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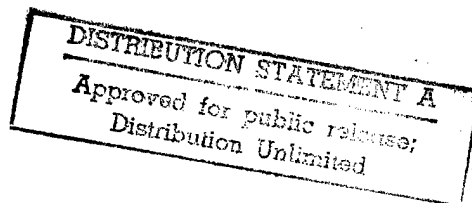
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26 July 1983

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2171



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EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

STEFANI ADDRESSES WAR VETERANS IN TIRANA

AU091330 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 9 Jul 83

["Warm Meeting With Veterans and Representatives of the Structures of Defence"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 9 July (ATA)--On the even[ing] of the 40th anniversary of the creation of our People's Army, the Ministry of People's Defence organised a meeting with veterans and representatives of the defence structures yesterday before noon.

Present were the member of the political bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Simon Stefani, the alternate member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of people's defence, Prokop Murra, the member of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the National Committee of the Veterans of the War of the Albanian People, Shefqet Peci and other comrades.

Comrade Prokop Murra greeted those present.

During this warm meeting, cordial talks were conducted, unforgettable memoirs from the national liberation war were told and partisan, patriotic songs and songs to the work, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, songs to the beautiful socialist life, were sung.

Amidst a joyful atmosphere, the floor was taken by Comrade Simon Stefani, who on behalf of the Central Committee of the party and in the name of the beloved leader of the party and people, the general commander of our armed forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha, greeted those present and wished them a happy celebration of the 40th anniversary of the creation of our People's Army. Our army, he continued, was created, reared and revolutionized. It has reached these heights because the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally have taken care of and have directed it. The party has led the army on the correct road, gave it revolutionary objectives and content and on the basis of the gained experience, it worked out the people's war military art. The party, Comrade Simon Stefani pointed out, has educated and educates the army in a revolutionary way and has made the army loyal to the end to the party, the people and the dictatorship of the Proletariat, orientated it correctly in the struggle against the external and internal enemies.

In the great struggle that the party has waged for the creation, consolidation and revolutionization of the army, Comrade Simon Stefani said further on, the communists and the cadres that have militated in the ranks of the army too, have their merit. Their participation in this warm meeting, he said, shows that the work, struggle, merits of the people that devotedly serve the party and people, who are characterized by a revolutionary stand during all their lives, are evaluated and honoured.

In conclusion, Comrade Simon Stefani stressed that the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha are confident that these comrades, like all the army effect the entire people, in the future too, will work with all their energies to further steel our army and defence, to always have them as a granite rock and impregnable fortress for any enemy and coalition of enemies.

The speech by Comrade Simon Stefani was received with ardent applause and with the enthusiastic cheers "Party-Enver--We Are Always Ready."

CSO: 2020/50

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

NEW VOLUME OF HOXHA WORKS--Tirana, 3 July (ATA)--The 39th volume of the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha came off the press. This volume contains documents and materials belonging to August-December 1968 period. Most of them are published for the first time. [Text] [AU031358 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 3 Jul 83]

CSO: 2020/50

PZPR OFFICIAL WRITES ON CORRECTNESS OF PARTY LINE

LD222115 Warsaw PAP in English 1609 GMT 22 Jun 83

[Text] Warsaw, 22 June--"For 2 years now the party has been carrying out a programme adopted by the 9th Extraordinary Congress, its line of struggle, agreement and reforms--despite the piling internal and external differences," Andrzej Czyz, deputy head of the PUWP CC Ideological Department, stated in an article under the above headline published in the fortnightly ZYCIE PARTII [LIFE OF THE PARTY).

"Faithful to this line, we have gone through the stage of great peril jeopardizing the foundations of the national and state existence. By a sovereign decision we have staved off an enormous, dramatic danger. The proclamation of martial law has initiated a switch towards the stabilization of economic and socio-political life. At the end of last year it was possible to suspend a majority of martial law rigours," said the author.

"The analysis of the situation by the key social forces in Poland leads to the conclusion that the party's political line, the line of struggle, agreement and reforms marks the right way towards the stabilization of socio-political and economic life in the country. The Central Committee has confirmed the correctness of this line and decided that it should be consistently implemented."

The deputy head of the PUWP CC Ideological Department went on to say in ZYCIE PARTII that "as its task of top priority the Central Committee considered tightening of party ties with the working class, winning its support, strengthening its role in every walk of social life.

"The party rejects such a formula of agreement which goes beyond the constitutional boundaries of the socio-political system. But it keeps up the idea of national agreement based on respect for the constitutional principles of the socio-political system, recognition of the priority of the interests of the working class and the role of the party ensuing from this priority, recognition of the inviolability of the state's political and military alliances which are a guarantee of its security.

"In such political boundaries of agreement there is a room for respecting various motivations stemming from the world outlook and ideological identity. There is no room for the opponents of socialism.

"The consolidation of the party's ideological unity should be assisted by a deepened analysis of the theoretical and ideological problems of socialist construction and by a formulation of the tasks of the ideological front, which is to be made by the Central Committee at its next, 13th plenary meeting," said ZYCIE PARTII.

CSO: 2020/48

POPE GREET'S NOWA HUTA INHABITANTS

LD222018 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1540 GMT 22 Jun 83

[Speech of greetings by Pope John Paul II at consecration of new church in Mistrzejowice--live]

[Excerpt] This has been a joyous day in my life. In my pilgrimage linked with the Jasna Gora jubilee and in the first year since the canonization of St Maksymilian Maria Kolbe I have been able to consecrate the church in Mistrzejowice. [applause] It is a great joy for me that through Mistrzejowice I have been able to come to Nowa Huta and greet all its parishes and inhabitants, as well as pay tribute--as I have always done--to that great human toil that takes place here. My heart unites with these people, the working people who, over the years of the existence of Nowa Huta, have combined so splendidly in their lives the two principles of work and prayer, prayer and work. [applause] Dear brothers and sisters, I wish God's blessing on all the parishes of Nowa Huta. I wish God's blessing on all the inhabitants of Nowa Huta. I wish you also that peace which the whole of Poland desires so much. [prolonged applause]

Dear ones, I am with you in my everyday prayer, everyday care and everyday trust. I have been constantly entrusting this country, my homeland, this city of Nowa Huta to the queen of the Polish crown and to St Maksymilian. The good of my people concerns me. I trust that the wish I expressed at the beginning of my pilgrimage--peace for Poland, my homeland--will be fulfilled. [applause, chants of: Long live the Pope] God bless you, God bless you. [chants, singing] This singing demonstrates that Nowa Huta also has highlanders. [applause]

It is time for me to go. Once again I wish you cordially that this solemn day [chants, applause] God bless you; I remain with you in my heart although I am leaving. [applause, chants, singing] A very good wish, which I would gladly fulfill, but I still have to give you the blessing in order to complete the liturgical ceremony; thus receive my blessing.

CSO: 2600/1075

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Trade Union Activities

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26 May 83 p 3

[Text] Education of Union Activists

Thirteen Thousand Union Movement Elements

At least over half of those elected to leadership are novices, who have not held any posts in trade unions before. About 13,500 unions have already attained legal status while about 1,500 petitions for further registration are now filed with the courts. The process of formation of supraplant union structures encompasses ever-widening circles. In the meantime, a considerable portion of the experience of previously active unions turns out to be of little use because the legal basis for union activity and also the situation of enterprises and the structure of intraplant relations have changed. All of this points to an immense demand for expertise in the area of union and employee rights as well as to difficult economic and sociopolitical conditions in which the new trade union movement is being built. The Social Consultative Commission of the Council of Ministers met this demand of the unionists by preparing and accepting at its last debate an outline of a system for educating trade union aktiv for 1983-84. This concept will be yet made more concrete.

The union courses conducted at the inspiration of the commission from February on this year in Jachranka near Warsaw and in Katowice, will facilitate training of 8,000 persons at best, by far too few and less than are needed. This is why an increase in dimensions of unionist training and at the same time an enrichment of union forms and program differentiation are foreseen. The choice of training forms and also the participation of union members in the courses are, of course, as they have been so far, voluntary. At the same time such an organization of training which would not excessively burden trade union members is assumed: every member of the union leadership is to complete instruction once, at most twice during his term of office. The instructional program has first of all as its purpose the immediate needs of union activity and it should prepare at the same time ground for instructional activity of all-national union organizations.

The present 5-day courses will be continued in two centers but in union members groups from different branches and on the basis of a modified program. Starting in September it is expected that a new instructional center and also a specialization center will be opened which will prepare instructors and lecturers of union training and the activists who are sent by supraplant structures.

Starting with the beginning of next year a union center educating the chairmen of plant management at 7-10 days-long courses should begin activity. The center will deal with problems of union work methods, economics and pay matters, with work law and union law, social policy and education and culture. A formation of an interunion instructional council is proposed which would consist of representatives of all-national organizations. The central instruction of unionists will be directed and programmed by the Social Consultative Commission in accordance with this council's standards.

