Meanwhile, as the chief of export operations at one of these enterprises maintains, any contact with the requirements and feeling for the needs of foreign markets can be gained only by shipping abroad a minimum of 10 to 15 percent of the goods produced. There is no denying that a majority of exporters of Polish electronics may have difficulties pulling up to this mark.

Subassemblies, or more precisely the lack thereof, are the sole culprit in all of this. At least, this is what conversations in the "Unitra" partnership and the documents justifying the formation of the "Elpol" partnership suggest. If only we had subassemblies... then we would find out where the real bottleneck is in the Polish electronic industry. In the government "Program of Electronization," a list of raw and other materials without which no electronic product will be produced fills up two closely printed pages. Laminates, foils, glues, plastics—in all, 30 items for which \$25 million are spent every year, and it is known to be much too little. All of the interested parties, and especially the brains behind and partners of "Elpol," which is to be the guardian and executor of the program, know this list by heart. Meanwhile, the giant partnership basically does not transcend the single-industry limits. As it were, the partnership will not solve its production and development problems without the chemical industry.

Therefore, there will be yet another "organizational palliative," this time larger than all the previous ones.

### Discord Inspires

There is no mistake in this subheading. More than once it has turned out that all merger and integration activities brought about languor and torpor. In their turn, secessionist actions have introduced an invigorating breeze of industriousness. The foreign trade enterprise "Unitra" is a good case in point.

A couple years ago, the light bulb factory "Polam"-Pila divorced itself from the firm with a lot of difficulties. The gap left by the loss of this large-scale exporter was not filled immediately, because at first all the effort was directed at making life difficult for the "Polam." However, this entire "affair" spurred the trade personnel enough to make them search for new exporters more briskly. They have been quite successful at that.

The departure of the "Radwar," which also decided to get a concession and trade with the world on its own, caused somewhat less confusion.

The separation of the cathode ray tube enterprise "Polkolor" was the last and perhaps the strongest blow the "Unitra" has taken. Director Brukszo admits that 4 out of 5 existing departments, or in fact the entire head office, had to be reorganized on account of that. No wonder: since the Bureau of Foreign Trade Polkolor was set up in Piaseczno, the Warsaw partnership has lost about 20 percent of its turnover, and exports fell by one-third.

Marketing activity in other fields picked up considerably the moment the export "easy number" was no longer in the "Unitra." Refreshing the cadres was the first result of the imposed reorganization. At present, the partnership employs slightly more than 300 persons. As the head of the firm commented at one of the meetings, "the best were the first to find a job. It was most difficult to get rid of the poor ones."

Fortunately, the times are changing. Among other things, the return of old partners, the Thomson and Philips concerns, to Poland is a sign of these times. It is also known that Asian firms are eyeing our electronics industry. At this time, negotiations are underway. The result of them for us depends in particular on the commercial "nerve" of the "Unitra" and technical efficiency of its partners.

The foreign trade organization "Unitra" wants to add exports of services to its for-sale list. There are already first orders from companies, among others, Ampex and Bosch.

As we can see, "Unitra" is trying to patch up the hole in export statistics left by the separation of "Polkolor." This is not yet being done within the framework of a lucid program, but it definitely is a sign of livelier activity in the so-far sluggish organization. Now it is the turn for other enterprises to apply for [foreign trade]

licenses. It appears that the "Tonsil," "Eltra" and "Diora" are now ready for this. The present arrangement may be even convenient, but only with complete autonomy in production and commercial decisions can one seriously think about the development of a company.

Thus far, the model of an "integrated circuit," large and cumbersome, having no chance to keep up with the changes throughout the world in this industry, has gained the upper hand. However, there is hope that the desire to make and invest hard currency for its own sake and at its own risk will outweigh the profits promised by the "Elpol" for these several companies.

The situation is quite paradoxical: "Polkolor" finds itself in opposition to "Polkolor," and industriousness competes with trying to avoid inconvenience. This is exactly where the idea of forming the concern originated, but the company did not join it. That is, everybody was persuaded to join "Elpol" except for the employee council. At the same time, "Polkolor," a champion of "concentrating the efforts and the resources," took out a license and embarked on trading with foreign partners independently on such a scale as to become a competitor overnight to a couple organizations, with "Unitra" prominently among them. To complete the picture, the enterprise has been casting greedy glances at the preferences and subsidies about to be bestowed on "Elpol." At the same time, the project involving a boost in production capacity to 1.2 million cathode ray tubes has been financed from its own funds and loans, as the second stage of the reform calls for.

In a word, "Polkolor," which was intended to be the flagship of "Elpol," is itself providing arguments against such an integrated arrangement."

Nobody is saying that the Polish road to microelectronics is going to be simple and easy. However, it is not certain whether it leads through macroorganizations.

9761

### International TU Representatives Criticize Western Coverage

*26000287h Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25 Mar 88 p 2*

[Text] 24 March was the final day of sessions of the Administrative Committee of the International Trade Union of Textile, Apparel and Leather Industry Workers in Lodz.

Committee chairman Gilberto Morales of Columbia told reporters: We wanted very much to come to Poland to become acquainted with the situation in the union movement here, partly because in many Western countries and in Columbia as well, what is happening in your country is presented in a biased way. The committee members were able to ascertain how unfairly this image is presented. The main subject of the sessions was



development of scientific and technological progress and its impact on working conditions in light industry. In our compiled documents we say that unfair economic relationships exist in the world. The rich capitalist countries that have a technological edge exploit the poorer ones. On the other hand, workers in Third World countries are afraid of these new technologies, which cause decreased employment and thereby more unemployment in light industry. Also important is the issue of working conditions, dust, noise, etc. Another important question for us is the struggle for peace and disarmament and unity in the union movement. We included all these issues in the session documents.

Session participants visited the builders of the Memorial Hospital and Polish Mother's Health Center, where they were introduced to the center's medical program.

12776

#### **OPZZ Hosts International Metalworkers Union Members**

*26000287d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25 Mar 88 p 2*

[Text] On 24 March Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, hosted members of management of the International Union of Metal Workers and Metallurgists, led by secretary general Daniel Bailly (CGT-France), during ceremonies for the 80th anniversary of the metal workers union movement in Poland. Minister of Industry Jerzy Bilip also met with the delegation from the international union.

12776

#### **OPZZ Leadership Aims for More Direct Contact With Workers**

*26000287a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
25 Mar 88 p 5*

[Text] In coming days members of OPZZ management will again spend time among the crews of their parent plants. What experiences will these direct contacts and conversations bring, how much will they enrich the knowledge of union movement management about the moods and feelings of working people, will they fulfill expectations associated with it? OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz talked with a PAP reporter about this.

Our initiative does not mean that suddenly OPZZ management has come to the conclusion that it is necessary to "be" in the plants. That would be a conclusion inconsistent with the truth. We have always been aware that contact with worker crews is the most important thing to us. Not a week goes by that members of OPZZ management do not meet with union members all over the country or, more broadly, with working people. The

notion must always be with us that the parent plants constitute our roots, with which we should not only identify but which must also be, as it is said, nourishment for our work.

The question is, why have we come out with this initiative right now, since we already stay in contact with the plants from which we originate. Because of the particular moment. It is apparent—and I am speaking on the basis of our observations—that prices are increasing, wages are having difficulty keeping up with prices and the sphere of poverty may expand in our country. The question is on the agenda: will the declarations of the authors of reform on keeping real wages at their current level be achieved. We can see today that maintaining the population's standard of living will be very difficult. The trade unions announced at their congress that their main concern will be attempts to monitor the standard of living of working people through better quality work stimulated by an increase in motivation for such work. There can be many kinds of motivation but none better have been invented in the world than wages, working conditions and interpersonal relations, about which so little is said today, yet they are horrible, to put it mildly, in many plants.

Balance in the marketplace must be achieved through growth in supply. The greatest danger lies in the notion that after a certain time, after a few months, we will come full circle and find ourselves in the same place. A price increase will be necessary again, then pursuit of prices with wages, so that the value of our zloty will be much less than it is now. We will sustain not only material but also moral losses.

Our meetings need not be limited only to parent plants. Let it be known simply that we are in a given region, among working people. Our view will be sharpened when we visit our "own" plant, when we talk with people who do not speak to us as representatives of union movement management, but as colleagues. Then statements of our comrades in work are more open, more responsive. They give us a fuller opinion of the problems that bother the employees. In the parent plants we are "at home." Our colleagues know that we are coming for a working visit, and they talk less about what is good and positive and more, more openly and frankly about what raises their doubts, questions and criticism, what is not understood, what hurts and upsets them.

In meetings with people directly at their places of work, we take on a number of issues. They pertain to problems important to the plants, their personnel, the country and the entire society. Last week, for example, we talked about the very important question of whether what is happening in Poland in the area of legislation, the laws on the second stage of reform, will reach worker crews, how far the crews understand these concepts, how far they are able to perceive and sense their effects in the production process. The workers asked how it can be

that enterprises are self-managed, but so many parameters, indices and limitations are still operating. They did not hide their fears about supplies of resources and materials, about maintaining cooperative ties, about the effects of the growing demands of producers requiring so-called convertible currency loads. Working people expect more dynamic, more decisive action from us. We come out of these meetings richer in the certainty that we can avoid mistakes this way and work in accordance with the expectations of working people. I feel instinctively that the initiative we have undertaken for such systematic contacts is a step in the right direction.

12776

## ROMANIA

### Report Details Requests, Complaints From Citizens, Action Taken

27000073 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian  
3 Apr 88 p 2

[Unattributed article: "On the Activity of Dealing With the Working People's Proposals, Observations, Complaints, and Requests Directed to the Party Leadership, the Local Party and State Bodies, the Mass and Public Organizations, the Press, Radio, and Television in 1987"]

[Text] The National RCP Conference, a special event in the life of the party and the Romanian people, had a wide response in the working people's letters sent to the party leadership, the party and state bodies, and the mass and public organizations. Through letters and telegrams, many citizens of the homeland and staffs of working people in all fields of activity expressed their total adhesion to the theses, ideas, and orientations contained in the report presented at the national conference by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party, a document of exceptional theoretical and practical significance, a program of action for the party, for the whole populace, to attain in an exemplary manner the objectives of economic and social development of the country.

On the occasion of the times of special festivity occasioned by the celebration of the birthday of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and of Comrade Elena Ceausescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, first vice prime minister of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, on the passage of 22 years since the ninth party congress, on the days of the National RCP Conference, and on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic, the working people, through letters and telegrams, directed stirring homage to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the head of our party and state, and expressed their feelings of high regard and

admiration for his long revolutionary activity, which has become identified with the party's struggle for social and national justice and freedom, and their infinite gratitude for the self-sacrifice with which he has devoted his entire activity to raising the homeland to the highest peaks of progress and civilizations, for understanding and collaboration among peoples, for the triumph of peace in the world.

The working people also expressed feelings of high regard to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, a foremost militant of the party, for her special contribution to devising and implementing the party and state's policy and to developing science, education, and culture in our country.

