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3 MAY 1988

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CONTENTS

3 MAY 1988

POLITICAL

POLAND

Polish-Italian Cultural, Economic Cooperation	1
Costa Rican CP Delegation Visits	1
Polish, Hungarian Consumer Groups Join Forces	1
Sejm Delegates, European Parliament Talks	1
Press, Personnel Changes, Media Developments September 1987	2
POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup	3
Party Activities Calendar 12-25 October 1987	5
Party Activities Calendar 7-20 December 1987	8
Consultative Council Member Calls for Renewed Talks With Solidarity	10
Supreme Court, Ombudsman Cooperation Noted	11
Columnist Criticizes Opposition's Interpretation of Referendum Results	11
Journalists Note Unfavorable Views of Poland, Poles in Foreign Press	12
Local Self-Rule: Theory, Tasks Necessary for Effective Implementation	13
Party Work 'Style,' Internal Reform Deemed Important Task	16
New Worker Relations, Political Cadres Needed for Reform Success	18
'Pluralism' Noted in Social Problems, Church's Role Viewed	22
Catholic Position on Basic Human Rights, Right to Association	24
Church Role in Scouting Groups Attacked as 'Demoralizing'	27
Catholic Activist Discusses Religious Associations, Political Roles	29
Defense Committee Meetings Reported	32
Reform Program in Enterprise Autonomy, Health Sector Criticized	32
Bratkowski on World Bank Report, CEMA Exports, Heavy Industry Lobby	33
ZSMP Executive Committee Concerned About Falling Educational Goals	35
Military Reviews Youth Education in Light of Changing Social Conditions	36
Katowice TU Branch Notes Poor Overall Activity, Results	37

MILITARY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Fighter-Bomber Flight Training Mission Detailed	39
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ECONOMIC

POLAND

'Budopol' Bankruptcy Recalled, Legal Issues Unresolved	41
Economists Blast Monopoly Inefficiencies, Stagnation	43

SOCIAL

POLAND

Assistance Committee Views Financial, Organizational Issues	45
Nursing Shortage Calls for Local Solutions	45
Rural Emigration Figures, Prognosis for Future Noted	45

POLAND

Polish-Italian Cultural, Economic Cooperation

26000214e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Jan 88 p 6

[Text] Leaders of the Italian city of Varese have responded favorably to Poland's request to transfer to the Royal Castle in Warsaw an urn in their possession which from 1829 to 1872 held the heart of Tadeusz Kosciuszko. Polish ambassador to Italy, Jozef Wiejacz, was told of this decision during his visit to Varese, where he discussed with municipal representatives possibilities for implementing numerous projects for cultural cooperation between that city and Poland.

Polish-Italian cultural and economic cooperation was the subject of discussions between ambassador Wiejacz and representatives from industry and administrative leaders from Milan. J. Wiejacz met with the president of the Lombardy region and the president of Milan Province. He also met with the leadership of the Milan Society of Friends of Poland.

12776

Costa Rican CP Delegation Visits

26000214f Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Jan 88 p 5

[Text] On 28 January Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary J. Czyrek hosted a delegation of the Costa Rican People's Party [PLK], including Politburo members M. Sobrado and A. Vasquez. Czyrek informed the delegation about implementation of the line of socialist renewal, the terms of economic and socio-political reform in Poland, the basic directions of party international policy. The delegation provided information about conditions in Costa Rica and Central America. It noted opportunities for peaceful resolution of problems in the region. It also called attention to threats to that process.

The Moscow meeting of representatives of parties, movements and social organizations was rated highly and its significance for cooperation among the forces of peace and progress from the entire world was emphasized. Full support was expressed for cooperation by Polish and Costa Rican political forces in the interests of both countries, in peace and progress. Solidarity with the FSLN's struggle to guarantee Nicaragua's independence and its right to freely determine its own fate was emphasized.

M Sobrado and A Vasquez also met with heads of Central Committee divisions: E Kucza, Foreign Division; S Gabrielski, Political-Organizational; and A Czyz, Ideological.

12776

Polish, Hungarian Consumer Groups Join Forces

26000222a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
3 Feb 88 p 2

[News item by (W.P.): "Consumer Federations of Poland and Hungary Begin Cooperating"—PAP]

[Text] Consumer organizations are active in four socialist countries: China, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary. Previously, despite their common goal, that of protecting the interests of consumers, these groups were not linked by any organizational ties. Recently, however, the Hungarian National Consumers' Council of the Patriotic People's Front and the Polish National Council of the Consumers' Federation have signed a cooperation agreement. Both parties pledged themselves to, among other things, exchange experience from the "field of battle" for the protection of consumer interests.

1386

Sejm Delegates, European Parliament Talks

26000222c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5 Feb 88 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Talks of the PRL Sejm Delegation in the European Parliament"]

[Text] A Sejm delegation consisting of Vice Speaker Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Deputy Edward Szymanski, which has been holding talks in the European Parliament since last Wednesday, met on Thursday with the chairman of that parliament, Henry Plumb. He was interested in Poland's internal situation, its economic situation, and the economic reform. He spoke out in favor of broadening contacts between Poland and Sejm and the European Parliament.

During a joint press conference L. Arndt, chairman of the Socialist caucus at the European Parliament, declared, among other things, that the EEC should as soon as possible normalize relations with Poland and other socialist countries.

The Vice Speaker of the Sejm declared that, among other things, his collocutors expressed their desire to broaden contacts between the Parliament and Poland. A delegation of the caucuses of Christian-Democratic and Socialist deputies has been invited for talks in Warsaw.

1386

**Press, Personnel Changes, Media Developments
September 1987**

*26000137a Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish
No 11, Nov 87 pp 54-59*

[Excerpts]

1 September

Jerzy Karaim was appointed deputy director of the "Interpress" Press Agency.

Zbigniew Noska was appointed chief editor of TYGODNIK PILSKI.

8 September

At the Moscow headquarters of the USSR Association of Journalists, Editor Marian Podkowinski was awarded the prestigious V. Vorovsky award for his outstanding achievements in international journalism.

10 September

Jozef Kisielewicz was dismissed from his post of deputy editor of SZTANDAR LUDU.

Tadeusz Kwasniewski was appointed deputy chief editor of SZTANDAR LUDU.

14 September

At the Warsaw Palace of Journalists, the SD Philosophical Writer's Club organized a meeting on the subject of new contexts for a philosophical dialogue.

During the meeting, the club's annual awards were presented. Two awards of equal importance were received by Editor Zbigniew Czajkowski (KIERUNKI) for writing on the problems of dialogue in culture and for work dedicated to relations between Poland and the Vatican and by Tadeusz M. Jaroszewski (CZLOWIEK I SWIATOPOGLAD) for philosophical writings and for addressing the problems of the philosophical foundations for a dialogue between Marxism and Christianity.

A third award was received by Krzysztof Gorski (Polish Radio) for a series of broadcasts dedicated to patriotic and cultural aspects of Protestantism in the Cieszyn region of Silesia.

15 September

Lech Drapinski was dismissed as chief editor of SPORT.

Jerzy Kwaczynski was dismissed as chief editor of KURIER PODLASKI.

Andrzej Skoczek was appointed chief editor of STUDENT.

Witold Strzemien was appointed chief editor of the new journal TOP.

18 September

At the Warsaw Palace of Journalists, the SD Club of Social and Legal Journalists organized a meeting under the theme: "Do legal journalists not know what they want and are they not chasing their own tails? Do legal journalists deride the courts and undermine their public credibility?"

21 September

At the Warsaw Palace of Journalists, the SD Club of Political and Social Journalists organized a meeting with OPZZ Vice-Chairman Wacław Martyniuk on the subject of wages, prices and the standard of living.

22 September

Urszula Kozierowska was appointed ZYCIA WARSZAWY's correspondent in the German Democratic Republic and West Berlin.

24-25 September

The PZPR Central Committee Propaganda Department organized a journalist's symposium in Warsaw, "Socialist renewal — experiences, dilemmas and perspectives". Opening remarks preceding discussion were presented by: on the subject of "a national agreement — dilemmas in integrating a diversified society", editors Zbigniew Ramotowski (ZYCIE WARSZAWY), and Pawel Wojcik (ITD); "the image of the modern world as a factor affecting the civic awareness of Poles", Edward Kwasizur (Polish Radio and Television) and Stanislaw Cwik (RAZEM); "Who bears the costs of economic reform? Who bears the costs for no reform?", Stanislaw Chelstowski (ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE) and Jerzy BACZYNSKI (POLITYKA); and "To live and think in the modern way—the critical role of the press as an impulse for progress", by Witold Juchniewicz (TRYBUNA LUDU) and Zbigniew Gajewski (SZTANDAR MŁODYCH). Some 40 persons spoke up during the symposium. First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski appeared at the end of the symposium to answer questions.

28 September

At the Warsaw Palace of Journalists, the SD Editor's Club presented its annual awards. The first award was received by the editorial board of RZECZPOSPOLITA for its contributions to the popularization of economic and legal knowledge, the high quality and extensive nature of its information about life in Poland and its valuable series and supplements on economic reform and worker self-management.

The second award was received by the editors of TEL-EEXPRESS for their innovations in television journalism, overcoming routine methods of broadcasting information and skill in the use of mass media which has gained them a wide audience including young viewers.

The third award was received by Editor Wojciech Mszyca, editorial secretary of the weekly TAK I NIE for his achievements with the journal and its quarterly supplement, TAK I NIE — SLASK.

30 September

Janusz Ampula was dismissed as deputy chief editor of ZIEMIA GORZOWSKA.

Eugeniusz Boczek was dismissed as deputy chief editor of STOLICA.

SUPPLEMENT

31 August

Jerzy Klechta was dismissed as chief editor of RADAR.

Daniela Lewandowska was dismissed as deputy chief editor of RADAR.

12261

POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup
26000187a Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
No 5, 30 Jan 88 p 2

[Excerpts]

National News

The Sejm passed the state budget for 1988. Zygmunt Szeliga's commentary is on pp 1, 4.

The Council of State sent the proposed election law to the Sejm after considering the recommendations and opinions from social discussion. The Council also discussed the planned changes in the law of 1983 on the system of national councils and local self-governments. These changes are to be made in two stages: in the first, those which do not require changes to the constitution; in the second, after changes in the constitution, regulations on the separation of the self-government's property in the form of community property, among others, would be introduced.

The social report on the threats to the development of rural areas, agriculture, and the food industry has become the basis for the resolution of the National Council of PRON on these issues. The resolution says, among other things, that "the relative stability achieved in the food market is supported by brittle foundations, for growth in the actual support for agriculture is slight; decapitalization is proceeding in the agriculture and processing industries, and the profitability of agriculture

is falling. . . . The relative decline of the income of those in agriculture in relation to those employed in other sectors of the national economy is particularly dangerous for agricultural production."

The government announced that the quota for direct recompensation for an employee will be 6,000 zloty. After the first six months the effects of the retail price increases on the cost of living both for worker and farm families will be evaluated. Purchase prices for agricultural products will increase this year about 48 percent on the average. This should reduce the disparity between farm and non-farm incomes by 7 percent in comparison to 1987. The Ministry of Labor and Social Policy announced in the press that the average quota of the revalorization increase for retirees and pensioners will be 3,400 zloty (the valuation is calculated according to the index of wage growth for the last year) plus 3,200 zloty for this year's price increases. This produces a total increase of 6,400 zloty on the average.