Next year, 13 regional, interprovincial union instructional centers are expected to open. At several day-long courses, all remaining plant and branch union leadership members (except leaders), union delegates and others will be taught. At these centers lectures devoted to the most important social, political and economic problems will be given by lecturers from such organizations as Polish Economic Society PTE, the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration TNOIK or ZPP [Association of Polish Lawyers].

In all provinces in 1984, discussion groups and meetings are to be organized for the plant trade union organizers without interfering with work, thus taking place on Saturdays and Sundays. However, in work establishments an educational instructional activity will be initiated this fall in the form of lectures devoted, for instance, to social policies of the state and to the role and place of trade unions in realization of savings and anti-inflationary programs.

All these intended actions refer to the transition period of building the structures of the reborn union movement. After this process is completed it is expected that the union instructional center will be transferred to the jurisdiction of the all-national association of trade unions. On the other hand, the regional centers are to be gradually transferred to all-national organizations as their professional centers.

Supraplant Union Structures

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 26 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Nothing About Unions Without Unionists

(PAP) What kind of supraplant structure? The process of building a union movement entered the higher organizational state--a Polish Press Agency journalist writes. Attempts have been noted to form all-national union organizations by new branches of economy and professional milieus. These tendencies are strongest in mining, education, transport (State Motor Transport [PKS] and Municipal Transportation Establishments [MZK]) and in

agriculture, thus in branches with a high degree employee organization into trade unions. The first actions in the direction of formation of supraplant structures have been undertaken also by other milieus such as e.g. textile workers, tradesmen, workers of machine and glass industry. Also some groups of persons employed in plants so small that it is impossible to form union organizations, e.g. musicians employed in food enterprises, or lay workers of a religious cult and also employees of associations, political and social organizations, all want to organize into professional communities.

Of course the choice of the structural supraplant form is decided by the unionists themselves, and there are here, as is known, two possibilities: a federation, or a uniform all-national trade union. The unionists decide also about the creation of intermediate structures, for instance, district or provincial, wherever it is needed by reasons of organization: this depends entirely on the statute of the all-national organization. The statute resolves also all other questions of the internal union life, for instance, the principle of dividing the membership dues among the plant organizations or between them and the all-national organization or else the scope of matters in which decisions are made by the federation itself or else those matters as to which plant organizations must speak out.

The choice of the all-national organizational form is a difficult matter and decisions in these matters are made slowly sometimes as a result of many meetings, heated and sharp debates. It is understood--each of the two possibilities has its merits and vices. The choice depends on the size and number of work establishments. At the same time speaking in favor of a form of a federation in which the plant union organizations retain their legal profile is frequently the result of experiences of the past and of the fear on the part of unionists of the return of hierarchical set-ups which threaten with bureaucratization and separation of the "top" from plant organizations. This results, however, in a series of consequences, among others, financial consequences. It is necessary to define, for instance, the participation of plant organizations in the holdings of the federation--in the uniform supraplant structure the plant organizations are only the administrators of the holdings entrusted by the union. At the same time the federation variant complicates and prolongs the process of making and implementing decisions. There is a need to solve the question as to whether the vote of particular membership organizations of the federation, should be counted equally or whether the strength of this vote should be graduated according to the size of the plant organization.

There are many problems and they must be considered and resolved by the unionists themselves. However, it was stated at the session of the Social Consultative Commission at the Council of Ministers that the choice should be a conscious one. One should expect that in order to help in this choice the commission will soon publish a large and detailed explanation about the consequences which the choice of a federation versus a uniform structure brings.

In discussions about the choice of the type of all-national organization two arguments of probably equal weight compete: those for greater force for breaking through and for effectiveness of action, and those for greater democratization of intra-union life. So far the second argument seems to prevail: a majority of milieus tends to favor the federation structure.

The same efforts to confirm one's own independence and self-government result in a tendency for particular workbranches to disintegrate in supra-plant structures. In a milieu in which previously one large union encompassing most often the scope of a whole department operated, several or over 10 all-national organizations may arise now. When making such decisions it is worthwhile to consider whether such an organization will be strong enough to fully use its legally-granted rights and also whether the unionists will be able to maintain a structure which represents a few unionists only. Only when all pros and cons are taken into consideration, a decision will be made commensurate with the expectations of the unionists--the need to act effectively. In any case, in all these actions at every stage of building of the trade union movement, there is binding a principle: nothing about unions without unionists.

Integration of Plants by Unions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 31 May 83 p 1, 2

[Text] (PAP) On 30 May team members of all regions of the country met in Warsaw at an information advisory meeting devoted to matters of trade unions. They spoke about most essential tendencies and problems occurring in the complicated process of the reconstruction of the professional movement.

Up to date, courts have registered almost 14,000 plant union organizations. From the beginning of the current year, the number of new unions slowly and systematically increased. Every month on average 300-400,000 persons applied to join the new unions. There is, however, a varying interest in the idea of the reconstruction of unions depending on line of business, plant or region. In several provinces already over 30 percent of those who are entitled joined the unions. The attitudes to the new unions in particular lines of business are differentiated. In metallurgy, plant organizations of many thousand people exist but also those which have only several hundred members. Similar differences exist in organizations of the Union of Polish Teachers which is being reestablished. Here the decisive majority are teachers of grade and professional schools.

New unions concentrate first of all on workers directly in production. They constitute 70-80 percent of all members of the professional movement. The idea of reconstruction of trade unions from foundations up met from the beginning with the greatest interest and support of workers milieu. The workers are also a group not to be ignored among the authorities of union organizations who have already conducted the elections. It is an important matter that in new trade unions representatives of all formerly existing trends of the trade union movement participate actively. About 60-70 percent of persons who became involved in union work are nonmembers of the party. Numerous facts allow to state that the trade union being reborn today extensively contributes to integration of crews which frequently are quarrelling and are disintegrated.

When analyzing the situation in new unions one cannot disregard the negative situations. One of them is a too small participation of youth in the activity of plant elements. Insufficient is also the involvement of an average technical cadre and of the supervision, and experience proves that the decisions

of the masters and foremen have decisive influence on entire workers collectives. Negative examples of bureaucratic or contemptuous treatment of union members by economic or state administrations have been reported. The participants of the meeting frankly spoke of concrete facts of disregard for union representatives and of attempts to manipulate generally inexperienced activists on the part of individual management. They underlined that sometimes it almost seems that it is only the party that cares that strong numerous and self-governing trade unions be formed.

The activities of the political underground, for instance--the representative of a team in Wroclaw stated--appears at times larger due to the inactivity of the administration. The underground generally continues boycotting the new unions. However it is possible to notice new accents in the propaganda of the political opponent. A catchword is propagated that present solutions are only temporary and it is not worthwhile to get involved in them. This thesis is supported by a contemptuous attitude on the part of some administrations.

In some plants, they say, the directors try to play out the irritations on the axis: unions--employees' self-government. The cause of these conflicts is most often the "usurping" of parts of union prerogatives by the self-government.

It was also stressed in the context of relations: administration-unions, that the latter cannot be burdened with executive functions, as it was before August 1980. However some directors would willingly see unionists as the only organizers of holiday and other social benefits. It happens that the representatives of the administration have no idea what the functions and tasks of the trade union movement are. And that is why besides examinations in the foundations of knowledge of economic reform, they said, it would be useful to have instruction for directors on the subject of place and function of a union in the work plant.

The chairman of the Main Administrative Court Adam Zielinski informed during the meeting about problems connected with the formation of supraplant union structures.

The head of the Social and Trade Union Department of the Central Committee of the PZPR, Stanislaw Gabrielski, participated in the debates.

Discussions Between Unions, Government Offices

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 1-2 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] (Our Own Information) Unionists meet with the leadership of provincial office. Discussion of common causes.

Yesterday in Poznan, a meeting of the leadership of the Provincial Office with representatives of trade unions of enterprises which are overseen by the local organs of state administration, took place. In the Poznan Province, 131 plants fall within their purview. Yesterday, representatives of 30 union organizations came for the meeting in the Provincial Office.

Those who gathered listened to the information provided by Deputy Provincial heads, Romuald Zysnarski and Stanislaw Piotrowicz, concerning the present problems in matters overseen by the office. Much attention was devoted to professional training as a basis which has a direct influence on the formation of the policy of employment and annihilation of personnel shortages. It was stressed that this domain which has been rather neglected recently could become the object of interest and trade unions patronage. Moreover, they informed about all intentions and the state of Wielkopolska agriculture and all activities aiming at eradicating everyday troubles, and in this an effective help of trade unions is expected.

A considerable portion of the meeting which had informational character was devoted to the questions concerning apartment construction in our province. The representatives of the Provincial Office which deals with those matters, presented today's situation and also (future) realistic perspectives. Today's situation does not look optimistic and the invited unionists hinted at it giving the reasons for it.

It seems that in matter of institutional plant construction, trade unions should display a special operativeness and foresight.

In the course of later conversation with the Poznan Provincial Head, Marian Krol, a series of problems were touched upon, which the unionists meet in the first period of activity. Issues characteristic for given plants, businesses or milieus were at the same time signalled which are the result of a market which is continually depleted. In this respect, the proposal of coupon sales of selected articles of permanent use received great approval. It was stressed, however, that to be effective there must be clear principles of goods distribution directed at this form of sales. It was postulated that the only criterion should be the number of those employed in the given enterprise.