The working people valued highly the speeches of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party, given at the plenums of the party's Central Committee and of the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development, at the Third Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, at the proceedings of the Plenum of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front on 21 December 1987, at the joint session of the councils of working people of Hungarian and German nationality, at the people's assemblies organized during the working visits made together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu to various counties, and on other occasions, expressing at the same time their determination to act steadily, in a revolutionary spirit, to implement the decisions of the 13th congress and the national conference of the party.

Through many letters sent to the party leadership, the working people rated highly the fruitful results of the goodwill visits made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, to some socialist states and to some countries in Africa and Asia, considering them notable moments in Romania's foreign policy for achieving in the world a climate of peace, trust, and wide collaboration among nations.

In 1987, over 1,561,700 citizens addressed the party leadership, the central bodies and organizations, the party bodies, the county, municipal, and city mass and public institutions and organizations, the press, radio, and television.

More than 223,000 working people made observations and proposals regarding a number of aspects of general interest in industrial units, research and design units for industry, state and cooperative agricultural units, enterprises in transportation, posts and telecommunications, trade, cooperative activity, tourism, and municipal administrative activity, and institutions of learning, culture, medical assistance, and other fields, with the majority of them proving to be well founded.

At the same time, the working people made many requests of personal interest for solving certain housing problems, resolving disputes involving work relations and personnel rights, settling disagreements, retrying

cases, and granting medical and social assistance, with about 45 percent of the requests being resolved favorably, on the whole, depending on the possibilities and the legality of the requests.

The plenum of the Central Committee judged that the demand of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, with regard to strengthening the party's ties with the masses and solving in good time the problems raised by citizens in various fields, as one of the basic aspects of revolutionary working-class democracy, formulated in the speech at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 24-25 March 1987, which analyzed the activity involving letters and audiences, and the measures established by the plenum for this field have led to the growth of the responsibility of the party and state bodies and the mass and public organizations in dealing with the proposals, observations, and requests of the working people.

In the economic, industrial, and agricultural units, construction companies, and transportation enterprises, action was taken more promptly to examine the worker personnel's proposals and to deal with them in practice. The county, municipal, and city party bodies and the managements of the industrial centrals and ministries increased their concern for utilizing in as many units as possible the valuable proposals involving growth in economic efficiency.

The personnel with responsible positions in the party and state bodies participated directly in the verification of many observations with an important content, and the staffs of working people were consulted to a greater degree in order to know the real situation in the units involved and to eliminate the shortcomings reported, with the conclusions of the inspections also being processed in other units in order to prevent the expansion of irregularities.

There was a rise in the concern of the personnel with leadership positions in the party and state bodies for organizing the granting of audiences to citizens, as the RCP Central Committee decision in March 1978 and Law No 1/1978 provide. In 1987, the ministers and other personnel in the managements of the ministries and of the other central state bodies heard 21,238 citizens, and the first secretaries and secretaries of the county party committees heard 85,759. In addition, over 189,800 citizens were granted audiences by first vice chairmen, vice chairmen, and other members of the executive committees and bureaus of the county, municipal, and city people's councils.

The central, local, and departmental press organs, radio, and television showed greater receptivity to the citizens' proposals and critical remarks, formulated through 113,151 letters and audiences, making a big contribution to popularizing the good experience in economic and municipal-administrative activity, to combating the

abuses and illegalities and the bureaucratic manifestations in the activity of institutions and enterprises in handling the requests of the citizens, and to strengthening socialist legality. The plenum judged that, through letters and audiences, many working people in various institutions and economic units formulated valuable proposals whose application led to the improvement of the economic activity in industrial enterprises and agricultural units, on construction sites, in transportation enterprises, and in production units of the artisan cooperative system. At the same time, on the basis of the working people's observations, action was taken to eliminate shortcomings in various fields, to improve the management of economic and social activity, to strengthen legality, and to comply with the norms of socialist ethics and equity.

Regarding the activity in some industrial and construction units, the working people, criticizing the unsatisfactory activity of the management personnel in the respective units, reported the deficiencies existing in the organization of production, the lack of steady supplies for the workplaces, the wasting of raw materials, supplies, fuel, and electric power, the nonuse of machines and equipment, the improper maintenance of those in operation, the unjustified existence of big stocks of materials and parts, the retention of many nonproductive personnel in certain units, and other shortcomings that led to the nonfulfillment of the plan indicators in some enterprises and, as a result, to the reduction of the pay of the worker personnel.

In other letters, proposals and observations were made regarding the activity in some agricultural production cooperatives, state agricultural enterprises, and agricultural machine stations. The existence of unworked land, the postponement of sowing, the nonexecution or superficial execution of crop-tending work, the poor organization of the harvesting campaign, losses of cereals, vegetables, and natural hay because of the failure to harvest them at the proper time or the improper storage of them, and the failure to tend and the improper feeding of animals on some livestock farms, which led to the loss of a large number of animals and to low outputs of meat and milk, were reported in some agricultural units in the counties of Dolj, Arges, Gorj, Dimbovita, Teleorman, Calarasi, Mehedinti, Galati, and others.

Many citizens informed the party leadership, the competent central bodies, and the local party and state bodies about a number of aspects in trade, tourism, and the cooperative system's service activity for the population. The citizens made proposals regarding a more sensible distribution of the existing commodity supply according to localities and sales units and requested that more efficient steps be taken to carry out the territorial self-supply programs, to steadily distribute agricultural and food products, to secure compliance with the rules of trade, to improve the quality of services, and to increase the receptivity and solicitude of the personnel in trade and cooperative activity for the requests of the population.

Citizens also participated widely in the municipal administrative activity of the people's councils by means of the proposals, suggestions, and critical remarks that they made in letters and audiences regarding the systematization and good administration of the localities, the observance of discipline in construction, urban transportation, housing-administration activity, etc., with many proposals being made especially in the period before the elections of deputies to the municipal, city, and communal people's councils.

A large number of working people and tenants associations in the municipalities of Bucharest, Bacau, Braila, Buzau, Galati, Iasi, and Timisoara and in other urban localities referred to the construction defects with which some housing blocks were put into use and to the poor quality of some work of maintaining the housing supply, performed by the specialized enterprises of the people's councils.

On the basis of the conclusions resulting from the verification of the observations and the examination of the proposals involving the activity of transportation, posts, and telecommunications, action was taken to reduce the inactive time of freight cars, to more sensibly utilize automotive means of transportation, to better correlate the railroad runs with the schedule of the units that have many commuting personnel, etc.

The working people's observations regarding the financial activity in the units were of real help in the activity of the competent bodies to stop irregularities existing in the management of the material and monetary resources of some units, to strengthen financial discipline, to combat tax evasion, and to protect and develop socialist property.

From the checking of the letters regarding work relations it resulted that groundless penalties and charges were applied in some units, the legal provisions on the applications of overall piecework were not followed in some cases, and the granting of some monetary incentives was not done fairly. In addition, sufficient concern for securing compliance with of the labor-safety norms did not exist in some enterprises. At the same time, from the examination of the causes that led to complaints and requests that proved unfounded it resulted that it is necessary to intensify the actions to educate the worker personnel about the rights but also the obligations that they have at the place of production, for increasing the strictness in complying with the manufacturing technologies and strengthening order and discipline in work. In addition, it is necessary, as the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, indicated, to really achieve pay according to work and in relation to work, to firmly apply the provisions of the law on profit-sharing, and to pay more attention to rationally using the work force.

The plenum noted that a number of shortcomings still persists in the activity involving letters and audiences.

Insufficient receptivity and concern for retaining and thoroughly and promptly examining the working people's critical remarks regarding the deficiencies that they find in the organization and performance of production and the utilization and management of the material base that the units have are still appearing in some enterprises, institutions, and agricultural units. In addition, in some enterprises and institutions, offices of the people's councils, and units performing services for the population, certain personnel, authorized to choose or propose solutions for dealing with the people's personal problems, are slow in examining them and sometimes give the citizens formal and bureaucratic answers, there being little concern for talking with the working people about the way of solving their problems or about the reasons why favorable solutions cannot be given in some cases.

The persistence of such attitudes, which were also criticized by the Plenum of the Central Committee on 21-25 March 1987, is an especially negative effect of the minimization, by some personnel with various leadership positions in the units, of the importance of the activity of dealing with the working people's observations and requests, as well as of the lack of strictness of the working people's councils and the party organizations in the respective units, which did not act to take firm steps against those who violated the provisions of the RCP Central Committee decision and of Law No 1/1978 referring to letters and audiences and were slow in handling the letters or showed superficiality in completely solving all problems reported by the working people.

The plenum of the RCP Central Committee adopted some measures that are to be taken in 1988 to further improve the activity of dealing with the proposals, observations complaints, and requests of the working people:

In the spirit of the decisions, theses, and orientations contained in the documents of the national party conference in December 1987 regarding the development of revolutionary working-class democracy, the participation of the working people in all social categories, of the whole populace, in the preparation and implementation of the programs for socialist development of the homeland, and the steady implementation of the decisions of the 13th party conference, the party bodies and organizations and the managements of the state bodies and of the mass and public organizations will act firmly to see that the working people's proposals, observations, and requests are examined and dealt with in good time, in conformity with the party and state decisions, and will take the most efficient steps to stimulate the participation of the citizens also by this means in economic and social activity, in the management of society's affairs.

The party bodies and organizations, the managements of the ministries, and the working people's councils in industrial units and centrals, construction companies, transportation enterprises, and agricultural units will see

that all the working people's proposals and suggestions that can help to utilize the production capacities in the best way, to fulfill the physical output and all the plan indicators, to attain with priority the production meant for exportation, to finish the investment projects on schedule, to utilize better and to economize on material and energy resources, to utilize land resources as efficiently as possible, to raise the efficiency of production, and to improve the management and organization of economic and social activity are examined and applied with maximum promptness.

The county, municipal, and city party committees will act with all possible strictness to combat any aspects of formal treatment of the problems that the working people raise in letters and audiences. In addition, they will lay stress on getting the party bodies and the working people's councils to make thorough analyses regarding the activity of dealing with the proposals, observations, and requests, to ferret out the causes of the shortcomings, and to act immediately to eliminate them;

The party bodies, the county, municipal, and city people's councils, and the mass and public organizations will take steps to stir up the personnel with tasks of popularizing the legislation, and in the actions that are organized in institutions and economic units and in villages, the purpose of the regulations adopted, the contribution that they can make to following them, and the consequences of violating socialist legality will be explained in detail to the citizens;

The party bodies, the people's councils, and the organizations of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front will act decisively to implement the instructions of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party, to give wider expression to the activity of the "Tribune of Democracy," which creates conditions so that the citi-

zens may give their opinion on the various sectors of activity;

To create a wide opinion against abuses and illegalities, in order to stop such antisocial manifestations, the central and local press bodies, the departmental newspapers, radio, and television, further popularizing the advanced experience in economic and social activity, will firmly criticize abuses, acts of violating the law and the norms of socialist ethics and equity, manifestations of negligence toward public property, and irresponsibility by some personnel in performing the tasks assigned by the staffs of working people;

In the inspections that they will make in the counties and the central state bodies, the section for letters and audiences of the party's Central Collegium and the other sections of the Central Committee will lay stress on acting promptly and with all possible firmness against any manifestations of delay or formal handling of the working people's proposals, observations, and requests, so that the entire activity of solving the problems that the citizens raise in letters and hearings may be performed in a spirit of great exactingness.