From the press conference of the government spokesman. On the so-called alternate military service: "The military authorities have received a proposal that alternative military service be established for individuals who do not want to serve in the military in any way, not as a result of poor health but, for example, because of world views or other attitudes, but for double the period of service." The proposal did not go beyond the military authorities, Minister Urban emphasized. The difference from the current situation is that until now someone could be assigned to alternative service if the military authorities agreed and that individual agreed; usually this was a consequence of the poor health of the concerned individuals or other circumstances the military recognized. According to the new proposal, alternative service for a double period would include individuals who themselves, regardless of the agreement of the military authorities, selected alternative service for a double period. The spokesman, in response to a question from the AP correspondent excluded the possibility of legalizing the group Freedom and Peace which questions the obligation of military service: "This organization is a political organization, threatening Polish defense alliances and the very defense of our country."

The Commission for Mining, Raw Materials, and the Power Industry of the PZPR Central Committee during its deliberations at the Barbara Chorzow mine stated that reserves of hard coal are being used up, but that production can be maintained at the present level until 2020 on the condition that new mines are built and the present ones are expanded. The Commission "expressed concern at the multiplying official and unofficial predictions of further limitations of investments in the fuel and energy complex without a simultaneous, concrete program of long-term energy needs based on thorough surveys."

We are to publish 260 million books this year; the number of titles is to increase significantly, up to about 6,500.

The Embassy of the FRG issued 501,780 visas to Polish citizens in 1987, including 62,426 transit visas; this is 22.9 percent more than in 1986 (in 1980 283,781 visas were issued).

Stilon in Gorzow is now producing VHS video cassettes—Pal/Secam. The quality is reportedly about the world average, but production is small now, because the firm is using imported tape from Agfa and Basf, and there is little convertible currency.

Ursus has already produced 1.25 million tractors. The 1.25-millionth tractor was given to the Mother of Poland Health Center in Lodz.

The Catholic Review reports from Czestochowa that last year the Jasnogora monastery received more than 4 million pilgrims, and 55,600 masses were celebrated by celebrants from 67 countries. Communion was given to 2.35 million; 2,138 homilies and sermons were given; and 37 extraordinary acts of grace and miracles were announced.

Foreign journals have also increased in price. The DZIENNIK LODZKI reports that the London TIMES costs 900 zloty instead of 130 zloty; the Guardian increased 1,000 percent in price. The French paper LE MONDE will cost 440 zloty (three times as much); LE FIGARO nearly 1,500 zloty; DER SPIEGEL, 958 zloty; STERN, 1,176 zloty; the Italian paper EPOCA, 1,690 zloty; the Parisian magazine ELLE, 820 zloty; BURDA, 2,080 zloty. After this reading, it will be easier to digest the price increases for the domestic press.

Prices for beer are increasing. DZIENNIK ZACHODNI reports that a bottle of Zywiec already costs 120 zloty (previously, 70 zloty), and a larger half-liter bottle costs 140 zloty (previously, 80 zloty). The company explains the increases are due to increased costs of production last year and in the near future. Price increases have also been announced by Tychy ("probably by 40 percent," depending on the increase in prices for malt, barley, hops, sugar, diesel fuel, and energy). In the case of beer the turnover tax is 58 percent.

A new journal BEZ PRZYSLONY has appeared in Poznan, a monthly for workers and trade unionists, published by the Working Association of Creators of Culture and the Voivodship Convention of Trade Unions. The editor-in-chief is Marcin Bajerowicz.

News From Abroad

A Soviet-West German agreement on annual consultations between their foreign ministers, consulates in Kiev and Munich, and extending the economic cooperation for the next 5 years was signed in Bonn during the visit by the head of Soviet diplomacy. Minister Shevardnadze met with Chancellor Kohl, among others. No firm date has been set for Michail Gorbachov's visit in Bonn; it should occur this year.

On the Left

A proposal for a new law on Soviet collective farms includes measures tested in experiments carried out on a number of farms. The proposal calls for, among other things, the ability to separate and transfer leased plots to the members of the collective farms, other citizens, and also other collective farms, enterprises, and organizations. The proposal forbids the transfer of farms near houses to the use of other persons or being worked with hired labor. The proposal gives the collective farms the right to make direct contacts with cooperative farms in the socialist countries and also with Western firms.

In Moscow for the first time selected works by Deng Xiaoping have been published.

The Belgrade paper BORBA reports that one can receive \$2,000 for a Yugoslav passport on the black market in Western Europe. Yugoslav passports are good for 10 years and permit entry into several dozen countries without a visa, including nearly all European countries. Thus they are documents much in demand by, for example, Arab fugitives. Yugoslavs lose the most passports in Istanbul, Salonika, and Budapest, and only one-third of them are found and returned to the Yugoslav embassies. BORBA adds that recently in Zagreb an Iranian couple was arrested who were producing false Yugoslav passports and selling them to other Iranians.

Meat consumption by the average citizen of Mongolia has fallen, and in 1987 it was 89.8 kg (in 1985, 117 kg and 1980, 136 kg). The basic diet of the Mongols consists mostly of meat and in recent years the number of head of farm animals has fallen. Thus, the Mongol farmers have begun to use new methods for organizing work, among others, family contracts, as one of the varieties of collective contracts. The family of a member of the production cooperative (or state farm) functions as the lowest level unit of production operating on principles of economic accounting and self-financing. The cattle transferred to such a family remains the property of the cooperative (state farm). The family is obligated to supply a preset production; the cooperative, on the other hand, guarantees grazing, veterinarian services, etc.

On the role of the party in the past and today. The Peking newspaper of the Committee of the CPC, BEIJING RIBAO writes: "Just as a uniform, centralized party leadership during the war was a necessity resulting from the needs of an epoch, so making a division between the functions of the party and the government is a necessity today under reform."

"The Prague Spring cannot be separated from the name of Aleksander Dubcek just as the 20th congress cannot be from the figure of Nikita Khrushchev, perestroika in the USSR from Michail Gorbachov, the Chinese cultural revolution from Mao Tse-tung, or the "Great Terror" of the 1930's from the name of Stalin," wrote Roy Medvedev in UNITA, the paper of the Italian Communist

Party, in a commentary to an interview with A. Dubcek, published in this paper. "In my opinion in the case of the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 we are dealing with courage and political blindness, enthusiasm and euphoria, rejection of the dogmatism and stereotypes of Gottwald and Novotny, but at the same time with a rejection of moderate, precise plans and predictions, taking into account the international situation of Czechoslovakia and its internal position in the socialist camp."

Opinions

Prof Dr Przemyslaw Wojcik of the Academy of Social Sciences of the PZPR Central Committee

[Question] The referendum was an attempt to make society the subject?"

[Answer] It was. And fortunately for the authorities, it did not take advantage of the opportunity. The people do not accept the following operation: greater poverty for more efficient work, in return for vague promises of improvement in the future. Many years of research show that agreement to such operations is not forthcoming. If the authorities had received a majority in this referendum, if it had succeeded in convincing a majority, we would have had 1970 and 1980 all over again. That would have been worse. It is better to be wiser before the fact. Moreover, Poland is the only country in the world whose authorities had the courage to ask society directly. Does one have to listen to the IMF blindly, in other words reform according to their demands, reducing the standard of living, or not? This is what the referendum was about. This courage is a plus for the authorities.

(Interviewed by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz in ZWIAZKOWIEC, 10 January 1988)

Prof Dr Andrzej Zawislak

[Answer] . . . the economy, from which interest in the effects of actions has been eliminated (or greatly reduced), cannot be efficient. But what will return that interest? Reprivatization. The so-called law of Savas (probably the most empirically proven law in all of economics) shows that state activity in any given area of the economy is on the average 60 percent more expensive than private. Thus, everywhere where the taxpayers have influence on what is done with their money, they elect governments who set their sights on reducing the bureaucrats' play in the economy. For this game costs the remaining citizens a great deal.

(Interviewed by Janusz Rawicz in PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, 3 January 1988)

Prof Dr Henryk Sadownik, chairman of the Scientific Society for Organization and Management

[Answer] . . . there is no point in deluding ourselves. The success and final shape of the reform depends on the managers, each in his own firm. There are thousands of

people who have definite decisionmaking authority, managing the economy. Mass meetings and demonstrations, broad social approval—all this has little meaning. Each one who controls a process of change should think ahead about how to prepare the directors of the enterprises for it. But the resolution of the Council of Ministers on starting-up the Integrated System for Improving Directors, which was adopted only in November, announces what should have been done long ago (a year ago at the latest). I claim that we are taking a chance that a large part of the management personnel who have decisive influence on the course of events, whether we wish them to or not, finds itself in opposition to the announced reforms. The barriers in awareness, abilities, attitudes, motivation have not been overcome. . . . In my opinion, the preparation of these personnel has been neglected.

(Interviewed by Marek Dzikusko in ITD, 10 January 1988)

(The opinions and views cited in this section are not always in agreement with the views of the editors.)

13021

Party Activities Calendar 12-25 October 1987
26000136a Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
No 22, 4 Nov 87 p 20

[Text]

Meetings of the Central Committee Political Bureau

20 October. The Politburo examined a draft of materials for the 6th Central Committee Plenum which will be dedicated to setting the party's tasks for intensifying socialist renewal. It was decided that the plenum would be held in the first half of November of this year. Politburo members reported on their meetings with workers at the factories they visited the week before. The results of these conversations will be used in subsequent party work.

Meeting of the Central Commission on Cooperation

23 October. There was a joint session of the Central Commission on PZPR, ZSL and SD Cooperation which was also attended by signatories of the declaration on PRON. Wojciech Jaruzelski and other PZPR leaders attended the meeting.

Discussed were preparations for the national referendum and proposals for changes in the Council of Ministers' membership were approved.

Meetings and Conferences

12 October. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek met voivodship and Central Committee lecturers. They discussed key ideological problems and selected international problems.

13 October. Members of the party leadership spent this day in factories and schools:

—Wojciech Jaruzelski visited the K. Hoffmanowa General Middle School Number IX and Primary School Number 271 in Warsaw;

—Jozef Baryla visited the Military Graphics Shop in Warsaw;

—Jozef Czyrek visited the monument construction site at the CZMP Hospital and the Stomil Rubber Works in Lodz;

—Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak visited the Furniture Factory in Ostrow Mazowiecki;

—Tadeusz Porebski visited the Polish Academy of Sciences' Institute of Biocybernetics and Biomedical Engineering in Warsaw;

—Zygmunt Muranski visited the Ziemowit Mines in Tychy;

—Marian Orzechowski visited the furniture factory in Biala Podlaska;

—Florian Siwicki visited the Bumar-Labedy Works in Gliwice;

—Zofia Stepien visited the Fixture Factory in Olesno;

—Stanislaw Bejger was at the Marine Trade Port in Gdansk;

—Bogumil Ferensztajn visited the Tarnowskie Gory line of the Polish State Railways;

—Janusz Kubasiewicz visited the Piast Stomil Plant;

—Zbigniew Michalek visited farmers in Kalisz Voivodship;

—Gabriela Rembisz visited the Poznan Polfa Plant;

—Henryk Bednarski met with school teachers and pupils in Jelenia Gora;

—Stanislaw Ciosek was at the Koszalin Meat-Processing Plant.