Moreover the matters of apartment building in the country, statutory activities of trade unions and also legal regulations of defined actions were taken up. Such meetings, as M. Krol stressed, are profitable for both sides and are an enriching experience because in everyday practice not infrequently the same problems are viewed differently. It was agreed that the next meeting will take place in the second half of the year when both sides will be richer in practical experiences.

9971

CSO: 2600/1010

PROBLEM OF PARTY UNITY ON IDEOLOGICAL PLANE DISCUSSED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 5, May 83 pp 74-86

[Article by Mieczyslaw Szyszko: "Levels of Unity in the Party"]

[Text] Party unity is usually understood as being the harmony of action by its members. This statement, however, requires elaboration, for this familiar explanation does not cover the whole structure of party member consciousness in general. It also follows that party unity, by which we mean the unity of our party, the PZPR, should be understood as unity of action whose motivational basis is the Marxist-Leninist ideology and all of the patriotic and national values that serve the building of socialism in Poland.

Motivational aspects of party member attitudes and behavior, in spite of their being the hardest to grasp, both decide membership to the party and also condition the degree of the organizational, ideological and political cohesion of its ranks. They determine the depth of personal commitment of people to common social issues and, at the same time, adapt individuals to these issues morally and ethically. The party creates favorable ground for political activity. That, in turn, connects the political interests of individuals with the means of their implementation. For that reason, every political party, including the PZPR, is an organization forum for standardizing the political attitudes of its members for the purpose of realizing the goals of its programs and its ideological values.

Experiences of the workers' movement, especially its revolutionary branch, bring one to the conclusion that party unity is determined by the sum of its members' attitudes based on fixed criteria, ideological, political and organizational community. Thus, all questions concerning its unity, integration or disintegration are related to the levels named above: ideology, policy and organization. These levels complement one another and are strongly tied to the functions of the political party. They are its necessary attributes. The weakness of any one of these attributes threatens the existence of the party. There cannot be a party without ideology or organization, or even more so, without a policy. It is a truth that, for purposes of analysis on theoretical grounds, particular levels of party function may be conceived of separately. That is a justifiable action, but also a conventional one, which only serves for better knowledge

of particular segments of the party. However, this analytical examination should produce synthetic assessments and conclusions. In terms of practice, they may only be valuable when the research reveals relationships between all levels of party function. Selective, separate apprehension of particular levels, without their mutual correlation, usually leads to erroneous action causing idealization or mystification of the general state of the party. This means inconsistency between what the party wishes or even expects and what it can do.

In reference to the PZPR, these are not unwarranted statements. Nothing other than the disorganized state of the three-million-plus member party at the start of the 1980's veiled its ideological shortcomings. These shortcomings, in turn, weakening the motivation of individuals, hindered the party's political offensive for a long time.

The structure of these relationships made itself known through the disintegrative processes of the PZPR but the significant thing is that these same relationships today attest to the gradual consolidation of the party.

Considering the historical conditions of its origins, the ideological level of the party is primitive both with respect to its political and its organizational aspects. The organizational structures and political activities of every formal group are the result of specific views originating in specific values. A group is organized for their defense and perpetuation and it uses pertinent techniques of political action, etc. These techniques are, however, secondary in relation to certain ideological goals and endeavors.

The level of political actions, like organizational actions, is thus inseparably bound to the ideological foundations of the party. If, in a limited sense, we treat politics as a means of materializing Marxist-Leninist values, the champion of which is the party, the party ideology will be nothing more than the sum of these values. Of course, social and political realia in which the particular communist parties operate enrich and also differentiate their ideological foundations because they bring in local and national elements. However, in spite of these differences, the Marxist-Leninist ideology everywhere remains the main spiritual factor uniting party members.

Ideology is the source of the most long-lasting and strongest motivations for political action; it activates people and brings their individual attitudes and ideas together with the personal standards and values demanded by the party. The ideological oneness of party members is a state in which individual assessments and feelings are closest to the values of the party. This means that these are values that are consciously accepted. It must be considered that the more these values are accepted, the more lasting the ideological integration of the party will be.

Providing strategic goals, the party ideology also integrates the general membership by shaping their awareness. The party thus constantly takes part in the struggle over thinking, world viewpoints, and attitudes, the motivation for which is provided by scientific socialism.

The knowledge and theoretical achievements of Marxism-Leninism offer a rich set of ways and methods for interpreting social phenomena, their generalization and social prognosis. Marxism-Leninism is not, however, the one ideological mainstream and school of thought. The force of its effect in Poland is considerable but ideological streams of thought making up its opposition are also very vital. The process of ideological struggle is at least not dying. As the development of events in our country has shown, we have to transform clearly the class struggle from a material to a political and ideological struggle. The PZPR is not an empty field that can be defended under any circumstances against ideological weed infestation.

Suggestions advanced during the course of discussion on the party charter calling for resignation from the idea of "class principles" were a reflection of ideological deviations within the party. Endeavors to undermine and erase ideological and philosophical criteria for party membership were a continuation of these suggestions. They were, however, deservedly rejected as were efforts to bring into the party the ideological and philosophical pluralism existing within all of society.

The party may be neither a simple reflection of the ideological geography characteristic of the overall society nor a creation isolated from the ideological mainstreams with which its program has to contend. It all a matter of the process of ousting ideologically alien views and attitudes being a process of decisive counteraction. It should not be limited to just its own political backwaters but be aggressive and in one sense it should prepare the foreground for political activity, bring the party's sympathizers together, gain followers and treat them like potential members of the PZPR.

The demand for ideological unity of the party may produce questions about the limits of integration. Efforts to optimize this create certain illusions here and lead to absolutization of extreme variants. At this time, ideological unity of the party, just like political unity, has not achieved model values. That degree of unity may only be attained in sects where religious fanaticism raised to a level of virtue is the rule among every one of such a group's members. It also follows that problems of ideological unity in relation to a mass party acquire completely different dimensions. The ideological oneness of party members is a state which is by all means desired and necessary but it always remains a problem of ideological and consciousness evolution, transvaluations, etc. The problem of a certain periphery, which can only be reduced by systematic, political and ideological action, has not disappeared.

This political and ideological action is more effective when Marxist-Leninist values are associated in the public awareness with successes of socialist development. Any hinderances in this field have a negative effect the party's ideological capabilities and become a contradiction of authentic Marxist-Leninist values. This inconsistency results in frustrations and an attitude of impatience which makes it possible for elements of alien ideologies to find their way into the party and broaden lack of faith in the suitability of the party's official slogans and programs. It isn't difficult to see that the more the program's ideology digresses from social reality, the worse the character of conflicts between party members. In crisis conditions, many members do not resist the pressure of events and give in to the mood of abandon and the temporary state of emotions, etc. From there it is just a simple step to resignation from the party. Resignation is frequently a form of protest motivated by the Hamletan gesture of "I've been tricked".

Deviations of ideological motivations and attitudes are not so highly obvious and threatening if they do not irritate the layer of party political and organizational activities. However, as a rule, disturbances in the realm of ideology are sooner or later revealed by the political or organizational activities themselves because the most intense thinking is not in itself enough to implement ideas. In order to embody these ideas and to attain the desired effect, much political and organizational activity is necessary.

The revelation of ideological deviations is usually a quick process when the phenomenon loses its individual, personal character and becomes a group occurrence effecting wider circles of party members. The permanence of such relationships may be increased by especially strong elements in the form of group interests, quick political profit, advancement, etc.

The mark of these processes in the PZPR is more than obvious enough from the point of view of its evaluation of the past. The ideological rebirth of the party is, in this context, nothing more than the elimination of the primacy of individual, personal interests being implemented behind the facade of a general party program.

The lack of ideological identification with party goals under all conditions but not in every situation must lead to an obvious departure from the political line taken within a given period. The statement that something was "lost and found along with the party" briefly characterizes nothing other than unimaginative placement always in a place that is comfortable from an egotistical, individual point of view. This is just a matter of ideological opportunism to be on the side of the one who can give more or with whomever is on top. The evidence of this is the banal example of careerism. It is an objectionable phenomenon but it also illustrates the classical separation of ideological motivation and efficiency of political action.

Feigned, declared motivation is, in this situation, merely a shield hiding the lack of programs and detail. Social motivation, lack of material interests that are most often characterized by private interests, egotism

and a good dose of cynicism aided by highly individualized "penetrating force" are all alien to such attitudes. If such attitudes become a mass phenomenon, and it hasn't been hard to discern this in the recent past of the PZPR, they will then become a serious threat to the proper functioning of the party, its ideological cohesion and unity. The accelerated elimination of these attitudes is done rather automatically when party membership does not produce social and political privileges, the governing party has strong elements as a party of struggle, and the "worker" and socialist plebian elements predominate rather than a committee and council mentality.