The Central Committee judges that the party bodies and organizations and the collective leaderships of the state bodies and of the mass and public organizations, in the spirit of the decisions of the national party conference, will act with complete responsibility to solve in good time, in conformity with the country's laws, the problems raised by citizens in various fields and to stimulate the working people's participation also by means of the dialogue through letters and audiences, as an expression of the development of revolutionary working-class democracy, in the management of economic and social activities and the steady implementation of the decisions of the 13th party congress.

12105/7310

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Results of Economic Experiments Discussed *24000078d Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Mar 88 p 1*

[Editorial: "What Has the Experiment Revealed"]

[Text] The new system of economic management is the current topic of discussions probably in every workplace. Our people are interested in documents about the process of restructuring of which they are getting informed step by step in our daily and professional press. That is not all: they appreciate every bit of information about the changes in our economic practice, and are eager to learn their results. Indeed, at this particular time a new economic mechanism is not only nearing its completion, but some of its aspects are already being tested in an experiment and translated into reality.

In principle, the concept of our new system of national economic management is already clear. We know what must be changed, and how it must be changed; moreover, we know the deadlines for the implementation of those changes, but we are facing a challenging stage in the realization of the revolutionary process of restructuring that is complex, often even controversial, but in its totality inevitable. What solution is there for the future development of our national economy? The best answer to this question is the more than one year's experience with the implementation of the Comprehensive Experiment for Greater Independence and Responsibility of Economic Organizations for Their Efficient Development, in which 13 economic production units and 9 independent enterprises joined last year. This year it was further expanded and at present, approximately one-half of all employees in centrally managed industries are involved in the testing of the regulations of the new management system.

Although it would be premature to draw firm conclusions, incomplete data which are already available may be used not only in the further experiment and development, but also for a gradual transition to the new management system in individual branches and in all areas of our national economy. These data are positive, but several of them have revealed certain problems on whose remedy we must now focus our attention.

At any rate, the results which are beginning to appear in most of the experimenting organizations are leading, or may lead, to necessary changes toward efficiency in management. Their proponents and top managers have learned that neither the experiment by itself, nor the future economic mechanisms are magic wands that may be waved to produce the required changes and better economic achievements.

Individual involvement and initiative have increased; team responsibility for the satisfaction of customers' demands is rising. New factors of management, especially in self-financing, offer potential solutions to some of our chronic problems, such as excessive stockpiling, mostly of finished but unmarketable goods; efforts are being made to reduce operational costs and the number of workforces. The experimenting enterprises and VHJ [economic production units] more than any other organizations have gradually adjusted payments of rewards according to actual merits.

Nevertheless, an overwhelming majority of organizations still have untapped assets in the implementation of the Comprehensive Experiment, particularly in the enterprise subdivision management and in *khozraschet*. However, these problems can be eliminated; it is assumed that this year, after the experimenting organization use up their inventories, they will report even better achievements, because last year was above all a period when the groundwork for the actual introduction of the experiment was being prepared.

In this respect the Crystalex VHJ in Novy Bor has gained the greatest amount of experience. Small wonder—after all, that enterprise was the first to implement the experiment. Its main and most important task in the second year of the experiment is seen in the introduction of *khozraschet* in every workplace that has suitable conditions for its application: to make workers' wages contingent on profits, or as the case may be, on the economic achievements of the workshop or of the center. Last year's experience indicates that this process cannot avoid various conflicts. Therefore, high praise is due to individuals courageous enough to make fundamental changes in the ingrained way of thinking and management, to cut the labor force, to penalize inferior workmanship, and at the same time, to apply correct methods of political and ideological work—patient explanation and persuasion of the greatest number of workers.

Such is the experience of an organization which ranks among the best not only by its economic achievements but also by its testing of the new method of management. Several organizations, not only the VHJ and enterprises, but some ministries and cross-sectional agencies were poorly prepared for the "experiment." Some of them even saw the experiment as a way to an easier fulfillment of planned tasks. They expected that its regulations would allow them access to financial resources. The opposite is true; conditions have been considerably tightened for the management. Only the enterprise that offers our society something more can profit. Not everyone can come to grips with the fact that the experiment imposes far greater demands on managers. Thus, every simplification or slackening on their part brings about economic ramifications for the work team in their charge. This spawns discontent and distrust to the process of restructuring whose aim is the exact opposite.

In addition, unsatisfactory supplier-consumer relations frequently impede the progress of the experiment; in certain places the experimenting organizations are required to render double accounts—according to the new method and also according to the old method. To make a long story short—one of the obstacles to a more efficient implementation of the experiment is above all the unchanged economic environment within which the experimenting organizations operate. These obstacles are gradually being removed because of the continuously growing number of organizations following the regulations of the experiment and because of the new economic mechanism introduced already this year in additional national economic sectors, for example, in public dining services, local economy and in service sectors. New factors of management are being tested in selected commercial organizations, and as of 1 January 1989, the new system of management will be applied in our agricultural and food complex.

However, one cannot assume that the process of restructuring affects only the experimenting VHJ, enterprises and organizations which are already implementing the new management system in their operations. We are entering a period when all our economic organizations must expediently prepare plans for the introduction of the new economic mechanism, and by the same token, comprehensively apply the experience gained from the experiment. We can neither procrastinate with the creation of appropriate conditions, nor wait for directives "from above." Now is the time to think through, plan and devise strategies to expand R&D, improve the enterprise subdivision management, enforce *khozraschet*, and strengthen order and discipline without which—as the experience of the experimenting organizations has shown—the new method of management cannot succeed. Above all, our party and trade-union organizations must stand in the forefront of this effort.

09004/7310

#### **Implementation of Kombinat Forms in Agriculture Viewed**

*24000078c Bratislava EKONOMIKA ZEMEDELSTVI in Czech Feb 1988 pp 52-54*

[Article by Eng Vaclav Jambor, ScC, and Eng Tomas Smetana, Agriculture and Food Economics Research Institute in Prague: "Application of Kombinat Forms of Organization in Agricultural-Food Complex"]

[Text] The restructuring of the economic mechanism represents a qualitatively new stage which guides the enterprise sphere toward quality, good stewardship and efficient economic production. It means not only a more heterogeneous structure of production but also new forms of organization of the production base in order to achieve lucrative production of food and other vital products for our society. The experience of the CEMA countries and other states has shown that one of the organizational forms meeting these demands concerns

agro-industrial and industrial-agricultural kombinats (associations) which may be characterized as the future form of organization of national production which promote a higher degree of integrity on individual levels of renewal and in sectors within the agro-industrial complex.

It may be assumed that as individual factors of the new economic mechanism are gradually introduced, a more demanding economic climate will also change the operations in our agricultural enterprises and processing organizations which will be forced to exercise versatility when seeking link-ups with their own production, namely, by better utilization of raw materials and especially of their overproduction and its cost-effective utilization. This will be reflected in the formation of technologically unified structures of production and in the search for lucrative marketing, supply and cooperative connections, including closer direct contacts with foreign organizations.

#### **Application of Kombinat Forms of Organization of Production Base in Agricultural-Food Complex**

In general, the combination of agriculture and industry may be characterized as a process of organic interconnections of consecutive stages of renewal in agreement with the development of production forces in a given stage of national division of labor. Under the conditions of socialist relations of production, it is an appropriate organizational form for versatile implementation of R&D achievements, which makes it possible to upgrade the integrity of individual factors both in the agricultural-food complex and in the agro-industrial complex.

Experience gained in other CEMA countries and Yugoslavia, and in part, in our own country has shown that the meaning of the terminology used in this context differs considerably and that the same or very similar organizational and administrative structures are often designated in some instances as kombinat forms and in others as forms of integration, cooperation, or as the case may be, diversification (differentiation).

At an international consultation of agricultural economic researchers from the CEMA countries and Yugoslavia and Hungary, the participants agreed upon a definition of the agro-industrial kombinat which they described as "an economic formation which unites several different types of production and enterprises with close territorial, organizational and technological interconnections. The kombinat allows joint units and enterprises various degrees of independence. They must share the management, planning and centralized services that determine the operations of the kombinat as a whole."

Basic economic research in the CSSR characterized such combinations as an expanded form of coordination contingent, on the one hand, on unified consecutive levels and stages in the process of renewal, and on the other, on their central management. Its bottom-line

feature is the mass-production type of unified levels of the process of replacement. Essentially, this is an advanced form of internal, vertically oriented cooperative relations of economic subjects in ZPoK [agricultural-food complex].

The combination of agriculture and industry may be understood as a process and as a system of relations. As a process, it denotes gradual synchronization and increasing proportionality of unified levels and stages in the process of renewal. As a system of relations, it is based on a higher level of centralization of management.

Conversely, the horizontal, purely organizational connection of organically unrelated types of production (for example, agriculture combined with certain essential sectors of sideline undertaking) may be regarded as a phenomenon of diversification of the structures of production.

The advantages of the combination of agriculture with industry may be seen in its rational consumption of energy resources, advanced processing of raw materials, expanded lines of goods, greater varieties of food products for the market, better satisfaction of consumers' demands, recycling of byproducts in food production, reduced waste of any kind, fewer seasonal operations in agricultural production, stabilized incomes of agricultural enterprises, accelerated transfer of R&D achievements through offers of engineering (transfer) services, simplified planning and supplier-consumer relations, fewer production stages, and so on. On the other hand, due to the diversity of individual stages of renewal and other agricultural and food production, and possibly, to additional industrial operations, higher demands are made on the management and on the cadres' expertise and training.

An important question concerns the founders' initiative which depends on the motivation of either the agricultural production or of the processing industry.

The kombinat forms of organization of production may be initiated:

—when a new organization with heterogenous production structures is established;

—by the merger of individual partners in integration on the integrator's base;

—by horizontal economic, and in some operations, organizational union of the partners in integration.

Basic forms of the kombinat organization which may be established in the conditions of the ZPK [agro-industrial complex] are further divided into:

—agro-industrial kombinat enterprise (where agricultural production predominates);

—industrial-agricultural enterprise (where processing or industrial operations predominate);

—kombinat associations (organization and economic interconnection of producers of raw materials with processing organizations).

#### **Experience With the Application of the Forms of Combination of Agriculture and Industry in the CSSR**

The combination of agriculture and industry in our country has been tried in the past, most frequently in sugar, wine, dairy and meat production, etc, within large agricultural enterprises, for example, seed and seedling production, pre-processing or processing of raw materials, recycling of all kinds of waste, marketing and other operations, consisting of several consecutive stages and levels of production.