14 October. Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek was visited by Budyna Dezhida, a member of the Mongolian People's Revolution Party's Politburo and central committee secretary.

The director of the Central Committee [CC] Political Organization Department, Stanislaw Gabrielski, met with the leaders of a youth delegation from the Mongolian People's Republic and C. Davaadorzh, secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Association.

Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Henryk Bednarski was visited by representatives of graduates from party schools in the USSR.

16 October. A ceremonial concert at the Polish Theater in Warsaw inaugurated the 50th anniversary of the Democratic Party [SD]. SD officials including Party Chairman Tadeusz M. Mlynczak took part in the ceremonies and other guests included PZPR leaders Jozef Baryla, Jozef Czyrek and Henryk Bednarski.

The CC Science and Education Committee dedicated a meeting to the social sciences and their growth. The meeting was chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

17 October. Preparations for the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution were discussed at a meeting of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society's National Council Presidium and Executive Board. The meeting was chaired by Chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee Roman Malinowski and CC Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

19 October. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek was visited by Friar Betto, a Dominican monk from Brazil and author of the book "Fidel and Religion".

20 October. CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received a visit from Nguyen Thank Binh, a member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Vietnamese Communist Party and the first secretary of the Hanoi Party Committee. Deputy Politburo Member, Central Committee Secretary and First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz also took part in the conversation.

The same day, Nguyen Thank Binh met Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak held talks with a delegation of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Worker's Party visiting Poland. The Ethiopian delegation was led by Deputy Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs Fassika Sidelil.

21 October. A delegation of the CPSU Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy under Prorector A. Korolev finished a visit to Poland. The delegation met with the director of the CC Political Organization Department, Stanislaw Gabrielski, and also with CC Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

22 October. First CC Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski took part in inaugural ceremonies for the new academic year at Maria Sklodowska-Curie University in Lublin.

Politburo Member and Chairman of the Central Review-Audit Commission Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak attended a meeting of the Polish Army's PZPR Review-Audit Commission.

23 October. First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski attended a meeting of the PZPR Sejm Deputy's Club.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek was visited by a delegation of the Ethiopian Worker's Party led by Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Fassika Sidelil.

Party Instances and Organizations

14 October. Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries Jozef Baryla and Zygmunt Muranski attended a meeting of the Executive Board of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee [KW PZPR] during which the efficiency of the work of the voivodship's party organizations was evaluated.

The Piotrkow Trybunalski KW PZPR discussed its tasks in forestry and forest protection.

15 October. The Katowice KW PZPR discussed the status of the realization of the resolution of the 4th CC Plenum and upcoming tasks in the voivodship's party organization. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Zygmunt Muranski took part in the meeting which was chaired by Deputy Politburo Member and First Secretary of the KW PZPR Bogumil Ferensztajn.

The Rzeszow KW PZPR held a joint meeting with the Voivodship Review-Audit Commission at which were discussed tasks to strengthen the basic party echelons.

16 October. The Czestochowa KW PZPR defined tasks in the realization of the decrees of the 4th CC Plenum. Politburo Member Zofia Stepien attended the meeting.

17 October. The Katowice KW PZPR discussed the educational function of party organizations in workplaces. The plenum elected Lucjan Niewiarowski as the KW's agricultural secretary.

The Wloclawek KW PZPR settled accounts with comrades responsible for the quality and state of residential services and for resolving complaints made to the KW. Deputy Politburo member Gabriela Rembisz and Director of the CC Bureau of Letters and Inspections Marian Kot attended the meeting.

19 October. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski visited the Agromet-Pilmel Agricultural Machinery Factory in Wroclaw.

Politburo Member and Defense Minister Florian Siwicki met at Kiekrz near Poznan with the participants to a meeting of cadets from the Officer's School of Ryazan in the USSR.

22 October. The Lodz PZPR Committee discussed the status and prospects for a growth in export production by industry in Lodz.

The Szczecin KW PZPR dedicated its meeting to the problems of efficient use of arable land.

24 October. The Kalisz KW PZPR dedicated its meeting to the problems of enhancing the prestige of the primary party organizations. Director of the CC Political Organization Department Stanislaw Gabrielski attended this meeting.

Interparty Cooperation

14 October. The two-day meeting of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance [CEMA] ended in Moscow. The chairmen of the member-states' delegations and the secretaries of the party central committees met with Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev. The Polish delegation included Politburo Member and Premier Zbigniew Messner and Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak.

16 October. On a visit to Portugal, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk spoke with the secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party, Alvaro Cunhal, and other party leaders.

A delegation from the CC Agricultural Department under its deputy director, Witold Stasinski, visited Rumania and was received by Vosile Barbuiescu, Central Committee secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party.

17 October. Jerzy Majka, chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU, ended a visit to Rumania where he was received by Central Committee Secretary Constantina Mitea.

19 October. An OPZZ delegation under its chairman, Politburo Member Alfred Miodowicz, visited Korea where it met with Secretary General Kim Ir Sen.

The CPSU CC's Institute for Exchange of Experiences in Socialist Construction was visited by a group of PZPR leaders which included Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla, CC department directors and first secretaries of voivodship PZPR committees.

12261

Party Activities Calendar 7-20 December 1987
26000136b Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
No 26, 30 Dec 87 p 23

[Text]

6th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee [CC]

15 December. The PZPR CC met for the second part of its 6th Plenum. During the meeting, speeches were made by Politburo Member and Premier Zbigniew Messner, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak and Politburo Member Jozef Czyrek. The meeting was chaired by First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski who started the discussions and closed the meeting with a speech.

The plenum passed a resolution on a program for the second stage of economic reform, the results of the Soviet-American summit in Washington and on the 40th anniversary of the Unification Congress. The CC also examined organizational issues.

Meetings of the Central Committee Political Bureau

8 December. The Politburo evaluated the social and political situation in Poland and examined the chief problems of the additions and modifications to the program for realizing the second stage of economic reform as well as the Central Annual Plan for 1988 in the light of the referendum results.

Materials for the second part of the 6th Plenum were received.

Information on the course and results of Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to Greece and Hungary was received and approved.

Meetings and Conferences

10 December. First Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski met a group of student laureates of the "Primus inter pares" contest.

The 13th Congress of the Polish Student's Association began in Warsaw.

The opening ceremonies were attended by the highest party authorities including Wojciech Jaruzelski, Jozef Baryla, Tadeusz Porebski, Henryk Bednarski and Stanislaw Ciosek.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek met with the organizers and laureates of the "Golden Wisp" contest organized by CHLOPSKA DROGA. Kazimierz Grzesiak, director of the CC Agricultural Department, also attended the meeting.

12 December. First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski was visited by the first secretaries of fraternal party committees in Moscow, Prague, Berlin, Budapest and Sofia who were in Warsaw for a meeting.

Politburo members and central committee secretaries Jozef Baryla and Jozef Czyrek, Deputy Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz and CC department directors Boguslaw Kolodziejczak and Ernest Kucza were also present.

13 December. The 8th National Congress of Voluntary Fire Fighter's Associations ended its two-day meeting. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski was also present.

16 December. CC First Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski met representatives of the new administration of the Polish Lawyer's Association.

Also present at this meeting were CC Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek, Director of the CC Social and Legal Department Antoni Gdula, and Chief of Chancellery of the Council of State Jerzy Breitkopf.

There was a meeting of the presidium of the PZPR Central Review-Audit Commission.

The presidium examined information about the results of an audit, the preparation and adoption of party resolutions and party methods used to realize these resolutions.

The presidium approved the organizational preparations for the 5th Plenum of the Central Review-Audit Commission [CKKR].

The meeting was chaired by Politburo Member and CKKR Chairman Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

The CC Economic Policy, Economic Reform and Worker Self-Management Commission looked at the modifications in the program for realizing the second stage of economic reform and the draft of the Central Annual Plan for 1988 in the light of the referendum results.

The meeting was chaired by Politburo Member and CC Secretary Marian Wozniak and was also attended by Sejm deputies and economics secretaries of the voivodship party committees.

The CC Marine Commission discussed the course and present results of job certification and personnel policy in marine enterprises.

The meeting was chaired by Deputy Politburo Member Stanislaw Bejger.

At the headquarters of the PZPR CC, there was a meeting between CC Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski and a group of visiting Soviet cultural representatives led by a member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the board of the USSR Writer's Union, Georgy Markov.

17 December. The social and professional weekly ROBOTNIK ROLNY is celebrating its 35th anniversary. In honor of this occasion, the editors were visited by Deputy Politburo Member and CC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek. This meeting was also attended by Director of the CC Agricultural Department Kazimierz Grzesiak.

At Belvedere Palace, there was a ceremony awarding the First Class Order of the Standard of Labor to the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Worker's Cooperative Publishing House.

This high award was conferred by the Council of State at the recommendation of the CC Secretariat and was presented to Wieslaw Rydygier, chairman of "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch", by Politburo member and Deputy Chairman of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Politburo members and CC secretaries Jozef Czyrek and Jan Glowczyk also attended the ceremony.

18 December. A meeting of CC lecturers was held in Warsaw. During this meeting, Politburo Member and CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek discussed the course and results of the 6th CC Plenum and the tasks set by this plenum for PZPR organizations.

During the meeting which was chaired by Andrzej Czyz, director of the CC Ideological Department, lecturers were informed about changes in the program for realizing the second stage of economic reform.

Party Instances and Organizations

10 December. In Nowy Sacz, there was a meeting of the chairmen of voivodship review-audit commissions from the voivodships of Bielsko-Biala, Katowice, Kielce, Krosno, Przemysl, Tarnow and Nowy Sacz.

They discussed the results of this year's work by the commissions, exchanged experiences and evaluated the efficiency of their work methods.

The meeting was also attended by Bogumil Moraczewski and Tadeusz Nowicki, vice-chairmen of the Central Review-Audit Commission [CKKR].

17 December. The Legnica Voivodship PZPR Committee [KW PZPR] discussed the problems of technical and scientific progress in the local economy.

18 December. The Chelm KW PZPR discussed investment needs in the region's agriculture. Politburo Member and CC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek attended the meeting.

The Lublin KW PZPR held a joint meeting with the Voivodship Review-Audit Commission [WKKR] to consider increasing the independence and enterprise of local party organizations.

The Plock KW PZPR discussed the ideological and propaganda tasks of the voivodship party organization in the realization of the second stage of economic reform.

19 December. The Bielsko-Biala KW PZPR evaluated social, self-management and political activity in the region's rural areas.

The Gdansk KW PZPR discussed tasks in the development of scientific and technical progress in the coastal region's economy.

The meeting was attended by Politburo Member and CC Secretary Tadeusz Porebski and was chaired by Deputy Politburo member and KW First Secretary Stanislaw Bejger.

The Konin KW PZPR discussed tasks in the education of school youth in the light of the 24th CC Plenum and the 10th Party Congress.

The meeting was also attended by the director of the CC Department of Science, Education and Technical Progress, Boguslaw Kedzia.

The Opole KW PZPR discussed tasks to activate party members at work and in their communities. Politburo Member and CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek took part in this meeting.

The Walbrzych KW PZPR set the voivodship's party organization tasks for realization of the resolutions of the 6th CC Plenum.