The most dangerous form of ideological deviation is brought about by efforts at re-interpreting the basic meaning of Marxism-Leninism or transvaluation of the themes of Marxist teachings. Limiting the range of such activities during scientific discussion and evaluation is the most efficient way of eliminating them. On the other hand, reticence or consent given to their propagation within the party usually leads to the formulation of anti-party, oppositional ideological and political streams of thought.

The food for all ideological splinter groups is weak assimilation by party members of Marxist-Leninist teachings and their scanty knowledge of the theory and practice of a Leninist party's functioning. A considerable role is also played in this by the weight of traditions, the lack of re-evaluation of obsolete historical thinking and the scale of influence of different varieties of bourgeois ideology. As the years 1980-1981 have shown us, the struggle for the traditions of the Polish workers' movement was then a battle for the workers' class consciousness and attempts to deprive the party of its patriotic and national values were only an effort to portray the PZPR and its forerunner as a symbol of national betrayal and nihilism. Frequently, the party has not found the strength to resist these attacks and has thus exposed itself to ideological invasion and contamination of its own ranks.

Other dangers threatening the level of ideological unity within the party are connected with the static concept of the theory of the revolutionary workers movement and unwillingness to interpret creatively the thoughts of the classic socialist writers. The presentation of their achievements is now limited to cataloging once-obvious truths taken from another historical epoch and applied to modern situations. A historical treatment of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin hindering creative forward progress is regarded by some to be the guarantee of inviolable principles. The domination by such tendencies of thought is depriving ideology of its value as a means of shaping public awareness, its political activeness and its importance as an efficient counter-balance to thinking alien to Marxism-Leninism.

The ideological activity of the party embraces spiritual, intellectual and ethical values and various areas of culture. This also presents the problems of ideological confrontations both within the outside of the party. This may not be of an incidental character. It is a constant process supplemented with live political content and which engages party forces

in the course of different historical periods. The ideological identity of individuals is the result of this process and of conscious, purposeful activities that explain regularities of social development confirmed in practice.

The problem of ideological confrontation acquires particular importance when additional factors and conditions due to differences between generations arise. The involvement of a considerable portion of youth in antisocialist activity and the philosophical ferment which has swept the young generation require intensification of ideological activity by the party among youth. This applies as well to those categories of party members whose experience due to age does not enable them efficiently to confront the party's program values with concrete evidence of their realization, especially in historical terms. All of the shortcomings due to inter-generational conflicts in the party cause disharmony and must be radically but rationally removed. Connected with this problem are certain difficulties produced by the state of the youth movement in Poland which is still seeking improper political and organizational solutions. The range of social and political knowledge conveyed to youth in the school system is also important.

The ideological influence of the party under the present conditions in Poland is connected with the necessity of breaking down philosophical barriers more than in the other socialist countries. In reference to intra-party activity, this problem presents particular difficulties because there appear additional factors of ideological differentiation. In view of the present state of the party, we cannot make light of this. The party may not be an adjunct to state policy as is the Church. It must have its own autonomous, independent system of scientifically influencing the citizen's world view and especially that of its members. The degree of state tolerance as a result of constitutional guarantees may not be ambiguous in its application to ideological tolerance of the PZPR.

For this reason, an important role in developing an ideological identity is also played by intellectual forces available to the party which it can use in the process of conscious, political activation of its members. The problem of building up awareness, especially within the ranks of the working class, is still important. After all the ideological crisis of the PZPR was to some degree the result of many years spent neglecting the struggle to shape the party, its Marxist-Leninist principles and its rules of operation. This was the result of an increasing expansion of the petit-bourgeois element bringing its intellectual baggage into the party.

The Marxist-Leninist ideology, shaping the motivations, attitudes and awareness, is, of necessity, the domain of the party intellectuals and pervades all of the social sciences. In a situation where thinking in this realm leads to considerable ideological and political polarization and a displacement of forces in intellectual circles in a manner unfavorable to the party, the reinforcement of Marxism in social sciences demands redoubled efforts. Further integration in this area is unquestionably important but it cannot be integration that is noncontroversial, without discussion and artificially induced. The party's ideological offensive

demands creative intellectual ferment from the sources of Marxism-Leninism which takes into account all of the threats to that ideology. In view of the gathering pressure of Western propaganda and the peculiar political indifference of some of our native intelligentsia with their great reservations about the political value of the PZPR's program, these dangers are not to be taken lightly. In this situation, the "personal inroads" made here and there in the name of eliminating ideological denaturalizations during socialist renewal within some party intellectual circles, remind one of sawing off the branch upon which one is sitting.

The party is a political commonwealth. This means that the activity of its members must be subordinated to specific political goals, the achievement of which is the reason for the party's organization. The party should provide its members with sufficient instruments and ways to realize its goals. If ideology is the source of primary impulses for party functioning and a system of views, evaluations and values, then every action originating in this system is a political action. Ideology forms the basis of political structures without which it would be just a sum of unproved hypotheses. To put it very briefly: ideology is thought and politics is action. Correct functioning of a Marxist-Leninist party includes both of these to an equal extent. The dialectics of party action depend on constant infiltration of the ideological and political element. The proof of ideological values is in politics. Furthermore, politics makes it possible to go beyond the internal party structure and to tie the party to all of society and its institutions. In this way, the party comes into contact with reality, alters it but also becomes the object of the changes. Speaking figuratively, it is a matter of the tool in the process of this dialectical interaction being harder than the substance it works. The party may not be a lead drill used on iron matters. The party's strength in deciding whether it is the subject of politics depends on whether or not it is the avant-garde.

The party's program determines its political level of action. Next go general considerations determining the intermediate and end points of action and plans, the program contains the interpretation of its political reasons to which the party's actions are subordinated. Thus, the constant elements of Marxist-Leninist ideological principles and values are correlated within the program to the dynamics of social processes. In this way, the concrete political line of the party is formed. The degree to which objective factors agree with subjective interpretation and the deciphering of reality has become of utmost importance here.

The crisis in which the PZPR found itself is undoubtedly the result of critical failures in interpreting both general and specific phenomena that accompany the development of socialism. Analysis of party policy has shown that, in the years 1976-1980 in particular, there was a considerable mixing of the party policy's tactical and strategic elements. This was accompanied by subjective and utopian interpretation of the level of national integration and a narrow economic view of political goals without real support in the social and economic advancement of Polish socialist development. Superficial and verbal reference to social awareness compounded the errors that went into formulating the party policy.

The ability to perceive phenomena, analyze them and then make the right evaluations leading to the most correct political decisions is the most basic requirement made of the writers of the program. The instrumental role here should be played by science and all of the achievements of Marxism-Leninism in the realm of shaping social and political relationships. More than anything, they help in eliminating subjectivism and coincidence from the program and also prevent spontaneity and voluntarism in its implementation.

The PZPR has not formulated its program in one comprehensive document although its outline may be found in the preamble to the charter, for example. The programmatic document is the currently under discussion "What we are struggling for, where are we going" /O co walczymy, dokad zmierzamy/. This document designates the main levels of the party's ideological and political activities. From the forum of the Ninth Congress, the PZPR announced the publication of a program document meeting the present and future needs of the party. The program considers historical, national realia and envisions the further development of socialism in Poland in all its complexity.

Specification of program goals is done at each party congress by applying the political aspects of party action to the realia of social and economic life. These corrections become meaningful only when they improve methods and add to ways of realizing the program's universal goals. Adaptation of current, intermediate political tasks to the final ends of the program is thus indispensable because it determines the complementary character of the ideological, political and also organizational functions of the party.

However, it sometimes happens that, despite their political virtues, the resolutions adopted by the congresses constitute a factor that hinders the process of reaching the program ideals formulated by the party as its final goals. It even happens that decisions adopted by plenary sessions of the Central Committee do not always match the long-range program plans of the congresses or the party's ideological declarations. An evident example of such a discrepancy is the political side of PZPR activities in the 1970's. The contradiction of many Marxist-Leninist ideals within general society and the party and despite propaganda activities was felt then and it has presently become rather well-known. This was fostered by a lack of discernment in the class structure of forces both within the party and in society by a reduction of differences between the people and party members, the relegation of social sciences to apologetics, etc.

The harm caused to society and the party are all the more threatening as they were brought about in the name of realization of the party's program. There have been attempts made to point out that the program's implementation is the result of a unified political position taken by PZPR members, that this is their conscious and unanimous choice.

Party unity developed on the basis of political premises is easier to achieve when positive results from implementation of the program are more noticeable. Convincing people of the advantages of party activities not only increases the number of sympathizers but most of all has an integrating effect on the political attitudes of communists themselves.

Current political tasks most often differentiate party members not acutely. The appearance and means of overcoming various positions are determined with regard to their theoretical cognizant (gnoseological) character. This is mainly connected with the dialectic of social phenomena and the ability to assess and interpret them. Party members are not isolated from the social and economical life of the nation. They are subjected to constant stimuli arising from the changeability of the social and political conditions encountered in socialist development. The interpretative and analytical side of this process often leads to crystallization of different political positions and their significant individualization. These acquire particular meaning when they are applied to the party leadership. The range of these differences and their effect upon the party are important at this time. They could produce a highly critical situation and have an effect on the functioning both of the party and of the entire political system.