Analogically, our food industry operated enterprises and factories with their own raw materials base, for instance, sugar and starch production, orchards and vineyards owned by canneries and winemaking companies, etc.

In recent years the space for the production of numerous products in our agriculture has been gradually exhausted and enterprises began to follow trends focusing not only on qualitative production criteria but increasingly on criteria of profitability of production and cost-effective utilization of raw materials, including recyclable waste. Among the numerous agricultural enterprises that are already following this new trend are, for example, the JZD [unified agricultural cooperative] in Prace, the JZD in Sedmihorky, the JZD Agrokombinat in Slusovice, the JZD in Houstnik, the JZD in Prusanky, the Agropodkin [agricultural enterprise] in Gottwaldov, the Agropodnik in Kutna Hora, the JRD [unified agricultural cooperative] in Slatinske Lazy, the JRD in Bojnicky, the SPZ [state agricultural enterprise] in Travcice, the JRD in Liptovska Osada, and many others.

In their new production programs these agricultural enterprises deal above all with different levels of final agricultural production, beginning with post-harvest treatment, through the processing, up to the packaging for the market, and delivery to the state marketing network or to the enterprise's own market. This includes technology for waste-free treatment of potatoes for consumption; peeled potatoes, production of mashed potatoes, potato chips and prepared foods; lentils; production of fruit juices, cider and concentrates; technology for the production of frozen foods, etc. Moreover, ample opportunities offer themselves in the processing of milk, in cheesemaking, special meat products, and so forth.

Some agricultural enterprises are manufacturing in their non-agricultural program herbicides, biotechnical substances and certain other products still in short supply, such as microcomputers and special agricultural machinery.



In the CSR 121, and in the SSR 73 agricultural cooperatives and stage agricultural enterprises (including SZP) are currently engaged in the processing of agricultural products.

So far our agricultural enterprises have concentrated mainly on non-agricultural production that does not involve final production or sales of agricultural products. The current share of non-agricultural production in total outputs is sizeable, particularly in JZD, and follows an ascending trend. In 1986 non-agricultural production in JZD's sideline operations in the CSSR shared 19.1 percent of total outputs. In the same year the share of sideline operations in state farms amounted to 5.7 percent of total outputs. In 1986 the outputs from sideline operations in 68 JZD already exceeded 50 percent of their total outputs.

Non-agricultural operations share about 90.0 percent in all outputs of associated production and sideline operations, while the share of processing operations in agricultural production is about 10 percent. Nevertheless, the development of operations in our agricultural enterprises which produce final products follows a definitely ascending tendency. From 1979 to 1986 the scope of JZD's sideline operations aimed at the processing of agricultural products rose in all of the CSSR from Kcs 326 million to Kcs 1,899 million, in other words, more than 580 percent. State farms and some cooperative agricultural enterprises are also engaged in the processing and marketing of agricultural products.

Examples of administrative structures of the kombinat type exist in both republics. We may mention the poultry industry which, in addition to its processing plants, operates its own hatcheries and breed improvement facilities; it produces eggs for sale and slaughter poultry in its own farms. The LIKO VHJ in Bratislava has, to some extent, a kombinat character; one of its member enterprises is the national enterprises Fruit Producing State Farms in Stupava which operates on an area of about 8,000 hectares of agricultural land (of which about 4,000 hectares are arable and more than 1,100 hectares are orchards). The national enterprise Fruit Producing State Farms in Stupava supplies a large share (about 40 percent) of the raw material base for the LIKO in Bratislava.

The kombinat in the Tokay Vineyards and Winemaking Enterprises in Trnie, which was organized upon the initiative of our food industry, is incorporated in the Winemaking Enterprises VHJ in Bratislava. It is engaged in final processing of Tokay wines for which it uses its own raw material base.

Another example is the Oseva VHJ, also with a kombinat structure, which is involved in agricultural production as well as in improvement and marketing in specialized state farms.

### **Prerequisites for the Implementation of Kombinats Forms of Organization of the Production Base in the CSSR Agro-Industrial Complex**

Principles of restructuring of the economic mechanism are being translated into reality and gradually fulfilling legislative, economic and organizational preconditions for broader application of kombinat structures of organization in our country. The draft of the laws on agricultural cooperatives and on state enterprises above all have expanded areas for operation of cooperative and state organizations for the treatment and processing of agricultural products, trade, offer of engineering services in selected technological and other sectors of mass agricultural production, and also for the manufacture of materials and needs for agricultural production, food industry and other organizations.

Both legal norms deal, albeit in rather general terms, with issues of association of economic organizations. Additional documentation on those subjects must stipulate in greater detail the limits and arrangements of external and internal relations of kombinat associations, possibly by preparing drafts of agreements on association.

Cooperative and state enterprises with kombinat structure must be given the right to procure agricultural raw materials and to engage in trade with their final food products, as well as with some inputs into agricultural and food production. This is in line with the economic code, but new concepts are needed for decrees on general conditions for deliveries of agricultural products, supplies, food products and some other goods, etc.

It is presumed that these enterprises will have the right to engage in direct economic transactions with foreign companies. They should be able to use their foreign exchange funds to procure materials and supplies for other organizations for which they provide technical supplies and services on the basis of long-term integration agreements.

Furthermore, gradual unification of the principles for basic instruments of management, i.e., for the plan and economic mechanisms, offers opportunities for broader applications of kombinat production structures in our agricultural and food complex.

The system of economic instruments must enable agricultural enterprises to accumulate from their agricultural operations a major part of financial assets for distribution. Agricultural organizations cannot expect to compensate for inadequate stimulation of price and non-price instruments in agriculture by expanding their non-agricultural undertaking. In the new situation for the ZPoK management, such an approach would generate many problems in the production of certain agricultural raw materials.

In the development of the combination of agriculture with industry it will be appropriate and advantageous for our entire society to focus the activity of the state and cooperative agricultural organizations in particular on, and to intensify their economy in:

—areas where the capacity of our food industry does not fully satisfy the demands of the market for more varied assortments of top-quality products;

—branches dealing in rapidly perishable and poorly transportable products, or where the processing of raw materials produces large amounts of waste that may be recycled in primary agricultural production;

—manufacture of production supplies and needs for the development of the ZPoK that are in short supply and that input branches cannot manufacture for various reasons;

—production of regional meat- and milk-based food specialties, including products for the ESO;

—small-scale production (ingredients, flavorings, other chemical products, additives and specific substances);

—manufacture of wrapping and packaging materials, etc.

#### Organizational Forms

In large agricultural enterprises, cooperatives associations or cooperative agricultural enterprises based on the combination and diversification of agricultural, food and industrial production, production structures, either consecutive or the exact opposite—different, heterogeneous, may include many organizational forms within a single organizational unit, starting with the application of some mixed factors, up to a perfect synthesis of agricultural-food (industrial) production.

In terms of its internal organizational structure, the combination of agriculture and industry may be developed in state and cooperative economic organizations in the following forms of organization:

1. Agro-industrial enterprises (agrokombinat). Cooperative or state agricultural organizations (JZD, state farms, SZP [state agricultural enterprises], or state enterprises for biological services) may adopt this form of organization for their production base. Next to agricultural production, the purpose of their operation is the processing of agricultural raw materials, small-scale manufacture of goods in short supply for the needs of the ZPoK, the offer of engineering works, services, marketing, etc.

2. Industrial-agricultural enterprise (food-agricultural kombinat). This form of organization is applied in economic organizations of the processing industry producing in particular agricultural raw materials in their own facilities, are involved in marketing, etc.

3. Kombinat associations. As a rule, the members of the association are agricultural, processing, marketing or other organizations (service enterprises, etc.) whose objective is lucrative food production in a particular area (region, national republic, or throughout the CSSR).

The development of these activities cannot replace the fundamental function of our food industry which remains the main producer and the integrating factor of the food chain. On the contrary—the development of kombinat forms of organization and management in coordination with the food industry may find more expeditious solutions for the disproportions existing in our processing capacities, improve the assortment of food products, upgrade the processing of agricultural raw materials, conserve inputs of materials and energy, satisfy the needs of our agricultural and food production and provide for it long-term assets.

This paper cannot exhaust these problems in their entirety and in their full scope, and therefore we consider this article a contribution to the discussion of the ongoing process of restructuring of our economic mechanism.

09004/7310

### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

#### Railway Electrification Continues

2300087 East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN  
in German 14 Apr 88 p 6

[Text] Currently, some 20 percent of the 14,000 km of railroad lines in the GDR are electrified. Railroad lines with overhead wires result in considerable advantages for our economy: the required electric energy is obtained from domestic brown coal and specific energy consumption is only about 30 percent in comparison to diesel-powered vehicles. Currently, electric locomotives account for about 47 percent of all rail transportation output on tracks operated by the Deutsche Reichsbahn.

With the activation of 329 km of electrified line in 1987, the highest annual results thusfar were achieved. This means that, among other things, 10,000 support mast foundations were placed, some 5,400 prestressed concrete masts were erected, 1,000 km of electric network systems were erected on main lines, and 80 km of single operating lines were installed at railroad stations and passing sidings.

Following the completion of work in the Wittenberge-Geestgottberg sector, electric locomotives can now also travel from Magdeburg to the port of Wismar since the end of September.

The Cottbus Brown Coal Basin has also been made accessible following the completion of the line sector from Falkenberg to Senftenberg as of the end of October. The first sector of the Berlin-Stralsund main line through to Eberswalde was completed during the same month.

Since May 1987, it has been possible to discontinue the transforming of traction engines whose destination or point of departure is the main station in Berlin. To safeguard railroad energy power supplies, four transformer stations with a total capacity of 110 MVA were activated in 1987 alone.

More than 69 percent of the total output involved in track electrification, in the production of electric locomotives and involving the provision of important supplies was accounted for by young people. In 1981, the young people's projects entitled "Electrification of Railroad Lines" was handed over to young people by the Central Committee of the FDJ.

It is primarily the youth brigades which undertake sizable efforts, supported by experienced specialists at their side, in order to fulfill all construction projects according to plan in order to master the high transportation tasks of the Deutsche Reichsbahn at the same time. Following the motto "To Operate and Build," they did everything in their power through careful construction techniques and construction technological preparation, using the best available technologies in the accomplishment of roadbed work and conductor line assembly work, to achieve a satisfactory pace of work and to reduce the number of necessary track closings. In so doing, they increasingly utilize more computer equipment for planning conductor lines and for the optimization of line blocking intervals as well as roadbed technologies.

These collectives obtain support primarily from the Interflug Enterprise. The application of helicopters speeds up their work substantially. Thus, setting a mast now only requires a few minutes without interrupting rail traffic.