The Wloclawek KW PZPR discussed tasks set by the resolution of the 6th CC Plenum for the voivodship party organization. Edward Szymanski, director of the CC Department of Sejm Affairs, took part in this meeting.

The Olsztyn KW PZPR held a joint meeting with the Voivodship ZSL Committee to discuss current tasks for realization of their joint agricultural policy in the region.

The meeting was attended by the director of the CC Agricultural Department, Kazimierz Grzesiak, and the director of the ZSL Supreme Committee's Economics and Agricultural Department, Tadeusz Ruchniewicz.

Politburo Member and CC Secretary Marian Wozniak visited Koszalin where he learned about the production of the "Kazel" and "Teprom" factories, visited the construction site of the voivodship hospital and met the city's social and economic aktiv.

Interparty Cooperation

5-7 December. Politburo Member and CC Secretary of the Communist Party Of Israel David Khenin visited Poland to talk with the directors of the PZPR CC departments of foreign affairs and political organization, Ernest Kucza and Stanislaw Gabrielski.

9 December. Ernest Kucza, director of the CC Foreign Department, was visited by a delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization under Khalid al Wazir Jinad.

10 December. Vietnam was visited by a CC delegation under Politburo Member and Internal Affairs Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak. The delegation was received by Secretary General of the Vietnamese Communist Party Nguyen Van Linh.

11 December. A meeting of general secretaries and first secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal Warsaw Pact parties was held in Berlin to discuss the results of the USSR-USA summit.

The PZPR delegation under First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski included Politburo Member and Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski and Defense Minister Florian Siwicki.

12 December. Poland was visited by a CPSU Central Committee delegation under the deputy director of the Department of Party Organizational Work, Grigory Kharchenko. The delegation met with Politburo Member and CC Secretary Marian Wozniak and the directors of the PZPR CC departments of political organization and economics, Stanislaw Gabrielski and Marek Holdakowski.

A party and state delegation from the Korean People's Democratic Republic under Politburo Member and CC Secretary Kie Un The visited Poland.

The delegation spoke with CC Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak and at the end of its visit, was received by Politburo Member and CC Secretary Marian Wozniak.

14-18 December. A CKKR study group under the director of the Bureau of Reviews and Audits visited the German Democratic Republic.

The delegation was received by Erich Mueckenberger, Central Committee Politburo Member and chairman of the German Socialist Unity Party's Central Party Control Commission and Kurt Siebt, chairman of that party's Central Audits Commission.

12261

Consultative Council Member Calls for Renewed Talks With Solidarity

26000141 Poznan WPROST in Polish 3 Jan 88 p 13

[Article by Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, member of the Council of State's Consultative Council: "13 Years"]

[Text] In essence, the next century and millenium will begin on 1 January 2001. That is 13 years away. At the first meeting of the Consultative Council last year, we spoke about the end of the 20th century and the start of the next millenium. At that time, I pointed out how many things can still happen. I reminded those present about Poland in 1786 which was recovering from the First Partition and starting to write the Constitution of 3 May and Poland of 1801 which had completely lost its sovereignty and was divided between three partitioning countries who openly announced their intention to destroy Poland as a nation. I also pointed out that while Poland of 1886 did not have a single political party striving for independence, by 1901, the seeds of all independence organizations, from extreme right-wing groups to leftist parties, had already been planted. By the same token, one can see a colossal change in the situation in the 17th century. Great changes can occur in a short time. That is what makes it so hard to predict what can happen in the next 13 years, all the more so as political events occur much more rapidly now than in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Our recent history also shows how hard it is to predict even the immediate future. When the strikes started at the beginning of July 1980 in Lublin, no one in or outside of Poland could have foreseen what the next few months would bring.

The experience of our history, therefore, teaches us that a great many things, both fortunate and unfortunate, can occur in only a few months.

It is said that the present crisis has been the longest one Poland ever experienced. I myself think that our best chance for improving life in Poland is a social agreement. The government and society that can do this will be blessed by future generations. If they waste this opportunity, they will be cursed. Authentic agreement is indispensable to the activation of social forces. We have great but unexploited opportunities that are the result of the relatively mild course of political conflicts in Poland. However, the differences between the government and society still continue. This can be compared to feverless

flu which does not endanger life but seriously weakens the organism. I think that the heart of the problem is the total fulfillment of the August 1980 agreements whose importance has been underlined by both the government and the opposition. In my opinion, this is the only way to arouse social activity without which we cannot overcome our present difficulties. This is especially true of the young generation. After all, any state or system that cannot win over the young people will find itself crippled for now and doomed in the future. Changes in the functioning of leading state organs or increased powers for lower levels of government will not help. Whatever is said about Solidarity by even its most bitter critics who panic over the return of union pluralism, they must admit that the Solidarity era was marked by a degree of social activity that we cannot even dream about now. That is why I repeat that we must reach an agreement that would free genuine initiative and activate social forces to lead Poland out of her crisis.

12261

Supreme Court, Ombudsman Cooperation Noted
26000214b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
11 Jan 88 p 2

Ombudsman Prof Ewa Letowska met on 9 January with the first president of the Supreme Court, Adam Loptaka. Discussed were the scope of and rules for cooperation between the Supreme Court and ombudsman. The president promised that the Supreme Court, within the limits of current statutes, will cooperate fully with the ombudsman on behalf of full realization of citizen rights and freedoms.

12776

Columnist Criticizes Opposition's Interpretation of Referendum Results
26000147a Warsaw SZPILKI in Polish
No 2, 14 Jan 88 p 14

[Unattributed article: "Allies in Shorts"]

[Text] After the referendum, TYGODNIK POWS-ZECHNY (issue 50) published a unique and strange commentary by Kazimierz Dziewanowski. Since Dziewanowski is a member of the not-too-extreme opposition and since he has, out of exaltation over the referendum, extended a friendly hand to the government, it would be politically wise to accept that hand and maybe even caress it. This would be in the good interests of our country and that is the policy taken by the government. We must pursue every means of reconciliation: I know and understand that, I am for it but I simply cannot do it. It is politically necessary but intellectually impossible. When for the good of the cause we must put on shorts and play children's games, this is something I cannot do and I have to be politically disobedient.

To hell with Dziewanowski's cliches: "All of our country's great and fundamental problems can be resolved by a common effort...People want to be taken seriously...There is no easy way for Poland". Bull! The guy has read a lot of leaders in provincial party gazettes and then thinks that these epochal truths popped out of his own head.

Dziewanowski's political instructions are just cliches picked up from the statements given the press by the Central Committee. Any sort of triumphal accents after the referendum are entirely out of place. No one can expect any success if he puts propaganda ahead of information and thinks the readers are stupid enough to accept this. No one can claim that the public is against reform, that it wants democratic changes and that it prefers an efficient economy. Indeed, the similarity between Dziewanowski's ideas and the party policy looks like his third and latest conversion. He may even one day become an instructor in the Propaganda Department.

Dziewanowski's claim that we cannot say that those who did not vote were unable to make a decision or are inactive people or that it cannot be said that the referendum results were distorted by an incorrect arrangement of ballots also falls in with the government's accepted line. Apparently, Kazimierz Dziewanowski has someone listening in on Central Committee meetings.

I am committing the crime of deriding this concurrence of opinion because Dziewanowski is pretending to be an independent writer and seems to believe in what he says.

Almost one-third of the voters did not go to the polls for various reasons. Some did not believe in the strength of the proposed reforms, others felt that the government would not really carry out these reforms, some feared price increases and some fear that any kind of changes would be worse than the present situation which may be bad but is at least something they are used to. Other nonvoters were those for whom things are going so well that they do not want any changes or those for whom things are so bad that they cannot afford to take any risks. People who did not understand what sort of choice they were expected to make or did not want to choose because they had no idea of what would be better also did not vote. Like every other society, Poland also has people who are more interested in their private lives than in public issues and they too did not vote. People opposed in principle to any form of participation in public life and opposed to everything the government stands for did not vote. People who had what they felt were more pressing matters at home and old or sick people who could not get out did not vote. There are still a hundred other reasons why people did not vote. Local conditions were also an important factor. One can argue about what caused people to stay away from the polls and why people voted against the referendum. However, Dziewanowski suggests that there was just one reason for voter absence and any attempt to find another reason

just obscures the real one and that is that it is no longer the government but the opposition that now has a simplistic, biased and propagandistic view of society. The opposition stubbornly calls for unlimited pluralism but is mum on the pluralism of views, attitudes, motives that actually exist. The opposition also does not understand that the give and take of diverse forces is playing a greater role in society. According to some local observations, for example, there was very little private initiative involved in the referendum. It might seem that the opposition would support a program for the growth of its own sector but it does not because it benefits more from the shortcomings of the existing economic relations than from its own ideas and industry and businessmen are not at all interested in having competition stifled. Therefore, reform and the growth of private enterprise are sometimes seen as being harmful to the interests of existing private initiative.

The government shares Dziewanowski's opinion that there is no point in bringing up the fact that some voters made confused choices or turned in unmarked ballots because they did not know how to mark them or even voted against their own intentions. However, ignoring the fact that the ballerina tripped on the hem of her skirt, as Dziewanowski put it, does not at all mean that the hem was irrelevant. Polls taken in two cities show that as many as 10 percent of the ballots were incorrectly marked and that these mistakes chiefly involved affirmative votes.

The opposition is deeply convinced that everyone outside of the government is for the greatest possible degree of democracy and Dziewanowski also states that this is true "beyond all doubt". However, a couple of million people voted "no" to the second question. That is a political fact and political facts are not to be ignored. If one wants to interpret the referendum results as they really are, then they must be respected. However, when a democratic voting procedure yields results that do not agree with the democrats, they immediately discount their value. They suffer the illusion that the practice of democracy may be the motive force of democracy and piously believe that every normal person should think the same way the opposition does. Certainly, many of those who voted "no" on the second question were those who would answer the same to anything the government asked them. Others regarded the second question as an integral part of the first one. The "no" answers to the second question were therefore the result of a "no" answer to the first. The breakdown of public views revealed by the poll shows that there must have been a considerable percentage of votes against democratization. In the public opinion, there is a considerable amount of pro-authoritarian sentiment that the government must be efficient and powerful and incisive enough in its methods of action to do everything we want it to do. The same view holds that democracy is chaos, wasted time and a lot of talk and no action. Smaller communities fear the strengthening of independent and strong local coteries. Most of the public is very critical of the

opposition because the former continually talks about democracy and says that it will use it against the status quo. The referendum's "no" answers were as much votes against the opposition as against the government.

Dziewanowski is also mistaken when he says that society is divided into two halves. The division is actually more complex than that. He erroneously thinks that everyone wants an efficient economy but not everyone wants his job made harder and his life easier. Many people prefer the daily trouble to which they are accustomed to unknown problems at work. Many people are thriving on our inefficient economy and some of these are rank-and-file employees. Some of these people know what is best for them but others approve that which is generally accepted as the best thing and do not find 100 reasons why it runs against their own interests.

To recapitulate, when for political reasons Kazimierz Dziewanowski suddenly realized what happens to a partner of the government, he became a wretched partner.