The historical experience of Marxist-Leninist parties and especially observations made in Poland have shown that the acceptance within the party of new social needs brought about by changes in economic or political conditions is made difficult or altogether impossible by the lack of sober, earnest discussion and exchange of views. Discussion makes it possible to determine the scale and range of political differences in the party and, at the same time, makes it possible for the mass of party members to participate in the formulation of political work and methods of performing it. There is nothing that integrates the party as much as joint, democratically-made decisions.

Discussion, as one of the attributes of internal party democracy, prevents the breaking of political ties and immunizes the party to processes like "the policy of the leadership" and "the policy of the masses" or the variant of "detachment" of the party from the masses. If we accept the term "masses" as including a part of the party's members as well, then we have to deal with a conflict situation within the party. The political essence of this phenomenon is a result of erroneous reading and false analysis of socialist development and also of voluntaristic tampering with the content and goals of important political decisions that are the duty of every party member to implement. This atmosphere creates a lack of faith in the substance of the party's program slogans which, in turn, weakens unity of political attitudes and disintegrates the party ranks making it vulnerable to political diversion. Usually, this process is accompanied by isolation of the party leadership from the general society and there arise tendencies for unilateral interpretation and analysis of policy by the leaders, which limits the extent of their political awareness. In this situation, wishes and longings are often taken as real facts and give rise to dangerous illusions about the effectiveness of political decisions. If this state

concurs with a lack of proper flow of information, then the perception of hostile views and assessments, and ordinary gossip as well, become serious causes of party disintegration. Much evidence of this has been provided by the growth of the political situation in the country after August, 1980 and the positive reorientation of party members' attitudes taking place at this time.

Factors weakening the party's political unity may be connected with differences in political experience among particular individuals and organizations. Lack of political "manners" and of knowledge of mechanisms of political activity forms good soil for so-called "colloquial awareness" of various aspects of party and state. This does not make it possible to break political stereotypes and images effectively. A considerable part of the functional aktiv that began political activity in the post-August period is not free of this type of awareness. For that reason, the party may also not resign from actively shaping the political attitudes of its own members when that is a necessary condition for its political offensives. As experience has shown, every defensive tactic brings about a drop in popularity of the party's political ideas and rationale, limits the range of its effects and at the same time impoverishes the level of its organizational and intra-organizational activities.

Achievement of absolute political unity within the party is illusive and altogether unattainable. It is a matter of the political unity reaching a desired optimum and the occurring contradictions and differences being surmounted in a democratic way. In their historical development, the political organizations of the working class have devised many examples worthy of notice. It is only their loss or conscious depreciation that causes perturbations in party unity to become relapses hard to overcome.

On the political level of party activities, opportunistic tendencies of a character both dogmatic and revisionistic reveal themselves most clearly. Working out different sorts of programs and declarations beyond the assumptions of the party's program, the blocking of decisions and undermining of the program are all activities that take place within the realm of politics. These activities are not always open ones. They are, in the beginning, usually masked and seem to agree with the party's policy line. Their character becomes more obvious once the party's policy breaks down for various reasons or loses popularity. The deepening political disorientation in these situations fosters a search for supporters and the compulsion of certain views and assessments as being the only correct ones. A wealth of factual material about this has been supplied by various clubs formed within the PZPR since August, 1980 as well as by press articles that have appeared on the general question of what political role the party has in the Polish political system. That last question itself became a basic determinant of political orientations as well as of social-democratic tinges within the system.

The most measurable criteria of party functioning and its degree of unity refer to its organizational level. This level is mainly determined by charter standards and their closely-connected principles of democratic

centralism. In setting up the organizational structure of the party and its internal order, these principles also formulate the realms of competence for cells and departments and also determine the powers and responsibilities of the members. Preservation of these standards and principles gives party activities a dynamic and efficient character.

Organizational unity has a decisive effect on the effectiveness of actions by particular party cells and the functioning of the entire party mechanism. It is through this unity that the technical side of party operation shows itself with its various parameters of operation such as member discipline, their availability for party work, the pace at which party resolutions are implemented, etc.

The organizational forms of modern Marxist-Leninist parties are the result of the historical experience of the revolutionary workers movement. From these experiences has come the general conclusion that the organization of party activity should be subordinated to ideological and political functions as well as program goals. Organizational decisions do not then decide every one of the party's political lines since it is the dynamics themselves of political activity that modify the organizational form of the party. This theme applied to practice brings home the necessity for continually adjusting organizational schemes to political needs. From this have come statutory changes with respect to things such as the demands of intra-party democracy or resolutions setting up new cells within the party structure, liquidating superfluous organizations and temporarily creating different types of collegial bodies, commissions, etc.

An expression of modification of the party's organizational form in accordance with its political needs is the PZPR Statute adopted at the Ninth Congress. The Statute, as a collection of party laws and obligations, formulates the criteria and rules that equally obligate all PZPR members. This fundamental document also guarantees the preservation of Marxist-Leninist principles of party organizational functioning and sets, according to current demands, the relationship between centralism and democracy. New formulations relevant to organization aim at assuring democratic functioning within elective departments and broaden the power of these departments to control executive boards and secretariats. Organizational work has more than ever become based on the social aktiv and at the same time, the role of the party apparatus in relation to party departments and organizations constituted by democratic election has been clearly stated. Striving to create conditions favorable to the organizational unity of the party, the Statute establishes the competencies and duties of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Secretariat and the First Secretary of the Central Committee.

Formulation of statutory requirements during general party discussion was guided by the idea that organizational defects weakening party unity were the result of breakdowns of the dialectical principle of democratic centralism and also the bitter fruit of bureaucratization of the organizational forms of party life.

Of course, the Statute itself, if regarded outside of the ideological and political conditions of party functioning, does not offer any guarantee of preservation of organizational unity. Respect for the "letter and spirit" of this document is brought about by the conviction that it serves the realization of the proper ideological and political goals of the PZPR's general membership.

Seen on this background, the party's organizational unity or the lack of it are the results of the degree of political and ideological uniformity or differences in opinion as to interpretation of party goals and the means by which they are to be realized. Uniformity of opinion always fosters integrative tendencies and differences arouse the process of disintegration, the final effect of which may be factionalism or even organizational failure.

The formal organizational unity of the party comes from the statutory right to possession of a membership card and thus membership in good faith to the party. It might seem to be a barrier to any activities aimed at organizational unity to have party members as the initiators of those activities for the radical method of restoring unity is deprivation of membership rights of those members not acting within statutory standards. This is, however, the final means of dealing with such persons, although it is often necessary. The effectiveness of this measure grows less in direct proportion to the growing number of dismissals or resignations from the party. This phenomenon is especially disturbing when it involves workers or when the restoration of party organizational unity is followed by considerable shrinking of its main social base.

As the experiences of the PZPR and other Marxist-Leninist parties have shown, their organizational level may be subject to dogmatic, sectarian and revisionist tendencies. Dogmatism has usually made its appearance in periods of stagnation, ossification of organizational structures and in the spasmodic adherence to standards treated ahistorically, in other words, as good for all occasions.

Absolutization and an abstracted, commonplace approach to organizational problems has usually led to the conception of the party as a monolith in which organizational unity did not mean anything more than uncritical and involuntary allegiance of the mass of members to the party apparatus and party domination of collegial elective organs. The general conception of the party based on such standards was founded on the mistaken conviction that the party may, by means of elastic organization, shape social and political reality at will, that thanks to efficient organizing its political goals may be excessive and universal and its ideological reign executed.

Characteristic of revisionist tendencies is the endeavor to eliminate centralism in the party under the slogan of broader autonomy for particular cells and organizations. This autonomy would lead to negation of organizational unity and would foster construction of a political creation as a set of lesser "sub-parties". In this form the party would conform to a collection of loose organizations and deliberative bodies with poor discipline and uncoordinated actions.

Of course, the result of both dogmatic and revisionistic tendencies is shown here in its extreme form. However, they are nonetheless perceptible in various historical periods. It also follows that elimination of extreme and mutually excluding tendencies is necessary, especially when they clearly hit at the party's organizational unity.

Regulating the above problems, the PZPR Statute has stressed the "internal party democracy, freedom of discussion and criticism may not be hampered or limited so as to be both useable for goals contrary to party ideology and policy and its political and organizational unity. In particular, activities of a factional character that depend on the creation of formalized groups within the party generalizing a separate program, policy, organizational principles and creating an autonomous center deployed against the statutory party authorities are not permissible."

The sign of the breakdown of organizational unity not so long ago was the so-called "horizontal connections" growing beyond the statutory norms of the PZPR. The growing intensity of their activities before the Ninth Extraordinary Congress bore increasingly significant factionalism which was ideologically fueled by certain "Solidarity" elements.