This year, the task has been set to electrify an additional 358 km of railroad line. This represents 29 km more than was the case last year. Thus, in 1988, electric rail traffic on the Berlin-Stralsund main line, which has been possible up to Prenzlau until March, will be inaugurated. In 1988, electrification of the Senftenberg-Luebbenau line in the partial sector of Brieske-Hohenbocka-Knappenrode will be activated and electric locomotives have been plying this route since the end of March. Upon completion of the work in this sector, electrically driven coal trains will be able to travel all the way to Berlin, as well as to the northern bezirks. Cottbus will be accessible next year by electric locomotives operating from the direction of Berlin and Leipzig. This purpose is served by the work going on on the Leipzig-Eilenburg-Falkenberg-Cottbus line. Also, the ferry harbor of Mukran is to be hooked to the electrified rail net in 1989 in order to facilitate the energy-efficient movement of goods.

An additional key point is formed by the connection between Riesa and Karl-Marx-Stadt. In this area, electrification work is connected with double-tracking work through 1990. This requires a concentrated commitment

of forces and means. Voluminous deep mining operations must be mastered. Rock outcroppings must be removed and work involving enlargement of the Pfaffenberg tunnel near Waldheim must be accomplished.

The network of transformer plants for railroad power supplies is being constantly expanded. In 1988, four such plants will come into existence—at Senftenberg, Prenzlau, Anklam, and Buetzow.

In the current 5-year plan, a total of 1,500 km of railroad main line are to be electrified.

Workers at the VEB "Hans Beimler" Locomotive Construction and Electrotechnical Plant at Hennigsdorf handed over the 1,000th electric locomotive to the Deutsche Reichsbahn on 30 March 1988. This year they are scheduled to produce a total of 110 locomotives and a grand total of 550 traction vehicles are to be produced during the 5-year plan. The young people's collectives at the combine and their coproduction partners took on the competitive obligation calling for them to turn over to the Deutsche Reichsbahn an additional four Model 243 traction engines in 1988.

05911

**Inland Waterway Harbor System Described**  
*23000088 East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN*  
*in German 26 Apr 88 p 6*

[Text] Inland navigation vessels can now be loaded and unloaded at more than 190 access locations of the inland waterway system in 11 bezirks of the GDR. A total of 34 of these are located along principal waterways. The access locations are divided among 23 harbors and harbor sectors of the People-Owned Inland Navigation Waterway Combine, for municipally controlled harbors, 16 enterprise harbors, and roughly 150 transshipment facilities.

Furthermore, inland waterway harbors take on additional functions. In addition to handling ship cargo—the transshipment of goods from ships to railroads and trucks or vice versa and in addition to the handling of land cargo, transloading from the railroads to truck traffic or vice versa, they also store goods for large-scale consumers and, thus, fulfill an important national economic buffer function.

Of all the bulk cargo transloaded at inland waterway harbors, construction materials, which account for more than 50 percent, range ahead of coal, metallurgical products, ores, fertilizers, grain, and other products. The gravel extraction facilities of the VEB Auxiliary Materials and Natural Stone Products Combine of Dresden, located along the upper and middle Elbe River, as well as along the Oder River, have proven to be the most important and most productive transshipment facilities.

The construction industry and the grain industry combines make the best use of the waterways, since they have 35 and 45 transshipment facilities, respectively.

The enterprise harbors operated by the VEB Eisenhuettenkombinat Ost, the steel and rolling mill works of Brandenburg, the Ruedersdorf and Bernburg Cement Plants, the Zehdenick Brick Kiln, the Elbe River Gravel Plant at Muehlberg Prettin, the large-scale gasworks at Magdeburg, the detergent plant at Genthin, and the VEB Agrochemical Combine at Piesteritz, which operates a liquid fertilizer transshipment plant, number among the most important enterprise harbors.

The 12 inland waterway harbors which are located along lines regularly operated by the VEB Inland Waterways Shipping Co. handle piece goods. These are primarily beverages and canned goods, but also detergents, flat glass, machine parts, sheet metal shapes, engines, trailers, and agricultural products. Almost 29,000 tons of piece goods were transshipped through the ports of Potsdam Brandenburg, Genthin, Magdeburg, Tangermuende, Calvoerde, Schoenebeck, Aken, Torgau, Riesa, Meissen, and Dresden during 1987.

With 65 km of railroad track, the Magdeburg Harbor railroad is the largest of its kind in a GDR inland harbor. It operates more than 10 traction vehicles of various types and makes 65 adjacent enterprises in the North Industrial Area accessible.

Most inland waterway ports have a port railroad facility. In addition to distributing goods within the harbor, its responsibilities include making connections between the Deutsche Reichsbahn and adjacent enterprises.

The most recent port railroad is currently coming into existence at Koenigs Wusterhausen. The conditions are thus being created for coal trains, driven by electric locomotives, to be able to run from the Senftenberg area directly to the modern railroad car dumping facilities as of 1989. After successful reconstruction, which is scheduled for completion this year, the port of Koenigs Wusterhausen will be the most productive transshipping facility on the inland waterway system of the GDR. Almost two-thirds of the 3.5 million tons of goods which will be transshipped there to ships of the VEB Inland Waterway Shipping Co. are represented by brown coal deliveries destined for the Berlin-Rummelsburg Thermal Power Plant and for important large-scale enterprises in the capital city, as well as for the long-distance heat production facility at Potsdam.

The inland waterway harbor of Berlin, which has thus far been locally managed, and which accounts for an annual volume of more than 2.8 million tons and has become one of the most significant transshipment facilities in the GDR, next to Magdeburg, was assigned to the VEB

Inland Navigation and Waterways Combine as of January 1988. In the ports operated by this combine, more than half of the 19 million tons of goods moved annually are handled predominantly under the "rolling week" system.

The oldest inland waterway harbors include the harbors of Tangermuende and Riesa; they are to celebrate their centennial this year. In 1989, the harbor of the old shipbuilding town of Aken will celebrate that anniversary also.

Bezirk Potsdam, which has 50 transshipment facilities, has the largest number of such facilities among all the bezirks. With its more than 550 km of navigable waterways, this bezirk accounts for about a quarter of all such facilities. The sole inland waterway harbor of Bezirk Leipzig is at Torgau.

In order to unlock reserves through the transmission of experiences and through the comparison of performances, and in order to render the transshipment processes more efficient, there is a "inland waterway transshipment" product group at the VEB "Middle Elbe River" Inland Waterway Harbors Enterprise at Magdeburg. For several years, it has operated selected harbors, irrespective of their subordination—centrally managed, communally managed, and enterprise-managed—together. Moreover, at important transshipment focal points, management offices are now being gradually established for the solution of intensification tasks.

05911

## POLAND

### Polish, GDR Electronics Industry Cooperation Viewed

26000289b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
22 Mar 88 p 7

[Text] Trade receipts in the Polish and East German electronics industry have been increasing for several years. With an eye toward maintaining this 30 to 40 percent growth rate, the Ministry of Industry last year signed an agreement on expanding industrial cooperation with the Ministry of Electrotechnology and Electronics of the GDR. It has been implemented by a contract for mutual deliveries of electronic sub-assemblies in 1989 entered into by the Foreign Trade Enterprise "Unitra" and trade enterprise "Elektronik" at the recently concluded Lipsk International Fair. It amount to 14 million rubles for Polish export and 14.3 million rubles for imports of integrated circuits, diodes and transistors.

In addition, an agreement was signed at the fair for additional mutual deliveries of electronic products for the years 1988 and 1989. Among these are light sources, inductor coil, fiberoptics technical equipment and electronic sub-assemblies. We will import these materials

from the GDR for 5 million rubles and sell items for 4 million. "Unitra" contracts, for a total of 45 million rubles, are the largest of those negotiated in Lipsk by Polish foreign trade centers.

12776

**ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE 'Briefs' Column**  
*26000268b Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish*  
*No 9, 28 Feb 88 p 2*

[Excerpts]

#### In the Nation

"The persistence and determination with which the leadership of the party and state is seeking to strengthen the position of self-management bodies are not guided by the needs of the moment. We want to create a Republic of territorial and worker self-management bodies. That is the kind of self-management that we will foster and develop," stated Wojciech Jaruzelski at a meeting of self-management activists with representatives of the Polish authorities.

The Foundation for the Development of Polish Agriculture inaugurated its activities at the Royal Castle. The purpose of the Foundation is to undertake socially important and useful activities to promote the development and modernization of Polish agriculture, and also ventures in food processing and the sale of agricultural products on the domestic market and for export. Its formation represents the realization of an initiative from the foundation of the Rockefeller brothers, and is also a result of the personal interest of David Rockefeller, who visited Poland on this occasion.

The proceedings of the Second Session of the Polish-Iranian Ministerial Commission on Trade, Economic and Technical Cooperation have ended. A major increase in trade is planned. Poland will import crude oil, metal ores and concentrates, textile products, dried fruits, and grass seed from Iran. Machine tools, construction machinery, smelting and mining equipment, and products of the chemical and metallurgical industries will dominate Polish exports. The two sides furthermore confirmed their interest in deliveries of commercial and fishing vessels to Iran.

During the first plenary session of the KRG [Economic Reform Commission] this year, a draft report on our country's economic situation last year was submitted for discussion. That document states, among other things, that in most cases the negative trends already occurring in previous years were maintained or exacerbated, while at the same time a previously stressed positive characteristic, in the form of a relatively good rate of development, became weaker.

The National Council of the Society for Supporting Economic Initiatives [TWIG] has established a foundation called "Supporting Economic Initiatives." It will be engaged in promoting investment and innovation activities, along with modern organizational, legal, economic, and management activities. During the meeting of the TWIG National Council it was stated that among other things, the society should become a spokesman for civic rights in the tax area. It will draft opinions on the need for changes in specific tax regulations and fiscal policy, which should benefit economic development.

The annual meeting of the secretaries of primary party organizations [POP] with the executive board of the PZPR Warsaw Committee has taken place. In the program report, Janusz Patorski said, among other things, "We are ceasing to be the party of the command-distribution system, and the most important thing is that we are moving away from administrative servicing of the economy. The POPs must seek their place in the changing enterprise, without idly awaiting instructions."

9909

**Restructuring of Enterprise Legal Foundation**  
**Proceeding Slowly**  
*26000289c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish*  
*28 Mar 88 p 1*

[Interview with Dr Andrzej Biercy, secretary, Legislative Council, by Maciej Urbaniak]

[Text]

[Question] Recently one has been hearing numerous opinions that in the field of guaranteeing the legal foundations of enterprise, nothing is being done. Will the law really fail to keep pace with the second stage of reform?

[Answer] The easing of the legislative process is only ostensible. Formation of the legal foundations of enterprise is going on more intensely than ever before. In accordance with the economic assumptions specified in the plan for implementation for the second stage of reform, virtually all economic legislation is being subjected to reorientation and unification. These are profound systemic changes. Therefore they cannot occur in haste. The legislative process, like other processes (i.e., smelting steel or even baking bread) has its own technology and requires abiding by certain elementary rules, if we want laws to be stable and cohesive. Especially when legal instruments of fundamental significance are being projected and are to define the rules of the economic game for many years.