Editor Dziewanowski's naivety was also demonstrated by his admiration of the government's decision to announce "just such" a referendum result. I would like to assure him that this was automatic and, therefore, of no merit to the government. By what miracle could one announce a referendum and then hide the results? Does Dziewanowski really think that anyone ever thought that the majority would answer "no"? Kazimierz Dziewanowski is simply a victim of despicable opposition propaganda. He thinks that the results of the last Sejm and people's council elections were and could have been rigged. We must, therefore, remind him of his own slogan from his commentary entitled "The Third Referendum Question" and that is: "those most susceptible to propaganda are its creators whose interests it serves". Let him apply those same words to himself and his opposition friends.

12261

Journalists Note Unfavorable Views of Poland, Poles in Foreign Press
26000214a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
28 Jan 88 p 2

[Text] At the headquarters of the Polish Journalists' Society in Warsaw, a meeting took place between the Foreign Journalists' Club and the Polish International Journalism Club devoted to "Problems of informational activity in light of changes occurring in Poland and the world."

The topic was presented by Jan Bisztyga, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Propaganda Division. In the discussion, the growing interest in the processes taking place in our country was noted, interest in experiments and actions in the political and economic spheres and national understanding. Unfavorable incidents in

the opinion of Poles abroad were discussed with concern. For example, attempts are being made to undermine traditional opinions of Poles as hard-working people. The source of the dissemination of false criticism and opinions are political circles or forces hostile to Poland.

The discussion pointed to the need to identify these forces, to expose their intentions and inspirers. In recent years we have witnessed anti-Polish activities inspired abroad, but often carried out by various people in Poland. But this would be an oversimplified appraisal if one could not see negative opinions of Poles caused by Poles themselves in Poland, but particularly abroad. Trips abroad have given rise to a number of negative phenomena on borders and in the job markets of certain countries and, unfortunately, they have also been reflected in a variety of misdemeanors or crimes.

Also emphasized was the need to inform the Polish public about these phenomena. The journalists were of the opinion that measures for opening up opportunities for travel abroad and liberalization of passport regulations should be accompanied by appropriate education of the public on both Polish and foreign customs and currency regulations and the laws in force in other countries.

12776

Local Self-Rule: Theory, Tasks Necessary for Effective Implementation

26000177 Warsaw *PRAWO I ZYCIE* in Polish
6 Feb 88 pp 6-7

[Article by Barbara Zawadzka: "Councils = Law + Economy"]

[Text] As local representative organs, the basic task of the people's councils is to represent the local population and to act on behalf of their needs. Of course, the councils should also consider more general interests (as well as the most general interests, those of the nation as a whole) and not act against them. However, their basic role is to be a spokesman for local interests.

In order to fulfill that role, the councils should have the right to speak in the name of local interests and have the legal and economic means to meet local needs. The councils should be able to control social and economic growth if they are to effectively meet the public's needs. The Constitution says almost nothing about these powers and the law on the system of people's councils and regional self-government offers them too little authority.

If the councils were given enough rights and authority, they could fulfill their role as organs of local (regional) self-government. They would then meet the basic criteria of all self-government:

—to act in the name and interest of their constituents;

—and have the authority and means to allow the constituent public to independently resolve certain local problems (through organs elected and controlled by that constituency).

Self-government and especially local self-government which has the most extensive historical tradition, is one of the most controversial issues in the theoretical and political discussions of recent years. Given the possibility of changes in the system of people's councils and especially the prospect of a new Constitution, it is necessary to achieve a certain consensus and consider the ultimate characteristics of local self-government in contemporary Poland. And these characteristics have changed throughout history.

Unions and Dissimilarities

For many supporters, the primary characteristic of self-government is its separation from the state. An organ of self-government cannot be an organ of state and vice-versa. This is an absolute characteristic of just one model concept of self-government which is used as a rule by regional self-government in most (but not all) countries of Western Europe and in Poland between the world wars. There are many examples of theories of self-government that do not contradict this.

One may accept or reject the concept of opposition between the state and self-government according to one's concept of state. If one conceives of the state as a skilled, central or centralized administration, all public noncentralized structures must be regarded as separate from and opposed to the state. The social situation in states where the social minority rules fosters such a concept. The local populations and predominantly working classes can have goals that differ from or are even opposed to those of the central government. In a socialist state, the working masses that are predominant in local populations and the organs of state both share the same general goals (although there can indeed occur a conflict of some temporary or partial interests which makes it necessary for local representatives to have the right to represent the interests of their constituents).

Does such a conflict exist with regard to functions and means? It does only when the state has an apparatus of force and coercion. However, a modern state and especially a modern socialist state, has aside from the classic function of force many others that require the extensive use of noncoercive means of action. One can even dare to say that such state functions as economic organization, welfare and culture predominate the state's defensive or coercive functions, especially in its domestic actions. In regard to that, a state and especially a socialist state, increasingly involves its citizens in voluntary action in its functions. A state whose organs have diverse forms by which the governed can participate in government cannot be considered one opposed to its society

and that society's classic structures. Thus, in terms of their functions and means of action, there are no conflicts between the state and self-government as one of those social structures.

This shows that it is impossible for a social organ to also function as a state organ because that is contradicted by the practice of entrusting state social organizations with certain functions. Nothing stops public organs also fulfilling state functions from being organs of self-government. If they have wide executive powers and are superior to organs of state administration, they can be classified as organs of state government.

Therefore, it is possible for one organ to have the characteristics of an organ of state and an organ of self-government but not every state organ can do that. Neither an organ of the force apparatus nor a specialized organ of administration can fulfill functions of self-government. The same is true of an organ within the central system of state government. These functions can therefore be combined by an organ that, first of all, represents society and is guided by a social point of view and second, is part of a decentralized system and is not therefore obligated to realize instructions and orders of higher state organs and especially of professional organs of administration. This does not mean that these organs should also be freed from observing general principles of state policy. This is the responsibility of state structures regardless of their character. In Poland, such organs are the people's councils.

Communal Property

Communal property is an inalienable characteristic of regional self-government. The fundamental principles of this concept are:

- 1) the right of the local population and its organs to have the means to meet local needs;
- 2) and the provision to these populations of the funds needed to meet their needs (not by direct consumption but by production and organizational activity, etc.).

Unfortunately, the establishment of communal property does not resolve these two problems because in our times, property can no longer be associated with the unlimited right to possess and object (and this applies not only to socialist states) nor is it necessarily associated with earning income. A socialist state can also have a situation in which a local public without property rights will still control certain local instruments and have enough income to meet local needs as well as the sort of situation in which communal property does exist and these two conditions of self-government are still not satisfied. This needs to be remembered when communal property is being established.

Experience shows that communal property should be part of the Constitution because it is already a fact of life in rural self-government. Communal property can be useful in meeting citizen needs if the work and thrift of local citizens has produced an increase in property.

An essential characteristic of regional self-government is also legal status and especially public legal status that defines its separation from the state. Public legal status or the right to make decisions and act on behalf of the public is a characteristic of every state or public organ of any degree of authority. Aside from the central decision-making organs, this status is not held by any other organ in tightly-centralized states with just one center of authority over property. There are few such states in the world today and it is not surprising that the concept of public legal status has become obsolete. Civil-legal status is required by the people's councils not only to manage property (if they are going to have it) but also to gain bank credit (which cannot be secured by communal property because such property is a public utility). Although civil-legal status is useful, the councils cannot in themselves resolve the problem of their independence in meeting local citizen needs.

The characteristics of the classic form of regional self-government do not seem necessary to create a model of this form of public representation in a modern socialist state. This also shows that there is no need to create completely new legal structures as a framework for regional self-government. One can take the road laid out by the law of people's councils and remove many of its inconsistencies.

For the people's councils to effectively fulfill the role of regional self-government, certain legal, economic and political conditions must be realized. The legal conditions are:

- the Constitution and laws giving the councils clear rights to act in the interest of the local public;
- an election system that gives the councils genuine representation (i.e., the ability to express and fulfill local needs);
- to allow the councils the funds they need to take independent actions and the right to independently manage those funds;
- authority enough to not only meet current needs but also to direct local social and economic growth;
- enough status for executive organs to give them genuine control over the councils;
- and enough authority to be independent of higher organs, i.e. restriction of supervision over the legality of council actions.

Above all, the economic prerequisite is finances and material resources allowing councils to establish enough funds needed to meet local needs and a material basis for social, educational and cultural activity.

There are many political prerequisites and these include social activity and readiness to become involved in public action and the attitude of the administration to representative and self-government organs and to social activity. However, the primary and supreme factor seems to be the method of political control over the system of councils. This control should be exerted not by administrative (or quasi-administrative) means but through political forces organized to see that the legal model is followed.

A Stronger Administration

The present legal situation of regional organs of state government does not allow the people's council to exercise any control over them. This is because the system gives the state administration greater appointment and dismissal powers than the councils and places the regional organs of state administration on a higher level of authority. This higher level of authority is promoted by the single-person (mayor, voivode) structure of administration organs. This structure does not foster the sort of correct decisions that would otherwise be reached by a more collective structure.

This model must be completely reconstructed because it is incoherent with a democratic system of government (and was created for more of an authoritarian system). It seems that the need for public representation to have authority over its own executive organ (hard to achieve because the professional nature of government offices and the established manner in which regional government administration works promotes its domination) could be fulfilled by the following model:

- 1) There should be a collegial organ. With the continuation of the present form of council presidiums as work organizers, members of an executive collegium would be recruited from council members;
- 2) The executive collegium should be elected by the council, be answerable to the council and can be dismissed at any time.

There still remains the difficult problem of the double subordination of this organ. Of course, when it handles problems that fall within the competence of the council, the executive organ should be subordinate to the council alone. Council should be responsible to higher levels of authority only if they are dealing with problems that require the same treatment throughout the country, i.e. centralized problems.

Unsuccessful Reform

The 1975 reform of regional government structures had negative effects because it eliminated the middle level of government (creating numerous but much less efficient substitutes) and too-small voivodship areas that failed to contain the major economic regions. We now face the task of making new changes to the state's territorial structure. That is a hard and costly task that cannot realistically be done in a short while. This makes it necessary to organize local self-government within the existing two-level structure.

Those who support the idea of using a pattern of self-government different from that set by the law of 1933 propose the adoption of a primary level which would include cities and communities rather than self-government on the level of the voivodship but this is not an acceptable concept because it raises the question of what structure will be found at the voivodship level. Is the government to be centralized in the hands of state officials with only a trace of public control? Such a model (and if not this one, then what other?) is unacceptable for two reasons.

No one knows in whose name public decisionmaking would be limited and participation allowed only on the primary level rather than a regional level. Furthermore, the model of a centralized government at the voivodship level would pose a threat to self-government at the primary level and have a natural tendency to transmit a centralized method of government downward just as the central government has passed its autocratic style down to the levels beneath it. The model of decentralized and socialized government is indivisible and cannot be applied piecemeal to just fragments of the state. At the voivodship level of government where leading strategic decisions are made, voivodship citizens should be represented. Of course, decisions at this level should only concern issues that affect the whole voivodship rather than the individual cities and communities.

The shortcomings and territorial divisions (the fact that administrative borders do not coincide with economic regions) can be corrected through the cooperation of councils of the same level and through joint investments, etc. This cooperation could be called "intercommunal ties". The very nature of these ties has already been provided for by Article 37 of the law but councils very seldom take advantage of these provisions.