The causes for the appearance and character of this form of organizational contacts were undoubtedly complex. Setting the level of discussion and cooperation of particular basic party groups, the "connections", despite several suggestions, were not conditioned entirely by external factors. Certainly, at the source of their origins was a general ideological animation not only among party members but the chief motive of their operations was the search for a guarantee of internal party democracy. In the intentions of their creators, they were repeatedly treated as an antidote to organizational indifference, as an instrument for breaking through the formal relationships of the party authorities. Ties between particular organizations were in many cases also the result of the party members' distrust of the departments as well as a lack of faith in the sincerity of the PZPR leadership. It should not be forgotten that these connections were formed in an atmosphere of political criticism of the whole party and elements of demagoguery, accusation and political adventurism were not without influence on the content of these solutions of assessments and opinions.

The functioning of the "horizontal connections" proved that the breakdown of organizational unity was not independent. The motivation for their activities appeared on the ideological and political level. The original impulses and inspiration started at this level and ended within the party's organization. This brings one to the conclusion that attempts at breaking up organizational unity, especially if they are made from outside, first hit at the political and ideological levels and differentiate the attitudes and opinions of party members to the degree that divergence created within this sphere are automatically transmitted to the organizational level. For this reason, the elimination also of the cause of organizational disunity must always be connected with a hard look at the degree of ideological

and political integration of the general party membership. The resolution by the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum refers to this problem stating that: "The Central Committee orders termination of activities of any movements, structures, forums and seminars of an extra-statutory nature."

In conclusion, it can be said that without organizational unity there cannot be any talk of political and ideological community. It is, however, also true that formal organizational unity does not guarantee the party's political and ideological cohesion.

If policy leads to realization of ideological values and necessary verification is done in this process, then this process must reach as far as the given organization. The organization is the sum of its order and systematization, but it is not an ordering of dead objects. It is always a matter of interpersonal relationships since the crux of politics is and will remain human beings. In his measures as an individual and a party member, a person is an exponent and also an implementer of certain ideological and political values. No party may be an agglomerate of individual attitudes and views. For that reason, the strength of the party is increased by its ability to transform the individual will and desires into coordinated group action of millions.

We need this ability now more than ever.

12261

CSO: 2600/991

ROMANIA

DECREE ON QUALITY CONTROL OF NUCLEAR UNITS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 16, 28 Mar 83 p 1

[Excerpts] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--The nuclear installations and units for which the provisions of Law No 6/1982 on the ensuring of the quality of nuclear installations and units are applicable are the ones specified in the attachment *), which is an integral part of the present decree.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 22 March 1983

No 86

*) The attachment is being transmitted to the institutions concerned.

CSO: 2700/259

DELO ON KOSOVO POLITICAL, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

AU271827 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 25 Jun 83 p 15

[Vlado Slamberger report; passage within slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] /The hostile activities of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists have been uncovered and broken up to a great extent and the room for the activity of groups and individuals from hostile positions has been narrowed down, but this activity has not been eradicated. This is the appraisal of the current political and security situation in Kosovo. Judging by everything that we saw during our study visit to Kosovo, which ended last night, we can only confirm this appraisal./

Of course, it would be an exaggeration to say that everything is already as it was prior to March and April 1981. The enemy has realized that he cannot count on the support of the masses of the people, Imer Pulja, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, told us. As he said, the unsuccessful attempts in Vucitrn, Pristina, and Suva Reka to mark the second anniversary of the Kosovo events attest to this fact. For this reason the enemy has retreated underground, and the domestic and foreign hostile forces have linked together as a united "movement for an Albanian socialist republic in Yugoslavia." There are two currents within this movement: One of them is oriented to illegal activities and the other one is oriented to diversions and armed actions. Both of them still use the same slogans, Kosvo Republic and Kosovo, Ethnically Pure Republic, with the ultimate goal to destroy Yugoslavia's unity and then join the so-called greater Albania of Enver Hoxha.

Slogans Still on Roads

Thus the struggle against illegal activities continues in Kosovo, illegal activities such as writing of slogans (we saw the evidence of some 20 erased slogans on the road along our 200-kilometer Pristina-Prizren-Pec-Pristina itinerary) and distribution of hostile pamphlets and leaflets. This year, 11 illegal groups with a total of some 170 members, mainly students and school-children, have been uncovered in the province.

The aggressive orientation of the hostile movement especially is a cause for concern. This year five diversions (four in Pristina and one in Prizren) were carried out, there were 51 instances of stones being thrown at trains, trains were stopped by force 19 times, objects were placed on the railroad tracks and rails six times, and the five-corner stars were erased from 506 automobile licence plates.

The appraisal of the sociopolitical workers in the communes and local communities which we visited is that the hostile forces are no longer capable of mounting any major action. We have broken the enemy's back with the political work of all subjective forces headed by the LC, with the greater protection awareness of citizens, and with the ideological differentiation.

Emigration is political problem number two. Simultaneously with their actions to eradicate the hostile activities the Kosovo subjective forces are devoting their greatest attention to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. In the last 3 months, 465 persons, including 40 families and 74 individuals with higher and higher education, including six physicians have emigrated (in the period from 1 September 1982 to 31 March 1983, 2,782 Serbs and Montenegrins emigrated from Kosovo). Thus the situation is calming down in this sphere also. During the same 3-month period, 105 emigrants who left Kosovo last year have returned to Kosovo.

Who Would Not Sell Land at 100,000 Dinars per Are [100 square meters]

The following essential causes may be listed as the main three reasons for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins:

Objective causes: Better economic conditions in other parts of Yugoslavia, higher personal incomes, better school opportunities for children, and high land prices. For instance, in Musutiste village, which has a population of 5,798 people and is the largest local community of Suva Reka commune (which is well known to the people of the sister commune of Ravne in Slovenia), land can be sold at prices of 40,000 to 120,000 new dinars per are. I saw with my own eyes a house, which looked more like a dilapidated hut than a house, on eight acres of land which its Serbian owner sold for 5.5 million dinars. Of course, he was able to buy for that money a much larger piece of land in southern Serbia. When I asked who is buying land at these high prices, I was told that 283 local people are working abroad and that therefore some heads of families in Mustiste receive monthly DM 8,000 to 10,000 from relatives abroad.

Subjective causes: Members of the minority peoples still cannot rid themselves of a feeling of fear, there is an atmosphere of uncertainty in some places, uncertainty over the question of whether the 1981 spring will be perhaps repeated, and at times the minority has an uncomfortable feeling in some communities.

Consequences of hostile activities: writing of anti-Serbian slogans, singing of songs which are hostile to Serbs, and violence. In the first 5 months this year, there were 58 cases of physical attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins, 19 cases of threats, 11 cases of property damage, 15 cases of national insults,

and 10 cases of desecrated monuments and gravestones. However, the activity to stop the emigration is hampered also by such examples as the one told to us in Urosevac: recently seven activists who led the action against the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the commune themselves emigrated.

Political problem number three: Employment. Unemployment is an additional economic and social problem. There are 84,696 unemployed persons (two-thirds of them with secondary and higher education) registered with the communities for employment. However, Imer Pulja believes that there are in fact twice as many unemployed people in the province because many individuals and especially women do not register as seekers of employment. On an average, there are 43 candidates for every available working position. This situation naturally is also causing political problems.

CSO: 2800/363

MUHIC CONDEMNS 'RADICAL' VIEWS ON CHANGING LCY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 83 pp 9-11

[Article by Dr Fuad Muhic: "Some New Kids and the Third Revolution: Where the Radicalism of Luka Markovic and Slobodan Inic Leads"]

[Text] The old truth that the intensity of states of crisis in a society can be compared to the radicalism of the solutions offered to overcome them has recently been confirmed by our own experience as well, at least insofar as this can be verified in the domain of intellectual life. It seems that legitimacy has been won by those theories which see a way out in rejecting all the traditional modes of our theoretical thought and whose advocates undertake searches for innovations whose ultimate purpose is very difficult to see. But it is still noticeable that every radicalism with us starts and ends with the question: What to do with the LCY and how to remove it from the present political system or at least transform it in a way that would bear the least resemblance to the historical "image" which it has today?

Some of the radical views are not expressed exclusively in the scholarly and journalistic press which might be referred to as dissident or oppositionist, but are communicated even at round-table discussions of certain Marxist centers and often cause the domestic and foreign public to wonder whether a process isn't taking place in Yugoslavia in which the LCY is legalizing its own "liberal" faction and opening up space for it to maneuver in which it would very soon find its place under the sun and set itself up as the long sought alternative to it? The dilemmas would perhaps not be so great if it were not leftwing or rightwing radicalism (depending on the basic inspiration) concealed under the trappings of liberalism and if it were not a question of views which have been appearing with still more vital force after it was believed that the authoritative critical judgment of them had been rendered. But it is probably close to the truth that the theoreticians of radical orientation of the older generation (who today are by and large rounding out their life's work or bringing it to an end) have found support in a portion of the younger intellectual generation--including those who are members of the LCY--which is very consistently continuing on their road and is relieving them of the need to come into constant conflict with the LCY. By the logic "take up where I left off" that need really exists no longer, since the radicalism of certain younger intellectuals, encouraged by the awareness that numerous rostrums are open to them, including those under the direct sponsorship of the

LC, has already gone quite beyond their examples and has at least to this point justified expectations placed in it.