[Question] Which laws do you see as the legal foundations of enterprise? We must talk here not about individual statutes but about the entire system of normative legal instruments. This includes all three levels of the

phenomenon of enterprise: freedom of access to economic activity, conditions for carrying it out and the state's role in the economic game as a factor that by its nature limits freedom in the economy.

[Answer] On the first level...rules have been prepared dealing with conditions for undertaking economic activity in Poland by Polish entities and foreign entrepreneurs.

After extensive discussion on the bases of the law standardizing the undertaking of activity by Polish citizens and firms (the Legislative Council also took part in it), the Office of the Council of Ministers Legal Office is concluding work on a bill that this April will become "public property." It introduces the principles of free, equal access to economic activity, limiting state power and intervention to the barest minimum.

Simultaneously, work is being done on facilitating economic activity in our country by foreign investors. Up to now two different laws have regulated this question; they deal with so-called Polonia and foreign firms and partnerships with foreign capital interest. Bills to amend them to be conducive to investment in Poland have already been prepared. The "Polonia" society has also worked out a public bill that standardizes both these systems of activity to the maximum and interates them into one legal instrument. It has been presented to state bodies (including the Legislative Council) for their assessment and use.

From a systemic point of view, maximum standardization of solutions is undoubtedly good, but individual proposals in the bill, in our opinion, require thorough polishing.

Also crucial is liberalization of the statute on authority to conduct foreign trade. But this is less urgent because a great deal can be done within the boundaries of current rules.

[Question] The most difficult thing will be creation of suitable legal conditions for conducting economic activity. Today the trade code is in fragments; there has been no discussion up to now about stocks and tax legislation betrays the stamp of improvisation, while the prize goes to anyone who can name all existing taxes.

[Answer] That is a fact, but contrary to appearances, work on this segment is also very far advanced. For instance, the provision of the statute on partnerships, prepared by the Commission for Reform of Civil law to replace the trade code, is ready. The Legislative Council is formulating its evaluation of it. The provisions essentially expand the freedom of choices of forms of economic activity. After settling issues that still remain, i.e., the share of employees in managing partnerships or legal regulation of a "firm," the bill should be prepared

quickly. It must be integrated with those already mentioned and take into consideration solutions already introduced, for example, those dealing with the possibility for transforming state enterprises into partnerships.

However, I would like to emphasize that even the most far reaching changes in the "organizational sphere" will not produce anticipated results, hence development of enterprises, without thorough reform in the area of financial law, especially tax law.

On this assumption, the Legislative Council has prepared an extensive report on the state of financial law which will be the subject of its next planning session. Alongside the diagnosis, which is not very pleasant, it points to therapeutic measures and contains cohesive proposals and a complete system of regulations.

I believe that the systemic view of financial law contained in our report can be an important aid to the legislative action of the finance minister whose first effects are already visible.

[Question] No doubt you are referring to the bill on securities.

[Answer] Yes. it is an important bill that eliminates current limitations in issuing and trading securities. In breaking up the monopoly of the state and banks in issuing and distributing them, it still does not contain sufficient guarantees for the safety of the return, hence protection of the buyer from possible abuses on the part of the issuer of the securities. But this shortcoming can be eliminated in the course of future legislative work. Also crucial will be integrating adopted solutions with proposals for the Committee for Reform of Civil Law on code regulation of the securities question.

[Question] The third of the group of laws you singled out is to establish limits on the freedom of economic entities and the state's scope of authority. Is this necessary?

[Answer] Positively crucial. Protection of the interests of other participants in the economic game and of the state as the organizer of public life demands it. Because freedom cannot lead to chaos.

Alongside current law on counteracting monopolistic practices, I see a need to pass laws on unfair competition (one can see examples of this already today). Also needed is preparation of a uniform law on incorporation and finalization of work on the economic courts, which after all are to stand guard over observance of the rules of the game.

[Question] The deadlines are approaching and time is flying....

[Answer] The old proverb says, make haste slowly. The standardization system is a system of connecting vessels. So the condition for the success of the changes is

simultaneous execution of work on all key standardization bills. They should advance quickly but without detriment to the quality of law.

But one must say clearly that even the best regulations alone will not ensure the success of reform. People will ensure it. That is why the time until the new laws appear should be used to create a businessman's ethos and to demythologize the notion of economic success.

12776

**ZSL Official Anxious About State of Polish Agriculture**

26000233 Warsaw *PERSPEKTYWY* in Polish  
No 6, 5 Feb 88 pp 14, 15

[Interview with Kazimierz Olesiak, ZSL Executive Committee secretary, Presidium member, chair of Sejm Commission on Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Management, by Henryk Maziejuk]

[Text] In agriculture things are good according to some, and according to others, things are bad. Who is right? Overall with respect to trade, the food market does not look worse, but its future is cause for alarm. Knowing the country well and listening intently to farmers' voices, including those from socialized farms, one sees indications of clouds gathering over agriculture. So how does one oppose the threats? We seek the answers to these and other questions in an interview with Kazimierz Olesiak, Presidium member, ZSL Executive Committee secretary, and chair of the Sejm Commission on Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Management.

[PERSPEKTYWY] In your statements there is a lot of anxiety. What worries you the most?

[Kazimierz Olesiak] I see good and bad things in agriculture, and since these bad things are getting worse and worse, the tone of my statements is rather critical. What worries me? Perhaps that which worries many sensible people.

That we prevent the collapse of favorable trends in agriculture as a result of underestimating the threats. The consequences of this would prove to be disastrous for us all.

[Question] I would call this a feeling of responsibility which weighs upon you double in connection with your duties.

[Answer] I will try to remember that. Yet it would be bad if what we succeeded in achieving with such effort in agricultural policy and its implementation were to collapse.

[Question] However there is no lack of those who declare stubbornly that things are fine and that there is nothing to fear.

[Answer] Stubbornness is even desirable, but differences in goals are needed. In this case reality and the facts contradict opinions. In agriculture there are pluses, but also many minuses. There is an improvement in harvests of grain, cole, and potatoes, but at the same time the decline in the number of cattle and recently also in the number of pigs and sheep must be disturbing. Agricultural industrial supply to the means of production is also weak, worse than the goals set, although in several areas there has been a little improvement. The food processing industry is not in a state to receive and process efficiently that which is provided by agriculture, because there has not been sufficient investment, which leads to losses and wastefulness....

[Question] Several times already relatively good results in agriculture and the food-processing industry led to failure in achieving the goals determined earlier for developing this sector. Should this have happened again?

[Answer] The ZSL and the PZPR drew the most pertinent conclusions from this lesson. For this there are goals and programs and a constitutional record, and the Sejm is watching over implementation of the goals.... This will prevent our country effectively from repeating mistakes.

[Question] Now that this is the case, then what is the problem?

[Answer] It's not that the goals are bad, for they are good and are accepted not only by farmers, but also by most of the people, since they have proved true in practice and we have something to eat. The thing is that as time passes, unfortunately, a discrepancy ensues between what was written in the joint documents and their implementation. Let us take income. Let us say that a balance is to be maintained between the average farm and non-farm income. And how is it? Farm income fell, and last year reached 85 percent of the income for non-farm people. We are maintaining the profitability of agricultural production with difficulty, and not in all areas. Our economy, especially some of its branches, had to shift to a pro-agricultural orientation in order to supply agriculture better with manufactured products. But progress is slow here.

[Question] How can this be counteracted?

[Answer] Only by consistently living up to the goals set and implementation of the resolutions.

[Question] Even when the entire economy is going through difficulties?

[Answer] Then it is significantly more difficult but possible under the circumstances for us to remember what is most important for the country and society. We also determined this at the beginning of the eighties. At that time we included the food problem among the most

important ones "which must be solved." For we remembered that every time there was a crisis, it began with agriculture, but by no fault of its own.

[Question] Then might an expression of ill will occur here?

[Answer] I would not suspect anyone of ill will, but rather of weak knowledge of things and an opinion that what is good will be good continually. One must also be able to perceive threats in a timely manner and eliminate them effectively.

[Question] Then imagination is necessary.

[Answer] Yes, for whoever has imagination does not pose resolutions even in the matter of revision of several agricultural policy goals, as for example calculating farmers' incomes in such a way as to consider only the farms that are good and efficient.

[Question] But isn't this necessary?

[Answer] It is everywhere and always necessary to be on efficiency. Also on efficient farmers. And so far it is this efficiency—and there is evidence for this—that turned out best in this same agriculture which lacks sufficient investment. The economic system in force in agriculture, perhaps not yet perfect, but compact and proven, in which the farmer is paid according to products he delivers to the purchasing center and not for time worked or preparedness for work, is tending in such a direction.

[Question] Many experts point out, however, that income and effects apply to average farmers and not to the best, so that the weakest and worst can be mobilized for steady improvement of results.

[Answer] Perhaps this is to some degree a just charge, at least theoretically, but in order to depend only on efficient farms under Polish conditions it would be necessary to have them in abundance. While we have 300,000, perhaps 400,000 of them, in Poland there are nearly 2.7 million farms in all. What would happen if we considered only the best farmers? Not only would who knows how many thousands of the poorest farms cease to exist, but it would be necessary to take care of these people, and they themselves would stand in line at food shops.

[Question] But why would there not be more good farms?

[Answer] Their numbers are increasing, but this is coming slowly. These are the evil consequences of mistakes made years ago, when the state supported the dilapidated and deteriorated ones, and at the same time taxes and the compulsory annual supply [to the state] smothered those which had not yet deteriorated and those which were already good. The agrarian structure in

Poland is bad, obsolete, but it is improving. Already 46 percent of total agricultural profits are concentrated in farms of more than 10 hectares. However, one must remember that structural changes in agriculture must be concurrent with opportunities to strengthen it in technology and the industrial means of production.

[Question] How does the situation look in this area and in general concerning investment in agriculture?

[Answer] At the last ZSL NK [Executive Committee] plenary meeting on implementation of investment goals in the food industry complex there was quite a big of anxiety. I don't know whether this meeting will change anything, but after this there remained demands, for in these investment areas unfinished tasks and difficulties are accumulating alarmingly. At the joint ZSL NK [Executive Committee] and PZPR KC [Central Committee] meeting we mentioned that it was necessary to appropriate 30 percent of the total investment outlay for the needs of the food industry complex. This was reasonable, but not achievable, so both parties took the position that in the current 5-year period, appropriation for this complex will be no smaller than for other areas of the economy. But after 2 years the outcome has been that the share of this investment has decreased and goals incorporated into yearly plans have not been implemented.

[Question] And what about the other branches of the economy which are obligated to support agriculture?

[Answer] It's unfortunate. That which was slated for implementation in the food industry in the current 5-year period has only been 30 percent achieved. Would it be possible to achieve up to 70 percent of the goals in 3 years? I doubt it. This indicates that our economy is very slowly changing its attitude toward a pro-agricultural orientation, but should do it quickly. Anxiety is aroused especially by chemistry, which must furnish crop-enhancing measures. Not long ago it appeared that the engineering industry was coping with the tasks, but it is not so. It is true that agriculture get more machines, implements, technical equipment, and spare parts, but they are not the best, and for galloping prices.