De Lege Ferenda

The basic elements of the council (regional self-government) model described above should be a part of our Constitution which should state that:

—within territorial divisions of the state, local issues are to be decided and a common self-government of the citizens of cities and communities throughout a voivodship would govern their regions;

—the various levels of people's councils are the representative organs and the self-government;

—the various levels of people's councils are empowered to independently resolve local problems and possess the needed financial means and material resources;

—the executive organs of people's councils are elected or dismissed by the people's councils and are answerable to them;

—the people's councils, as organs empowered to decide the most important local issues, guide the social and economic development of their constituent localities and establish local law, as within their own regions the organs of state government and their executive organs are the organs of state administration;

—the people's councils furthermore resolve issues requiring unified regulation throughout the nation and are subject to the direction of superior organs; the list of such issues has been established by specific laws;

—in issues of local importance, the people's councils and their executive organs are answerable only for the legality of their actions;

—in people's councils in villages and settlements (housing regions) in cities, the organs of local self-government are general assemblies of citizens or their delegates;

—the executive organs of this form of self-government are village councils and settlement councils elected and dismissed by an assembly of citizens and responsible to that assembly;

—the self-government of the citizens of villages and urban settlements independently resolve their own respective issues through social action and the financial resources defined by law;

—the legality of actions taken by village and settlement self-government is monitored by the primary-level people's councils.

The addition of these principles to the Constitution would create a lasting legal basis for independent people's councils as organs of local self-government. This constitutional model should be supplemented by basic principles of electoral law that would allow for the specific nature of people's council and settlement (or village) committee elections.

This is a model that can already now be implemented. Except for the eventual introduction of communal property, it does not require any changes to our current Constitution although some of these ideas do fall outside of the present Constitution.

Party Work 'Style,' Internal Reform Deemed Important Task

26000222e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 Feb 88 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Warsaw Committee First Secretary, CC Politburo Alternate Member, by Jan Rozdzynski: "‘No Problem’ Pretending Is the Worst”]

[Text] The hard economic reality has become to many people, not only in Warsaw, obscure and sometimes startling. Is the Warsaw party organization capable of showing the way to enterprise workforces and institution staffs in the complex process of the second stage of the economic reform? This was discussed by the PAP reporter with Alternate Member of the Central Committee Politburo and First Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz on the eve of the annual meeting between the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee and the first secretaries of basic party organizations from the Nation's Capital and Voivodship.

[Question] Let me begin with a request: I propose that you refrain from using such statements as "The party should," "It is necessary," "The need is to," etc.

[Answer] I understand your intentions and accept this convention. And now let's be specific: in a socioeconomic situation as complex as the present, given the specific features of every individual enterprise and institution, proposing ready-made prescriptions for "economics-oriented approach" is unfeasible. What then can actually be done? People — both the party and the non-party aktiv — should be armed with knowledge. And this is what we have been doing, consistently, for the last couple of years. The "economics laboratory" well-known in Warsaw is only one of many forms of active, practical education. We make proposals for utilizing instruments of the reforms on an everyday basis. Not all the addressees of our proposals act on them.

There are some plant party organizations which overlook this opportunity. But in many others the situation is different. For example, at the General Swierczewski FWP, at the Lazy Agricultural Cooperative Circle in Kampinos Gmina, at the Okecie Transportation Equipment Factory, and at the POLON ZAE, party organizations are "impatient" and often, in their search for new solutions, reject traditional and seemingly sole tried and tested methods of activity. These examples also point to a new trend: certain party organizations have begun to distinctly alter their style of action.

[Question] This is a big problem, because there still are some people who reduce everything to paying dues and, when asked about their responsibility for the course and pace of the reform, refer the questioner for answer to the factory director and the chief bookkeeper.

[Answer] I don't deny that such party members do exist also in the Warsaw party organization. They are passive and some of them reserve for themselves the status of critics of the party's activities, while others are kibitzers watching from afar the course of events and admitting their party-mindedness only when we score some achievements.

But I believe that we are coping with such postures more and more effectively. Suffice it to mention that in the last 2 years we have expelled more than 200 persons from the party, deeming them — for, among other things, the above reasons — unworthy of membership in the PZPR. We have held warning talks with nearly 500 comrades, and various party penalties have been imposed on approximately 250. But the problem is not to throw out the baby with the bathwater; this concerns education, affording opportunities for improvement in conduct. Sometimes a talk inspiring such a change will suffice. We have acted thus with certain PZPR members holding executive positions when preparing late last year a joint plenum of the voivodship party committee and the voivodship party control and audit commission on the subject of personnel policy. Predominantly, however, we are dealing with activist attitudes. Thus, the activism of party members was one reason why last year we admitted 3,485 candidate members to the ranks of the PZPR.

[Question] But there must be a reason for passive conduct.

[Answer] I don't want to divagate about the recent past, but I believe that one reason, which has so far been underestimated, was the ideological crisis experienced by the party. I view this precisely as the reason why the behavior of some party members has been in no way distinctive. Attitudes of this kind have been criticized by the Fourth and subsequently the Sixth plenums of the PZPR Central Committee, which provided party members with a forum and a new momentum for action. Avoiding responsibility for the reform is often due to fear of the confrontation between one's knowledge and the realities of economic growth. It is probable that the basic party organizations overlooked making such comrades more familiar with the party programs and ascertaining that they would adapt themselves to the new conditions of the departments at enterprises in which they work and realizing that the performance of their enterprises nowadays hinges on several bodies, such as not only the management, the worker council, the trade union, and the local youth organization, but also and precisely the local party organization. The competences of these bodies overlap, but this does not exempt the party organization from playing the leading, guiding, and serving role.

[Question] A role, which, given the difficult conditions of the reforms, often gives rise to dilemmas such as: how to reconcile the interests of the workforce with those of the society?

[Answer] True. But that is precisely what the party organization is for: to resolve such problems and influence appropriate decisions through its members serving in worker self-government and trade unions, by pursuing an appropriate open personnel policy, etc. These are its statutory rights, and duties as well. The worst thing in conflict situation is what I would define as pretending that there is "no problem." It is difficult to accept such a posture. I, for example, know of no instances in our city and voivodship of a party organization that has questioned the approach to fixing the price of the finished products at its workplace. I have attended many meetings at which the related cost calculations were loudly questioned, but... at the neighboring enterprise, at which, after all, a basic party organization, a worker self-government, and a local trade union also exist [nothing has been done about it].

Another unwelcome topic, which is extremely rarely "called on the carpet," is evaluating the quality of products at the plant manufacturing them, the effectiveness of utilization of work time, etc. The fact that these questions are inconvenient does not after all relax the obligation of reforming obsolete organizational and production structures.

[Question] In order to be able to reform, the party organization must first reform itself.

[Answer] Yes, reforming the style of work and changing the manner of thinking is nowadays the most urgent task for the party. We at the Warsaw party organization, undertake, and sometimes renew, such forms of work as engage the commitment of the basic party organizations and all members of party echelons who follow the principle of openness of our activities toward nonparty people. This could be exemplified by the fact that in 1987 the staff and members of the Executive Board and Secretariat of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee took an active part in more than 2,500 meetings of basic party organizations and that specially invited workers and worker-movement veterans participate in all the sessions of the Executive Board. That is why I was surprised to learn that certain basic party organizations have rejected proposals for holding open report meetings in the presence of nonparty members. What are they fearful of? Perhaps they are embarrassed about their indolence or low effectiveness? Have not they been asking themselves just for whose sake are they active? I stress yet again that reforming, unorthodox thinking, and openness to new and modern forms of action are as never before needed by the party.

[Question] Anybody would agree with this declaration. But let us put the question differently: how are the basic party organizations to act nowadays that the "directive-command" methods of work have to be stored in the attic, so to speak?

[Answer] After all, while those methods were still used, many party organizations did not fully carry out their statutory duties either. Now is the time to draw conclusions from this. Above all, the party aktiv, and especially the first secretaries of basic party organizations at the plants, should be fully conversant with the situation at their plants and respond promptly on selecting the optimal solutions from the wealth of possibilities afforded by the reform. Party members must take a truly active part in this process, because those who are absent are in the wrong. Naturally, mistakes won't be avoided, but their probability will diminish if the political activities — not to be confused with commanding — of the basic party organizations will also be based on the experience and wisdom of nonparty members and will be more autonomous.

[Question] In your comments you replace the locutions "the party should," etc., with "the party must." This points to a new approach to these problems. But these are the views of a representative "from the top." Are they shared by "the bottom," that is, by the aktiv of the basic party organizations in Warsaw and the Voivodship?

[Answer] Such a distinction is improper. First, these views are not solely the views of the first secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee but the results of several score discussions in various local party organizations preceding the meeting in the Congress Hall. Besides, to employ your terminology, the confrontation between "the top" and "the bottom" has already taken place in practice. At these meetings many comments were made. Thus, for example, at the party meeting of the PZL-WZM Warsaw Machinery Works, the lack of consistency in personnel policy and excessive reliance on paperwork were critically assessed. Or, at the party meeting of the Supersam [Supermarket], party secretaries working in the retail trade complained that our market still remains a producer's market.

Another example: the comrades from the party aktiv of publishers and cultural activists, during a meeting which I had attended, were of the opinion that a harmonious meshing of the state's cultural policy with the principles of the economic reform is not only possible but also affords a definite opportunity for cultural activities. A prerequisite is, of course, the creation of a proper system.

Lastly let me cite a fact demonstrating the artificiality of the abovementioned division: 2 weeks ago, while touring a factory, I talked with a longtime PZPR member, a blue-collar worker, about the tricky maneuvers that must be carried out by the factory management in face of changing legal regulations. The worker told me, "That is what [the factory management] is for, and the party cannot handle this for them. The party must attend to the interests of the factory, but it also must reconcile them with the public interests. It is high time to understand that we at the factory, and even at a discrete

department of the factory, cannot avoid politics." I consider this to be the most astute comment on the meeting in the Congress Hall.

1386

New Worker Relations, Political Cadres Needed for Reform Success

26000199 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 8, 21 Feb 88 pp 1, 6

[Article by Bogdan Wawrzyniak, professor at the Institute for the Organization of Management and Advanced Training of Personnel: "The Discovery of Man" subtitled "A New Reality Cannot Be Substructed on the Old Personnel Policy"]

[Text] Studies of the factors underlying the development of the American economy, conducted by E. F. Denison in the late 1950s and early 1960s, demonstrated that the principal factors are education and the advances in human knowledge. These two factors had accounted for as much as 43 percent of the growth in real national income during the years 1929-1957.

Other studies by that author indicate that the same factor caused within barely 3 years (1950-1952) the national income of the following countries to increase as follows: Belgium, by 15 percent; France, by 6 percent; Norway, by 7 percent; Great Britain, by 12 percent; Italy, by 7 percent; and the United States, by 15 percent. These and other research findings as well as experience and practice have led in the 1960s to several important conclusions concerning the effectiveness of management at various types of organizations, primarily all enterprises. These findings remain applicable to this very day. Over nearly 30 years these conclusions have been refined and nothing at present indicates any need to revise them.

The most important of these conclusions was the recognition of knowledge as a factor of production that is in many cases more important than raw and other materials and capital. There were practical consequences to this conclusion, in particular, after the oil crisis of 1973/1974 when the economically highly developed countries made of this factor the key to the strategic reorientation of their economies. That reorientation consisted in an abrupt withdrawal from "smokestack" industries in favor of industries in which the contribution of knowledge accounts for 80 and more percent. It also consisted in applying that knowledge to the struggle for the conservation of all production factors.