"Two Wonderful Sisters"

The leftwing radicalism of these intellectuals moves in two directions. One of them insists on the fundamentally transformed (actually altogether new) party whose turnover of personnel would bring "new and quite young communists (some of them quite new lads and lasses) crawling up out of the party's present amorphousness and tracklessness, would revive the Tito tradition (which is anyway a pain to the bureaucracy and technocracy, nibbling away at it and at themselves), would take the party away from the bureaucracy and technocracy with a clear revolutionary platform, both of them having led our country into underdevelopment and dependence and our working class into the position of mere human material for exploitation in the world system of capital" (Luka Markovic, "Theses on Development," NASE TEME, No 12, 1982, p 2101). A second direction among the "new lads and lasses" is advocated by Slobodan Inic, and that in such a paradigmatic manner that there is no need to even refer to other followers of this direction. Its purport (if one is to believe the newspaper reporter, and probably there are no reasons for doubt) is contained in Inic's view that our "people are adequately committed to socialism, so that the LC is not even necessary, since all have become a vanguard" (POLITIKA, 11 June 1983, feature article, panorama of the discussions in the lecture series at the Marxist Center of the Serbian LC Central Committee).

Luka Markovic is an established scholar in the younger segment of the middle-age generation and it cannot be said of his "Theses on Development" that they do not contain (insofar as theses allow) a level-by-level analysis of certain essential features of our present situation. Insofar as the relationship between the LCY and the working class is concerned, one can agree with his view that our working class is "in its level of education at the level or even above the working class of certain advanced countries," that as a class "for itself" it has a refined sense of its own historical interest, and that "if that kind of class interest does not very soon find open prospects for itself within the party, it will seek them outside the party" (NASE TEME, op. cit., pp 2092-2093). Markovic starts from the indisputable thesis that the position of the LCY cannot be endlessly reproduced by referring to its vanguard role in the revolution, but it must be constantly confirmed by struggle to realize the historical interests of the working class. The basis of the LCY's legitimacy, then, will continue in the future to be stated essentially in terms of a mission, and not simply granted. But his further derivations are burdened with an emotional tension that does not appear to be always the most fortunate fellow traveler in analyses which claim to be objective, especially when they are accompanied by a desire to find appropriate modes for transcending the status quo. Regarding the LCY as a ruling social group and as the "patron" of the "homegrown bourgeoisie," whose two basic strata (the bureaucracy and technocracy), each in its own way and in its own time (the bureaucracy before introduction of self-management and the technocracy thereafter) has betrayed the working class, has subjected it to "ideological terror" and has ended up in alienated centers of political, economic and financial power, Markovic is not reporting anything essentially new to us which we have not already heard about them.

We have not yet met in our "critics of all that exists" the view that the Yugoslav "homegrown bourgeoisie," in a desire to retain its dominant position in distribution of the social surplus value, has committed national treason, has established ties with international centers of financial power, and has become part of the system of the world domination of capital. The reader might wonder about the authenticity of an interpretation of these views of Markovic to the effect that he has explicitly placed Yugoslavia in the group of countries like Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore with this kind of jointure of the internal and external premises of its existence. Markovic's metaphors are full of loaded sarcasm and are in any case out of the common run of even the jargon used by radical critics. "We truly have two wonderful sisters in the camp of our bourgeoisie (the bureaucracy and the technocracy--F. M.) in a race with one another to sell out our independence," Markovic exclaims and then adds concerning the Krajger Commission: "In general, not counting the vision of self-management, the Yugoslav technocracy has now here at home in the 'basic premises,' with a garnish here and there from the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, begun to speak for the first time in pretty much its own, i.e., bourgeois, language, and it is disappointing to see how deplorably it does speak in that person" (p 2095). That commission, Markovic alerts us, is hopelessly inspired by the ideology of "more economic laws" and "economic coercion instead of governmental coercion."

Yet Another Fairy Tale

Thus the public has finally become aware through his "Theses on Development" that we have become economic and political lackeys of imperialism, that the LCY, as a patron of the "two sisters" and their common mother (the "homegrown bourgeoisie") sold out Yugoslavia from the time of the first foreign credit for a handful of green bank notes and that the older of those sisters (the bureaucracy) "has nothing more to say at this moment about the future of our country (of our working class) than for us to accept a typical occupation regime imposed by the International Monetary Fund ..." (p 2094). Markovic has composed all these deadly observations in our poignant Balkan patriarchal argot, and the only other thing his tale needs is the saga of the evil step-mother and good pater familias out of whose hands this entire obscene game about selling our independence was taken for the drama to go to its culmination. But Markovic has not deprived us of the satisfaction of recognizing even these two figures at the end of his tale. That is, he has not even attempted to solve the riddle which he himself has created--if the national treason began quite some time ago (with the opening up of the Yugoslav economy to the rest of the world, that is, not long after the criticism of Stalinism), how could its protagonists have been the entire LCY and how can Markovic at the same time refer to "revival of the Tito tradition" (p 2101) as the ideological inspiration for a way out of the crisis today? Markovic is obviously suggesting yet another fairy tale about the "good ruler" and the "nobleman who betrayed the empire." This narrative, which deceitfully aims at a historical separation of the role of Tito and the role of the LCY in the postrevolutionary period, is ultimately supposed to provide Markovic and the advocates of this kind of radicalism a "Tito alibi" for the theory of the "new LCY."

And what would it be like? In conceiving the "third phase of the revolution" (the first, as we have seen, belongs to the bureaucracy, and the second to the technocracy) Markovic acknowledges the decisive role of the "scientocracy" (rule by scientists) and even now he is telling the working class to win over this emerging stratum in the struggle against the bureaucracy and technocracy which is to announce the entry into the 21st century. The "new LCY" would be the patron of an alliance that would consist of "only the young working class, the young communist intelligentsia and the young and highly nurtured (!) scientocracy" (pp 2090-2097). It will immediately strike the attentive reader that Markovic is actually not advocating the "third phase of the revolution," but a conflict of generations whose ideological prime mover would be the "new LCY program." Markovic's odium is undoubtedly aimed against the elderly and middle-aged generation as the historical embodiment of the "homegrown bourgeoisie," which (it follows from his jargon) should be swept out of history like rubbish, leaving only Tito, and that not because of personal respect, but out of the most commonplace lack of civic courage to question what truly cannot be made an issue of.

Obsession With Hatred

In reducing the problem of the "third phase of the revolution" to a commonplace conflict of generations whose vanguard would be Markovic's "some new lads and lasses," the author of this construct inevitably falls to the level of the voluntarism of the Chinese "cultural revolution" and repeats almost verbatim the set phrases which beginning in the midsixties could be read in wall newspapers in China. Although Markovic would insist that he is Tito's heir, even though he transparently obtains an up-to-date alibi for his reasoning by referring to Mitja Ribicic's metaphor about the new 1941 and 1948 we might be confronted with, and even though with a refined methodology he sets Ribicic in opposition to Krajger (as though Ribicic has nothing in common with Krajger's "Reaganite 'Basic Premises'"--it is difficult to believe that a moral basis can be found on which the "new LCY, inspired by hatred toward the "bourgeoisized elderly and middle-aged generation" would be legitimized to appeal to the Tito tradition. The showdown between generations carried out according to plan belongs to an altogether different type of party from the one Tito advocated and fought for in practice: Incidentally, even Markovic himself, who is in his forties, would not be certain of passing muster with "certain new lads and lasses."

Thus Markovic's pseudoradicalism, aimed against the LC as the patron of the "homegrown bourgeoisie" which has carried out national treason, had to end up in the incoherence of a radicalism of another kind whose warp threads consist of pure voluntarism and association with a forced conflict between clearly delimited strata of the population. If the written memory of humanity serves us rightly, a revolution has never yet been carried out anywhere on such a basis, and Markovic's reflections, obsessed with hatred for our revolutionary achievements to date, should be taken as an expression of a bad subjective disposition and not as an objectively founded scientific analysis. This kind of disposition, based on propaganda concerning the "Yugoslav bourgeoisie which by borrowing from the capitalist countries instead of relying absolutely on our own resources, sold out its own people to imperialism and stands today at the

service of the Reagan administration," is not Markovic's alone. Two years back it was propagated with particular intensity on the radio waves of a neighboring country.

If Markovic perhaps wished to illustrate with an example the radicalism of these "new lasses and lads," then the views of Slobodan Inic might serve him as that "litmus paper" he speaks about in his own picturesque mode of expression. These views are undisguised, and compared to those of Markovic, they have at least the advantage of not seeking any sort of additional alibi. Inic has taken the critic's nihilistic attitude toward the LCY to the end by realizing that we do not need it. And that for at least two reasons: because modern times have shown that socialism is not the invention of communist parties (since socialistically oriented parties can analyze certain situations better than the CP) and because the level of commitment of our people to socialism has already become 100 percent "and so the LCY is not even necessary, since all have become a vanguard." If the first thesis is unquestionably true with respect to the modern West, but problems with it do begin to emerge as soon as it is euphorically transferred to our soil without having gone through even the minimum of historical verification (so that it emerges as a bare postulate and not as the result of a concrete historical analysis), then the second thesis has truly remained at the level of intellectual "lads and lasses." If, that is, the view that we "have all become a vanguard" were to be accepted as a heuristic motive for studying the state of political spirits in our society, we could not offer a better basis for historical legitimation to all the forces which are actually claiming to be the vanguard.