[Question] You mentioned the profitability of agricultural production and farmers' income. This also is a very sensitive area.

[Answer] Hitherto we were able to assure the profitability of average and above-average farms, and thus not all of them. This year's price increase at agricultural purchasing centers has the aim not only of improving profitability, but also of balancing quickly rising production costs as well as compensating the agricultural population for maintenance costs.

[Question] It is often suspected that farmers elevate retail food prices.



[Answer] Not true. At present these prices are mostly dependent on the costs of the means of production. It is impossible to demand that food prices be stable and at the same time allow prices to rise for everything necessary to produce this food.

[Question] As you mentioned, average farmer income decreased in 1987 to 85 percent of the income earned outside of agriculture. The ZSL seeks improvement of this ratio.

[Answer] Farmers are hoping for this. Since currently we do not have a complete alignment of incomes, this year we want the income of the farm population to reach 92 percent of the income level of the rest of the population, and in the next 3 years to be equivalent with theirs.

[Question] There is a paradox in the fact that in agriculture the yields were higher than anticipated at this time, but on the other hand, incomes fell. Why?

[Answer] That's simple. As I said, not counting certain exceptions, farmers are paid for goods according to state prices set once a year, while they obtain the necessary means of production mainly at agreed-upon prices. Furthermore, the government was not able to enforce the planned wage level in the socialized economy, and in view of this the increase in earnings was higher here, and last year the index reached 24 percent. Farmers could not force the same thing to happen. And the consequence of this is the economic weakening of many farms, worsening of living conditions for the farm population, and increased flight of the young to the cities.

[Question] Who should feel responsible for such a state of affairs?

[Answer] Trying to establish responsibility is constantly a problem. Last year in the Sejm Commission we tried to find what was responsible for something which had already happened for the second or third time in a row, that imported plant protection agents arrived too late. Instead of a profit, there were losses, and also the reason for spending dollars for these imports disappeared. And we really need these agents. We invited all who were connected with this affair to the Sejm, though after many hours of discussion we reached the conclusion that there was no one who would be unequivocally responsible for this disastrous practice. Each one succeeded in freeing himself from guilt, since responsibility spreads like a fog in the jungle of regulations.

In the Sejm in the middle of last year, while evaluating the government's implementation of the food program, we decided to ascertain who is responsible for subjective failures. Upon analysis of the government's comprehensive and objective report in December when the commission returned to this matter, it did not find punishable failures. Each was explained by objective difficulties. Seemingly this could be a general decline.

However, we will doggedly search out the individuals bearing the guilt, which cannot be construed as an attack on the government, since the tasks undertaken must be implemented constantly.

[Question] After the December meeting of the ZSL NK [Executive Committee] Presidium, a bulletin appeared in the press which stated among other things that the party considers "especially harmful those viewpoints and conceptions favoring the stabilization of food prices and revision of the goal of wage parity spread by respected opinion-making media, including several OPZZ [Trade Unions] activists and members of the Economic Advisory Council."

[Answer] I have already discussed what creates the food prices. We are not in favor of the continual elevation of these prices. But they must increase, for the costs of the means of production for agriculture are increasing, forcing a corresponding increase in purchasing center prices. We must try to work out a suitable correlation between the costs of the means of production and the purchasing center and retail food prices. This triangle must always be equilateral.

[Question] The ZSL tries to give warning about the consequences of mistakes in agriculture. Is its voice heard?

[Answer] The ZSL is a political party, and as such points out the emergencies in agriculture, but makes no decisions in this area. This is the government's responsibility. Of course, one must understand that the government has responsibility for the entire economy, and out of urgent and important matters, it chooses the most important and most urgent ones to settle. It now has an exceptionally difficult role to play. After all, food is continually a fundamental problem and it must be remembered when decisions are made.

[Question] "The growing difficulties in agriculture and in food management," stated the ZSL NK [Executive Committee] Presidium, "may become the source of the most important threats and lead to social and political conflicts already well known from the past." Are we helpless in the face of these threats?

[Answer] No. We can afford to counteract them effectively. Still, we may not delay decisions which would improve farmers' living and farming conditions. One can't count on the notion that again, "things will turn out all right." We deprive ourselves of opportunities for counteracting bad tendencies when we appear lazy and inconsequential.

**Poor Soil, Land-Use Problems Spur Regional  
Agricultural Policy-Making**  
*26000268d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
9 Mar 88 p 8*

[Article by (jesz): "Regionalization of Agricultural Policy  
Planned in the Piotrkow Voivodship"]

[Text] Lately there has been a marked decline in farmers' interest in using poor soil. In the voivodships where such land predominates, the number of people willing to take possession of their inheritances has declined, and the resources of the State Land Fund are growing rapidly. The Piotrkow voivodship is one of these.

"In terms of soil fertilization, our voivodship is in 44th place in the country, and in terms of the quality of productive agricultural land, it is in 48th place," states Stanislaw Boczek, the secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Piotrkow. "In our voivodship close to 90 percent of the land consists of class IV, V, and VI soil."

In the Piotrkow voivodship, the resources of the State Land Fund amount to 18,000 hectares. Last year it was able to sell only 1,200 hectares to farmers.

"Land management is currently the most serious problem in the voivodship," emphasizes secretary S. Boczek.

Of the 72,200 private farms (with an average size of 5 hectares), the owners of over 34,000 have already reached retirement age, while half of them do not have any legal heirs. The owners of about 10,000 farms work them by themselves. One can see from these numbers that the problem of agricultural land will soon become extremely serious in the Piotrkow voivodship.

The Piotrkow voivodship authorities have submitted to the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Economy proposed solutions, the adoption of which would slow the process of land falling out of use, while simultaneously making it possible for land to be brought under cultivation more rapidly. Among other things, it is being proposed that tax-free zones be created in the regions with the poorest soil, that most of the land be included in the plan for increasing the country's forested area to 30 percent, and that better economic conditions be created for those taking possession of land from state farms and private farmers (among other things, it is being proposed that a grace period of several years be instituted for paying retirement contributions). It is being proposed that 3,000 hectares of exhausted soil in the region of the Belchatow electric power plant be covered by the preferences in the so-called mountain resolution, and furthermore, acceleration of the construction of water pipelines is being called for, since the investment in Belchatow has seriously lowered the local water level.

Adoption of the proposals of the Piotrkow voivodship authorities would be one of the elements in the projected regionalization of agricultural policy, aimed at equalizing economic conditions for agriculture in different parts of the country.

9909

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Number of Applications for College Study Still High

24000092 Prague UCITELSKÉ NOVINY in Czech  
24 Mar 88 p 8

[Article by rks: "Interest in College Study Is Not Declining"]

[Text] Each year the college admission procedures exceed the capacities of the school with respect to the extent of the interest and composition of applicants and become an urgent national matter. It is a known fact that the number of applicants accepted for study in the individual disciplines is set forth by a plan. The determining factors in creating the plan are the anticipated size of the class and the need for qualified workers, which stems particularly from the requirements of the central organs and the kraj national committees.

The plan for the required number of qualified workers in the individual branches of the national economy, which is drawn up in this manner, is not and cannot be in full harmony with the individual desires of the applicants and their parents.

A certain imbalance with respect to interest in individual disciplines, which persists despite the constantly reworked system of educational counseling, is documented by data pertaining to interest in college study in the CSR for the 1977-1978 school year through the 1987-1988 year.

According to the number of those interested in studying at advanced schools during this entire period, the greatest interest existed with respect to the group of disciplines in the social sciences, sciences and services (including study disciplines at the philosophical and legal faculties, at the faculty of physical education and sports, and at pedagogic and economic faculties). In practical terms, the number of applicants for study in these disciplines increased uniformly over this decade (a more specific leap occurred only between 1981 and 1982 and between 1982 and 1983). Whereas the school year 1977-1978 saw 9,677 applicants for study in these specialty subjects, the 1986-1987 period recorded the hitherto largest number of applicants at 18,190. Last year, there was a decline to 17,275 applicants.

Even with a rising number of applicants, overall interest had not reached 200 percent of the quota until 1981-1982 in these study disciplines; it was not until subsequent years that the numbers rose to 247.5 and 281.8 percent. Maximum numbers were reached in the 1986-1987 period, which saw the highest maximum number of applicants recording their interest in studying the area of social sciences.

A significant number of those interested in college study in this group of study disciplines represented applicants for the teaching professions. Their numbers grew significantly, particularly during the first portion of the period under consideration. In 1977-1978, some 4,478 applicants were interested in studying to be teachers; 2 years later, the numbers were 6,131 and in subsequent years rose to 6,590, 7,446, and 8,648 applicants. As of 1983-1984, the number of applicants to study for a teaching profession roughly stabilized at 9,500 (with a maximum 9,773 applicants recording their interests for the school year 1985-1986).

It is not surprising that women predominate among the applicants interested in becoming teachers. Their numbers were about 69.7 percent for the school year 1985-1986 and 1987-1988 and rose to 75.4 percent for the school year 1979-1980. Of the overall number of applicants for study in the social sciences, the share of women was 67 percent for the school year 1977-1978 and 70.6 percent for the school year 1980-1981.

The technical disciplines occupied second place in the total number of applicants for college study. Whereas the 1977-1978 school year saw not quite 9,000 applicants for technical study in the CSR, these numbers have grown each year since 1983-1984 to more than 13,000 (with a maximum of 13,511 in the school year 1983-1984). In view of the higher quotas, applicants for this kind of college study had an significantly greater chance of being accepted. Interest for the entire group of technical study disciplines—expressed in percentage of the quota—meanwhile never exceeded 150 percent (the maximum was 143.2 percent in the school year 1985-1986). However, this overall view is quite distorted because the degree of interest in individual study disciplines (but also in study at individual faculties) within the framework of the group of technical sciences is quite varied. For example, in the school year 1986-1987, of 12 study disciplines at the mechanical faculty of the Czech Technological University 7 departments had not fulfilled 100 percent of their quota in terms of applicants (the least amount of interest was shown in the department of machines and installations for the chemical, food processing, and consumer industries—23.3 percent) while, simultaneously, 3 departments of the same faculty had specifically exceeded 200 percent of their quota: the department of aviation technology—220 percent, the department of transportation and automation technology—260 percent, and the department for the computerized management system of production processes in engineering—336.8 percent. With respect to the latter department, the Advanced School of Mining in Ostrava actually showed a record number of interested applicants at 725 percent!

Although technical study disciplines overall are undoubtedly part of disciplines which are in relatively less demand, the enduring concept that study at technical advanced schools is of little interest to applicants is definitely no longer appropriate. A situation in which a

substantial majority of study disciplines at technical advanced schools had to deal with the problem of accepting the planned number of applicants has long since passed. And statements such as "relatively little interest" must primarily be interpreted to mean thousands of applicants and their growing numbers in the period under consideration.