The elevation of knowledge resulted in that man, whether he wore a white or a blue collar, became increasingly treated as a so-called scarce resource, i.e., one whose quantity is limited and who, also out of consideration of his rising price, must be rationally utilized. Hence the pressure which began to be exerted in personnel policies on precise planning of employment,

selection of candidates for jobs with the aid of professional selection centers, the striving to maximally mesh the abilities and skills of employees with the kinds of labor performed, and the search for capable managers with the aid of consulting companies termed "head hunters."

Although so far we have been talking of employees in terms of a means of production, it should be stressed that during the period considered emphasis became placed on the importance of employees to the labor process. This could be called the personalization of management. Essentially, this means that man in the labor process is increasingly treated as... a human being rather than a cog in the complex bureaucratic or industrial machinery. Hence, e.g., the growth of the so-called autonomous groups, which in this country are known by the name of teamwork forms of labor and which break away from the logic of the assembly line; this also refers to the growth of quality teams that make possible an active and effective inclusion of employees in the management of innovations as well as the growing participation of employees in the management process, as consisting in including them in the decisionmaking process at the workplace.

A consequence of such placement of man in the work process has been the practical acceptance of three principles of modern management at organizations.

The first principle consists in treating people as investments, on par with production investments at that. It is assumed that organizations (enterprises, financial institutions, other legal entities, etc.) should regularly earmark about 15 percent of their profits for the development of their personnel so as to enter the 21st century worthily, i.e., with professional personnel. Hence the sudden proliferation of various forms of regular and advanced training—decentralized and differentiated forms adapted to the individual profiles and advancement paths of employees.

The second principle consists in intensive individualized motivation. In practice, the principle of "to each according to his labor" is being implemented. The common objective is to link wages directly to results of labor, which means the abandonment of wages for functions performed, let alone wages for reporting for work. Differentiation of wages and thus the creation of agenuine valuation of labor, which besides often differs from the formal valuation of labor, is deliberately pursued.

The third principle consists in creating a climate for leadership within the organization and developing so-called champion systems. The starting premise here is that knowledge can be best utilized not through the development of normal systems but through systems of leadership, which by their very nature are relatively or completely informal, designed for adaptability to change, and based on charisma, mutual trust, and joint explorations of innovations. Hence the pressure, in practice, on identifying so-called strong leaders and, at times,

using them to create a special informal organization headed by a "godfather" of innovations and, a rung lower, by the ruling champion, a kind of director general for innovations, followed by so-called product champions, creators and innovators of new products and technologies. It is borne in mind at the same time that it is the leaders who are most exposed to "arrows" and "return fire." Hence also, special systems for protecting their activities are being developed, because of the increasingly widespread conviction that without such systems there can be no leaders, and without leaders there can be no innovations.

The above direction of development of management practices in the highly developed countries points to a definite break with the administrative approach to managing the human element in organizations. Instead, a philosophy which may be termed the management of the organization's human resources is being developed. Underlying this philosophy is a system of deeply humanist values, and primarily the right to "be a man" at the workplace, which also means "being different from one's co-workers," the right to partnership, the rights to and possibilities for self-fulfillment through work, for personal growth, and lastly for influencing the organization's fate.

This is not a common philosophy in management practice, but organizations and managers such as Bim Black, who restored the economic health of the Teleflex Company, can be increasingly often encountered in the highly developed countries. The strategic reorientation he had carried out was based on the following premises:

- human beings are human beings, ... not personnel;
- people do not dislike work... they have to be helped to understand the interrelationship of objectives, and then they will reach an incredible level of excellence;
- the best way of achieving that excellence is the presence of an experienced mentor... and in the workplace at that;
- people have an "ego" and refined needs... their commitment will depend on the extent to which they can perceive ways of satisfying their needs;
- people cannot get genuinely motivated by external factors; they like to work in an atmosphere fostering inner motivation, self-evaluation, and self-confidence;
- people like to work in a climate of competition, spiritual uplift, and joy... and their pay should be made dependent as directly as possible on their input;
- when people act in an atmosphere of mutual trust, they are inclined to take risks, because risk-taking alone is the way to personal growth, rewards, self-confidence, and leadership.

In the Closed Circle of Traditions

Some readers may feel vexed because the foregoing observations are common truisms. Consider, however, that a truism becomes a social fact only after it is perceived. And so far Polish practice seems to be blind to these truisms.

Other readers may claim that the matters described above are being discussed in Poland. They too are right. In this country some of these truisms are proclaimed from lecturers' pulpits and some have even been inscribed in dead or barely alive regulations. But in the countries referred to above, intensive efforts are being made to translate these commandments into reality. For there the maxims of Democritus are taken seriously: "The word is but a shadow of the deed" and "Great deeds, not great words, should be admired."

In reality, Polish personnel policies have not freed themselves of their classical model, characteristic of the economically developed countries at the end of the 19th century and in the first two or three decades of the 20th century, namely, the administrative model. What is worse, in the case of Poland, this model is politicized to boot and constantly tending toward centralization.

This is a well-known model. Let us recapitulate its principal features:

- a highly politicized personnel policy, with predominance of ideological goals over pragmatic purposes;
- tendencies to centralize personnel decisions—both by administrators and by politicians;
- the striving toward uniform approaches to principles and instruments of personnel policies on the scale of the state; the persisting belief in the possibility of the centralized optimization of these policies;
- basing personnel decisions on dogmas not verified by contemporary reality or on generalized criteria—on phrases of the "socialist morality" type;
- paying lip service to the personalization of personnel policies, as opposed in reality by the impersonality of such policies, which is periodically strengthened by centralized regulations governing, e.g., labor discipline, evaluation, training, wages, etc.;
- the orientation toward the solution of present-day problems; the absence of a longterm view; the immediate future is determined through extrapolation and "wishful thinking";
- the design and conduct of personnel policy on the premise that conditions are constant or change slowly; the belief that what is being done at present will also suffice for the future, because the society remains the same.

It might have seemed that the reforms of the economy and the state under way since 1981 would at least curtail this way of thinking which originates from the times of mass production and the Stalinist period. This has not happened, however, as demonstrated by the embarrassingly slow implementation of the resolution "Main Assumption of Personnel Policy of the PZPR," adopted more than 4 years ago by the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Not much good was done either by the constant related reminders offered at the highest party forums, such as the 10th PZPR Congress, the resolution of 6 May 1986 of the Central Committee Politburo, and the resolutions of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Central Committee Plenums, at which the topic of personnel policy was so agitating that some members had even shouted their comments.

In the context of these resolutions, the age composition of the membership of the modernized central administration seems a joke. Most of these administrators are the oldest ever in Poland's postwar history and belong in the same generation. In view of this fact, how can society believe that the rising generation is indeed being favored?

In the "Implementation Program for the Second Stage of the Economic Reform" the concept of personnel policy is simply absent. People are considered only in Chapter 8, and only in the context of the necessary regulations governing wages and entitlements. It is as if the economic reform were one thing and personnel policy in the economy and state another, without being related. What is even more piquant, a reduction in the "nomenklatura" [high offices reserved for members of the inner ruling circle] had been mentioned in one of the first versions of the "Program" but it disappeared from the later versions.

A New Personnel Policy

It would not be true to say that since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress nothing has changed in the conduct of personnel policy in the economy and state. Some changes have occurred, as documented by the attempts to co-opt nonparty members into the system of state governance, promote young people to executive posts, institute competitive job appointments, evaluate managerial personnel on the basis of personnel reviews, etc. But they are only initial attempts and their results vary. Moreover, such actions are not up to the resolutions of the Ninth and Tenth PZPR Congresses. This raises almost as dramatically as before the first of these congresses the question of how can an effective personnel policy in the economy and state be assured — effective in relation to the specific development objectives of Poland and the deep political, economic, and social reforms. It can be unhesitatingly stated that the thus defined effectiveness requires a basic restructuring

of the system of thinking about people and of the existing methods and principles for the conduct of personnel policy. The new reality cannot be built on the basis of the old personnel policy!

The attempt to improve personnel policy undertaken in the last few years have not produced much, so far. Hence, a new model has to be explored, meaning not just a model for the second stage of the economic reform but one adequate for the first few decades of the 21st century, i.e., for the period when today's students will become politicians or administrators of economic and social life in Poland. The following suggestions may be useful to work on that model:

First, any system of knowledge is based on particular values. These values may be conceived in the abstract or derived from the reality. So far we had been conceiving abstract values which should be recognized by the society. Let us now try to act conversely, i.e., adopt the values of, e.g., the rising generation as the basis for the system of values and, within the framework of that corpus of values, verify them, systematize them, and determine the priorities.

Second, when determining priority values, emphasis may be placed on political or other objectives, e.g., efficient management.

In the traditional model of Poland's personnel policy, political goals predominate. By their very nature, political priorities restrict the freedom of choice of means of implementation. This, among other causes, may be the reason for the constant problems with the advancement of nonparty members and young people to higher executive posts and offices. An effective implementation of the second stage of the economic reform requires giving preference to pragmatic goals in the system of values underlying the personnel policy; meaning such pragmatic goals as professional training (of plant directors, politicians, etc.); an aggressive and individualized work motivation, the work accomplishments (rather than functions) of individuals as the basis for evaluating their performance, etc.

This proposal is tantamount to prompting the PZPR to consider the expediency of some self-distancing from the conduct of personnel policy. In practice, this would mean a thorough analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of the existence of the party nomenklatura in the conditions of the new economic and social reality. Regardless of the need to perform that analysis, even now it can be claimed that genuine leadership by the party consists not in retaining the party nomenklatura but in maintaining in key positions individuals with leadership qualities or at least astute individuals—persons who can identify the principal positions within the domain under their political power and make sure that they are chiefly staffed with astute and well-trained party members.

Thirdly, personnel policy, like medicine, is chiefly a practical activity. Just as surgical operations cannot be conducted at a distance greater than that of the scalpel-holding hand of the surgeon, so personnel decisions should not be taken far from the locale where particular problems arise. Personnel policy so far is still being dominated by centralist tendencies. In the context of the second stage of the economic reform, which is premised on the decentralization of management, such ideas as the centralized regulation of wages, biennial personnel reviews conducted from the top, or centralized advanced training of managerial personnel, sound like a bad joke. That is not new in this country. Why should we experience the same thing all over again, with the same known consequences? A genuine decentralization of personnel policy is needed. Let us place emphasis on assistance in creating modern plant and regional systems of work with personnel, that is, systems which are close to people and their problems.

Fourth, the conduct of personnel policy is a complicated activity in the modern world of organizations. It means that, among other things, that policy must be pursued through various methods and on the premise of suboptimization, that is, of the impossibility of optimizing it. Yet, present practice in Poland tends toward uniformity of means and possibilities for optimizing that policy. Thus it is worthwhile, to say the least, to consider the implications of suboptimization and the differentiation of the principles and instruments of personnel policy in the economy and state.

Fifth, the current personnel policy exemplifies a reactive, centralized response to the disturbing occurrences in that field.