A Question of Ethics

Then nothing else would be left for us than to register each of them in orderly fashion (the vanguard of "national socialism," from Veselica, Tadjman and Cosic to the Bosnia-Herzegovina "Young Muslims," the vanguard of the "neo-Cominform supporters," the vanguard of "radical critics," who would dissolve everything that exists into a "pure horror of negativity" in order to clear the way to the rule of Markovic's "scientocracy," a vanguard of unitarists, who even in the ranks of the "new lads and lasses" are cautiously rejecting the decisions of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and are sighing with youthful fascistoidism for the historical legitimacy of a monarchist Yugoslavia, and everyone who is ready in the ideologized mists of his consciousness and is already legally indoctrinated against the LCY to proclaim himself a vanguard). And who could be denied that status if we, according to Inic and other "new lads and lasses," have all become members of the vanguard? And if everyone, following the model of Ljubomir Tadic, can in addition appeal to a "natural right"? Which is why Inic has placed a dilemma before the reader: either as a theoretician from the younger generation he lacks a basic sociological education and does not know that there is no absolutely homogeneous consciousness in any society (nor any "vanguardism of all"), but rather differentiated forms of consciousness in open or latent conflict, or in his case it is a question of naked postulation and an urge for outright destruction of the LCY without any sort of articulated rationale.

Even though we ourselves would prefer to opt for this latter supposition (it is after all suggested by Inic's evolution from a lucid critic of many negative things within the LCY to an utter nihilist in his criticism), Inic has exposed us to the terror of one abstraction which is better left at the academic level rather than to become an appeal for terror by some real force which in Markovic's "third revolution" would know quite well how to differentiate itself from the "vanguardism of all" and to dissolve abstract humanism into the harsh terror of its own concept. At least until today no one was on the scent of a guarantee that the spiritual Jacobin dictatorship which is advocated by our radical critics of ultraleft orientation would be a real alternative to the level of democracy which we have achieved so far. We should be grateful for the benevolence offered us in these formulas by the kind of "scientocracy" Markovic wants even to be particularly "cared for," probably not without some ulterior motive.

The radicalisms we have been discussing in this article will undoubtedly have to deepen the differentiation in our own theoretical thought as well. That differentiation will be above all ethical, since it will inevitably have to put the question: How ethical is it to belong to a party whose dissolution one advocates with so much passion and fanaticism? If even an ordinary athletic team would not tolerate more than one game any one among its players who played according to the rules of someone else's game, this problem is all the more important to party commitments in that it is related above all to an individual conception of ethics which our radicalism, often very deceitfully, insists to be its basic virtue. Which is why its purport today stands quite unstated to us, and, aside from the bad faith of its protagonists, it contains nothing else that would suggest real possibilities of changing the conditions in which we live.

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CATHOLIC PAPER REJECTS 'CLERIC-NATIONALIST' CHARGE

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Legalizing the Illegal"]

[Text] It is rather clear that the time is not right for polemics. But is also true that a time such as the present may be quite right for spreading boldfaced lies, which when repeated often enough become arguments which can under certain circumstances serve as support not only for superficial publicistics but also for legal realities. Therefore it appears to us that we are obligated to give warning, although this is at the risk of being a "voice crying in the wilderness." Finally, history has demonstrated that such voices in the wilderness, although at the time of utterance they may appear powerless and hopeless, are heard far and wide for a long time [afterward].

In the widely-read Sarajevo illustrated weekly SVIJET, page 7 of the 16 May issue is devoted entirely to "clerico-nationalism" in an article entitled "A Small Band But a Deadly One." In the last column on the right, under the subheading "Legalizing the Illegal", we read literally:

"Among the ranks of the clerico-nationalists of the Catholic Church are also a fair number of examples of work and activity outside of a religious framework. Demands for legalization of religious education and ritual in the schools and even in the Yugoslav National Army are nothing other than the ancient dream of secular activity, of dividing people according to their religious affiliation, of making the clergy a partner with sociopolitical organizations. In the Catholic Church religious training has in places been transformed into schooling, although this is against the law. What is it if not schooling--programming of instructional material for religious instruction, distribution of fees, public examinations, and organizing excursions such as the 'theological olympics.' Such a situation, which is basically a school program of religious instruction, is not recognized by law. Some religious officials, such as Ljudevit Rupcevic, on their own initiative and without the approval even of the church hierarchy, publish books whose basic purpose is to show the possibility of a 'supernatural manifestation.' Meetings of the 'Catholic Youth' organization have, by their very conception and from the very beginning, stepped outside of the permitted framework of action and are not the result of true religious movements. And so forth."

Thus writes Smiljko Sagolj, fully confident that this is in keeping with the administration's policy regarding religious organizations. The editor of SVIJET allows this to be printed, no doubt aware of the seriousness of the topic and the times. It is, however, clearly true that this text is in its entirety opposed to the Yugoslav Constitution and to all republic-level laws on the legal status of religious organizations and the protocol between the governments of Yugoslavia and the Vatican and basic human rights. If such a text is allowed to be published under the guise of representing the viewpoint of the leading powers of our society, then we believers have serious cause for concern and no reason to conceal this concern. Therefore, when legality and human rights are involved, we do not act in the function of lawgivers or guardians of the law. This is the business of organized sociopolitical forces and those representing such forces. The church does not, nor does it wish to, fulfill this function. Thus we believers are coming forward here only as users of such rights, who feel threatened as regards these rights. Without any generalization or concealment. The above text threatens us directly in this respect. Similar texts have appeared in recent months in several publications, and we have not heard or read of a case where any of the responsible representatives of the law and the legal system have directly, namely with arguments and authority, refuted them in these same publications. More or less definite allusions in speeches or articles by a small number of responsible persons cannot satisfy us when such a definite and express threat is involved.

If what Smiljko Sagolj has written were the legal position of our sociopolitical community, the Catholic Church would have been declared illegal--with all due consequences.

Let us make it clear that no-one from the church has made "demands for legalization of religious education and ritual in the schools and even in the Yugoslav National Army." What is being sought is only full respect for all the rights of a citizen believer, in the educational system and the army. This means that neither in the schools nor in the army are believers to be labelled as believers, that a count of them is not to be taken, that they are not to be subjected to derision because of their belief, that they are not to be forced to attend lectures aimed at atheistic indoctrination, that they are not to be prevented from receiving reading religious publications, that they are to be free to have on their persons rosaries, medallions, and other religious objects (although of course these will not be worn on their uniforms), and that they can, and may, attend services, go to catechism classes, and receive the sacrament in their free time. Whoever were to declare these demands illegal would be denying or detracting from the civil rights of pupils, educational workers, and soldiers. Thus when believers demand all this it means that they have faith in the law--and not in some abstract liberal-bourgeois law but in a concretely proclaimed and valid laws and obligations of this society. How could such a religious position threaten our society?

And as regards religious education, it is schooling, organized and systematic, for the training of a conscious and responsible believer. The church is an organization, with its own memberships lists as well as

lists of those receiving a religious education. Every witch-hunt against such lists and the relevant confirmation of membership in the church organization is directed against freedom of religion and aimed at its dissolution. Sagolj and all who would reason in the same way must take this into account. The church as has been demonstrated by historical reality, never has, nor will it renounce itself and its rights. Nor do the laws of our society demand any such thing of it. It is therefore important to point out the dangerous antagonism between the law and such positions as appeared in SVIJET. Of course we as believers and as a Church do not speak as anyone's counsel or representative. We are only stating how we feel and what we fear, and we expect that the law will defend only those whom it is legally bound to defend in our society.

Sagolj's comments on Ljudevit Rupcic are a separate topic. It is generally known that this Franciscan professor of theology published in book form his expert theological opinions and conclusions on what was happening in Medugorje, where several young people claimed that the Virgin was appearing to them. It is understandable and normal that there may be differing theological opinions regarding such events, both during the phase of investigation and afterwards. It is quite in order for the religious authorities to be reserved and cautious in this matter, but to criticize a Catholic professor of theology for believing in the possibility of a "supernatural manifestation", or even to insinuate that such a belief would be outside the legal framework of activity of religious organizations, is simply terrible. All of us who call ourselves Christians believe in the possibility of such manifestations, no matter what we might think of some particular situation in which the Virgin is claimed to have appeared. Sagolj accuses a theologian for believing that God can appear! Perhaps this terrible accusation is a good warning to us believers to be careful not to let encouragers of atheism turn our critical attitude towards Medugorje against our faith itself.

What this article has to say about "Catholic Youth" refers simply to contemporary forms and pedagogical means of religious instructions. And there really is no place for polemics--it is sufficient to point out the danger.

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