This situation was undoubtedly aided by fundamental conceptual changes in instruction at middle schools which relieved the majority of students of their fears of mathematics and contributed to the fact that an ever-increasing number of graduates associate the concept of their own continued study at advanced schools with one or another of the technical disciplines.

An interesting development took place with respect to the interest in advanced study involving agriculture and forestry sciences, veterinary sciences, medical and pharmaceutical sciences. Interest in the study of agriculture and forestry disciplines and in veterinary medicine rose from 3,323 applicants in the school year 1978-1979 to 4,698 applicants in 1984-1985. In subsequent years, interest again declined and there were 4,110 applicants in 1987-1988. On the other hand, the absolute maximum amount of interest in studying medical and pharmaceutical disciplines was shown in the school year 1977-1978, when there were 4,119 applicants. In practical terms, this interest declined until 1983-1984; at that time there were only 2,499 applicants. In subsequent years, there was an increase in interest and in 1987-1988 there were 3,532 applicants for these study disciplines.

With respect to agricultural disciplines, relatively the highest interest (264.2 percent) occurred in the same year as the maximum number of overall applicants for advanced school study (in the school year 1984-1985); with the lowest percentage of expressed interest recorded in 1980-1981 (193.4 percent).

In relation to the quotas, the medical and pharmaceutical disciplines showed the most interest in 1980-1981 (292.8 percent) and, in view of the significant increase in the quotas for the school year 1987-1988 (from 1,560 to 2,010 openings) the lowest relative interest in the study of these disciplines occurred in precisely that school year (175.7 percent).

In the group of natural sciences, there was the lowest level interest shown (884 applicants) in the school year 1977-1978; the highest interest occurred in the school year 1982-1983. In the last 3 years, interest has stabilized at around 1,080-1,090 applicants. With respect to the quota, the highest relative interest in studying natural sciences occurred in the school year 1983-1984 (251.1 percent). Since that year, interest has constantly declined, and in the school year 1987-1988 attained the hitherto lowest status—135.8 percent.

The fine arts disciplines had the highest number of applicants in the school year 1977-1978 (2,055 applicants); the lowest interest was recorded 2 years later (1,341 applicants). In view of the relatively low quotas, the relative interest of applicants in studying these disciplines always achieved significantly high values and generally was six- to eightfold in excess of available vacancies.

In summarizing the interest in college study in the CSR for the period under study, we can state that the highest maximum number of college applicants occurred in the school year 1986-1987 (an overall 41,620 applicants).

05911

## POLAND

### Social Society for Education Presents Alternative Education Plan

26000294 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY  
in Polish No 16, 17 Apr 88 p 5

[Article by Wojciech Starzynski and Andrzej Witwicki:  
"Tuition Once Again"]

[Text] A heated public debate followed the first news about the idea of organizing a Social Society for Education [STO] and the concept of schools organized and financed by parents. Dozens of articles, short notices, letters to the editor, opinions were expressed in radio and television; all this proves the popularity and the controversial character of the project of increasing our educational opportunities.

Unfortunately some of the participants in the debate base their arguments on incomplete information, often from second or third hand sources and sometimes even on their own idea about the character of a "private school" in socialist Poland. The list of most often repeated mistakes and misunderstandings is not long and is easily corrected.

And it is necessary to do so. The emotional reaction of the average reader to the idea of a school where tuition is mandatory is not surprising especially when taking into consideration his income being below the national average. Still, at the same time this attitude is not helpful in finding an alternative to the non-conventional form of support of our educational system. More surprising is the approach of journalists publishing very critical long articles without any knowledge of the matter at hand. And most worrisome are opinions expressed by representatives of the decision making agencies of the state administration which demonstrate ignorance of legal regulations in the area of education.

Let us therefore take point by point the contradicting arguments which are raised most often and give explanations based on obligatory regulations, announced program and project of the statute of STO as well as the plans for future activities of the Society.

We beg forgiveness in case our answers will sometimes be of common knowledge or seemingly self-explanatory.

—This is a return of private and even capitalistic form of education. After a while we may even have tuition payable in dollars and an input of foreign capital.

The new type of that educational unit according to a formula proposed by us should not be called a private school. This creates wrong associations with the schools in prewar Poland and some schools in the West.

Our plan is based on some kind of a collective enterprise with the tuition paid by parents to cover the costs of its functioning (the premises, salaries of the personnel, meals, medical care, etc.).

There is no profit, capital investment, or cutting coupons. Instead there will be the natural care of parents, a sensible compromise between the dreams of an ideal school and the financial means. There will be a close supervision of the Parents' Committee over an efficient and economical functioning of the institution. Communal ownership cared for like one's own—isn't it by chance best fitting the system's principle, which some of our adversaries use blindly like a club?

We consider it a basic principle our close cooperation with the administration of education, the appropriate institutes and scholarly associations, with local administration. We even foresee the patronage of work enterprises in cases where the school will be organized for the children of their workers.

It is therefore impossible to call this idea a private initiative, a parasitic outgrowth of the deficiencies of our school system. The plan is for an institution which is an integral part of our present conditions and allows the parents to take part in decisions about the school for their children, putting on them a considerable financial and organizational responsibility.

It seems then that the most appropriate name for it will be a social school, maybe a cooperative or self-governing, but certainly not private.

—A school where tuition has to be paid contradicts the idea of universality and free primary education.

The state schools will remain free of charge and open to all. They should also guarantee good quality teaching and satisfactory conditions of study and care of the children. Lately the state administration was not able to guarantee that (for various reasons) and the return of Polish education to its normal level will take at least

another few years. Who suffers most as the result of this situation are the children, and the popular saying "boredom and fear" becomes their and their parents' nightmare. Let us then help to improve our education to a degree of one's good will and ability.

It is impossible to appeal to poor people to resign from the privilege of free schooling. But even those who are better off financially will be inclined to reach deeper into their pocketbooks in exchange for the certainty that their children's education will improve radically and immediately. Hence our idea of a school organized and financed by parents, but supervised by the board of education. The way to such a high quality, stressless school will come by the way of financial input and social activity—it will not happen of itself and from nothing. From the start the STO suggested other ways of entry to such institutions for children who need it. About this later.

There will certainly be a small number of social schools in relation to state schools. These will not be a cure-all for the problems of our schools. This is meant to be a fast and concrete amelioration of the worst ills known to us for many years: too many children to a class, two or three shifts in a day, lack of adequate supervision in club activities and connected with this, a low level of teaching and a bad psychological environment for the students.

The social schools will die out in step with the improvements in general state education. Nobody will be willing to pay for even the best school if the one supported by taxpayers will be equally good.

—Elitism for money, privileges for the rich, schools for children of the financial elite.

The idea of elitism in itself is positive. We have an elite of front-rank workers, elite of scholars of international fame, and also an elite of leading schools. Nobody calls for their elimination. Just the opposite. We are striving to develop such elites and show them off as models. We would like the social school to be included in the elite of good work and only in this sense to become truly elite.

As mentioned above, somebody has to pay to support the working of a good school. An appeal to the wealthier part of our society will surely bring positive results, but we never had in mind to open a school exclusively for children of parents who are better off or truly wealthy, even though only these are able to resign, with relative ease, from certain privileges. This is from where the whole idea of STO started, with its charter including points about starting foundations and maintaining economic activities. We plan to support social institutions and organize a stipend system. The social schools should be for the specially talented children as well as the ones from poorer families, recommended by professional educational agencies. In a small class the teacher will be able to work with a student on one-to-one basis, whether the child is talented, slow or hyperactive, and this without any detriment to the rest of the class.

But first this school has to be started and offer some of its admissions to children from outside of the group of organizers. Who will start it? The poor parents with many children who are already holding two jobs? Therefore let us examine the idea in a practical way. Let us suggest improvements, but let us not reject the project on the basis of a superficial examination, because then it will become a classical example of what is called throwing out the baby together with the dirty water.

Every small child spared the stress, nervous tension of the third school shift and senseless studying, whether poor or rich, is a gain for the whole society.

—The private schools will take away the best teachers, and maybe even buildings from the state schools, and as a result those will go down altogether.

We truly are not a band of masked bandits, our public purpose as a social society is not to snatch the choice morsels off the poorly set table of our education. Just the opposite is true. We want to increase the number of active teachers, to return to schools those who had to leave their positions for financial reasons, to encourage university graduates with education majors (over 60 percent of those don't enter the profession), talk scholars into lecturing on a part-time basis in social high schools.

Besides we highly value the education of our children and the function of the teacher, which we are ready to prove by more than words. Those who are appreciated must be paid accordingly. We would like to have a voice in the choice of teachers and firing those who don't perform. At the same time we are not forgetting that the teachers must be approved by the board of education and their performance has to be in accord with the prescribed regulations.

We shall also not only not take away the available school premises but increase their number. Social schools can perform in rented lodgings and in the future possibly in small buildings, erected by the Society itself.

—Private schools may want to alter the program, for instance to resign from the Russian language, introduce ecclesiastical interpretation of some subjects and phenomena.

No, they cannot. Any adjustments of the program must be approved by the administration of education. And also one of our basic ideas is to try to implement the so greatly criticized present program under truly good conditions. This is the only experiment we are planning in that area.

Social schools are supposed to issue valid certificates; therefore it is imperative to decide together with the board of education the form of the necessary supervision. It may be that checking the qualifications of the teachers and a general supervision will be sufficient. We are proposing a new kind of a school and as we go along, more than one detail will have to be revised in cooperation with the department of education.

Schools, according to the idea of STO, should be secular. There can be no talk about denominational enclaves. Children should meet there in an atmosphere of tolerance, which so rightly is a rule in our country.

—Establishing schools outside of the control of the state may also cause far-reaching consequences of political nature.

In order to open a social school (not state school) a permit is necessary for which a number of conditions have to be fulfilled, many documents presented. All this is clearly defined by the order of the minister of education since 1965. This permit may be revoked on the same grounds as in the case of a commercial or other economic activity. The permit is issued for each school individually by the minister of national education designating at the same time the board of education, which will supervise the institution. Hence there can be no talk about lack of control by the state; this is also the result of items discussed previously.

We are fully aware that the decision allowing a factual socialization (parents financing the school and deciding its character) of even a small number of educational units is a decision of a political character. The state administration will indicate what is the practical value of the declaration of the increased participation of societies, allowing citizens' initiative, supporting the new attitude to education which is unconventional, but serves the good of the children. The organizers of social schools will have to show wisdom and a sense of responsibility. The more so that by violation of the system's principles by creating institutions which serve only the elite by stressing the role of individual wealth, their own children would suffer the consequences.

The social schools will fully deserve their name. The purpose of our Society will be to initiate and support their activities, but will also accept part of the responsibility for their functioning.

One more thing we would like to bring to the attention of those who participate in the polemics with us. We are not a camel. But that fact we don't intend to prove.

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