[The premises of this policy are:] —Some people want to earn a lot of money, while others do not because that would require of them effort to which they are not accustomed. Should the latter be given up as hopeless? No. It is the former who should be frustrated. —Factory directors do not want to learn. Is that a problem? They should be sent to a central school and attend a course in the reform. —Employees are ignoring labor discipline? Disciplinary instructions should be issued.

Such approaches to personnel policy merely compound the difficulties and the socially disturbing phenomena. Personnel policy should be conducted **strategically**, which also means that it should be based on premises formulated for a time frame of as many as two or three dozen years ahead.

Example: even now we should have an operational model for training managerial and specialist personnel for the assumption of appropriate posts and offices in the year 2000. Why then should factory directors, persons in their fifties, be required to take advanced training courses? To make their old age more attractive, perhaps? Perhaps we have too much money, too many managers,

etc? At the same time, personnel policy should be pursued systematically, on a daily basis, with every individual, by every executive, rather than from one party congress to another, from one personnel review to another. It should be something steady rather than a sporadic campaign.

Sixth, personnel policy means the human element. Thus, man should be its "heart" rather than, as usually happens, a footnote. Our personnel policy should be freed of the jungle of regulations and red tape. The individual should be extracted from it. This means the need to personalize personnel policy, to eliminate the impersonal element wherever possible. Great deeds are accomplished only by people, including ordinary people, and not by regulations and rituals, even when these are at their most interesting.

As presented above, the tentative premises for a new personnel policy correspond to the logic of the undertaken cause of the reforming and democratization of Poland's economic and social life. One of the values adopted reforming the economy is the assurance of its effective operation. To accomplish this, one should ponder the comment by Peter Drucker, an expert in efficient management, "Economic effectiveness is not merely a product of economic forces; it is a human accomplishment." In Poland, man is yet waiting to be discovered.

1386

'Pluralism' Noted in Social Problems, Church's Role Viewed

26000147b Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 2, 10 Jan 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by Adam Szostkiewicz: "Caution, Pluralism"]

[Text] Polish society is becoming increasingly diverse. Aside from differences of a political nature, there are also emerging differences in philosophy, customs and culture. This mosaic is ever-more colorful and has become the subject of literature and less often, of thought.

We felt relief when official literature dropped its propaganda of the political and moral unity of our society. However, we continue to suffer from the illusion that this unity is a fact that lies beyond the realm of official control. At the same time, the process of increasing ideological differentiation or pluralism of Polish society heralds the coming end of an epoch. This epoch has been characterized by society's being pulled in two completely different ideological directions by the Church and state (as the organizer of public life). In the middle of the 1970's, there was formed yet another such center of gravity which was much less stronger than it is now and that center was the so-called democratic opposition. In the decade that has passed since that turning point, we have gone far in our thinking. It seems that this initially

two- and later tripartite structure is becoming a thing of the past. Since 1980, a part of that structure has been a process that, to put it briefly, has considerably weakened the ideological "center"...(censored under the 31 July 1981 Law on control of publications and public performances, article 2, point 6; DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, item 99 and No 44, item 204). By "weakening" and "strengthening" I am above all referring to spiritual attractiveness or to put it more simply, the ability to bring people together under one's banner rather than any purely-political influences or real disposition of forces.

Changes in the 1980's

The second half of the 1980's became a time of completely new processes. These processes have been most obvious among youth who are inclined to sometimes totally reject the tripartite structure of Polish public life. This has also led to increasing erosion of the traditional hierarchy of values, the emergence of new values and the buildup of tensions and conflicts as well as the diminishing prestige of the moral, spiritual and political authority spontaneously adopted by society and its associated structures.

A small but potentially influential number of youth is today reading works by liberal and conservative thinkers and building up on that basis their own vision of what they want society to be. They look at Papal homilies above all as part of the Church's social teachings and are sometimes inclined to view the present Pope and his direct predecessors as sympathetic to the idea of socialism which they reject both in theory and practice. Without underestimating the importance of the questions they raise and especially the conflict between the idea of social fairness and the principle of personal freedom, we must still say that such an interpretation of Papal teachings is a gross simplification that ignores not only their spiritual wealth but also the multiplicity of meaning it acquires in different political and social contexts. The most important characteristic of these teachings is their personalism which is irreconcilable with collectivism.

A much larger and less inquisitive intellectual group of young people shows its public sympathy for the simplest form of anarchism. They are against any form of authority, teachings, strictures and responsibilities aside from those they themselves approve. An expression of the radicalism typical of this age group is rock music and rock festivals attended by rock bands and their followers. Youthful anarchism is not a new phenomenon in Poland but for the first time, it has taken the form of a subculture which provides patterns of behavior and lifestyles that have nothing in common with the "tripartite" structure of society.

Many young Polish nonconformists are now seeking their spiritual identity outside of traditional European culture and turning more toward the spiritualism of the Far East and more exotic realms. Poland is being visited

by more and more spiritual teachers who proclaim a totally different vision of the world and therefore a different philosophy of man. Their "catechism" has fallen on fertile soil. The same is true of domestic pretenders like Marek Kotanski who take the role of leaders of spiritually-alienated and sensitive young people. This time, however, we are dealing with organizational structures and a point of view completely new for Poland.

The Pathology of Social Life and Pluralism

The present crisis of public morality in Poland is well-known and its symptoms include alcoholism, abortion, crime, drug addiction, egotism and the break-up of families. In my opinion, these symptoms should be seen as part of our growing process of pluralism. In essence, this pluralism consists of a "free market" of ideas and values that struggle against one another for a "government of hearts and minds". The structure of public or spiritual life has acquired a polycentric character. Poles and especially young Poles today face various ideological "offerings" with no time to make a rational choice among them.

However, this "free market" of ideas already exists, has more and more to offer, opposes all forms of monopoly and defends itself against them and the practices that lead to such monopolies. In our conditions and therefore under a lack of full and free competition of ideas, pluralization can take schizophrenic forms. Declared "monocentricity" is accompanied by actual "polycentricity". One can assume that this can be at least partially explained by the increasing discrepancy between ideological declarations and personal practice in everyday life.

I would also attribute this to a certain extent to the growing crisis in the traditional family model and especially the break-down of a once-coherent system of family roles. For some it is still unclear just what is the role of a father, mother, son or daughter, what is the source of authority in the family and how that authority is manifested. Young people starting their own families are not always able to make a conscious choice between the different and competing family models. The process of automatic and up to now instinctive assumption of family and social roles has now become a thing of the past. More and more often now, it is becoming necessary to balance the losses and gains involved in one's choice of a family model. To put it most simply, the family crisis was caused by a growing dissatisfaction with family relationships in which specific family members feel unloved, misunderstood or threatened. The "free market" of ideas has shown other possibilities. For example, the formation of a new family can be rejected for untrammelled personal freedom. It seems that the number of persons choosing similar solutions (instead of

trying to improve the existing situation) will grow as long as people at the threshold of adult life have a clear awareness of the price they pay for such important life decisions.

This gives the Church and other educational institutions a great opportunity for action.

Facing the Challenges

I have the impression that the "tripartite" system faces a great challenge from the growing "polycentric" pluralism of Polish society. I also have the impression that the three centers forming the structure of our society are unequally prepared to accept those challenges. It is the state and Church that have a predominantly defensive attitude that often resembles a siege mentality. As we know, this siege mentality consists of shutting oneself off from the world and from any dialogue. In the long run, such a posture will compartmentalize entire segments of the population into spiritual "ghettos".

The process at whose threshold we stand is a unique challenge for the Catholic Church in Poland and especially for its pastoral, formational and catechistic work. In this regard, I wish to raise two important questions.

First of all, I think that the departure of a fairly large number of young people from the Church cannot be attributed solely to the need for a "shared" experience of faith although that may certainly be an important cause. As often as the Church tries to restore this "communio", it faces a lively and widespread response from its believers and at the same time attracts those who were previously indifferent. One example of this is the popularity of the Krakow Dominican ministry of secondary school youth and that of all communal religious movements.

Young people, however, as well as that portion of the Polish intelligentsia that only recently (and seemingly for the first time in its history) has found itself under the influence of the Church, are seeking a specific sense of togetherness. Namely, they are seeking a community of spirituality based on dialogue, attuned to the modern world with all of its complexities, uncertainty and differentiation and one based on the ability to be introspective. They are for that reason also seeking a sense of community based on a clear-cut sense of Christian identity which accepts the Church's fundamental doctrine and structure. It is hard for people to reconcile themselves to excessive clericalism, paternalism or triumphalism. Having rejected monopolistic aspirations, they would like to demonstrate spiritual identity and faith by the example of their personal choices. The challenge to Christianity is to be tolerant toward people with different ideas. It is not hard for the Church to accept the process of "polycentralization" of social life although it is itself "monocentric".

The same people feel the need to individualize their own fate and gather with other groups and individuals who can and want to perceive that need. They would like for the community they seek to be one created by human individuality in which a person makes their own choices in life and feels ordinary joy in what he or she believes and does. Such a community places great importance on conscious experience and full commitment. I think that in its work, the Church does not adequately consider the unbreakably overlapping spiritual needs of the young generation.

The second question is whether we should see a pluralism of ideas and values as a threat. This is a genuinely fundamental question that cannot be unequivocally answered. In Poland, the transition from a "family-centered" society (according to Pawel Kozlowski in RES PUBLICA, 3/1987) to a pluralistic polycentric society will and already is a painful process. We cannot exclude the fact that the present signs of social, moral and spiritual crisis will intensify. The Church and its active laymen could play a great role in alleviating the harsh effects of the crisis if they keenly diagnose the spiritual situation and the young generation and draw the correct conclusions.

However, if the Church wants to make broader use of dialogue as a means of fulfilling its social role, it should interpret the dialogue not as one between Christians and Marxists but as one between people with different beliefs, a dialogue about the spiritual dimension of human existence in a Polish reality. This would give the Church a great opportunity in Poland. However, it must first recognize the human desire for individuality because the foundation for an authentic sense of community is the emergence of a mature (and therefore based on a sense of responsibility for one's own choices), tolerant and socially-active individualism. Thus, it seems that the conditions of a pluralistic society encourage this type of individualism.

The situation in Poland is such that we can learn certain lessons from the mistakes the Church has made in certain places in the West. In the most general terms, the Church has at first been unable to adapt itself to new conditions (a pluralism of ideas and values) only to later allow (and chiefly under pressure of its own rebellious followers) its own identity to be eroded and the Evangelical teachings to be arbitrarily manipulated.

12261

Catholic Position on Basic Human Rights, Right to Association

26000191 *Czestochowa NIEDZIELA in Polish*
No 6, 7 Feb 88 pp 4-5

[Article by Juliusz Jan Braun: "Catholics in 'Public Life'—Keeping With the Voice of Conscience"]

[Text] "A citizen's right to make decisions about the problems of his community and to take part in public life is a natural human right, a primary one superior to other

provisions". This statement beginning the report "Catholics in public life" may seem somewhat obvious and banal. The announcement of this document by the Primate's Social Council (and the discussion that it has aroused over the several months passed since various meetings in Catholic intellectual clubs, pastoral centers and parishes) has become an event of great significance. The state that "Catholics should find a lasting place for themselves outside of the 'barrier of indifference' so widespread today" is a clear challenge for active and conscious publications activity regardless of whether or not one decides to participate in public life under the present conditions.

"Catholics in public life" is a document that the Primate's Council has presented to a wider circle of Catholics. The council decided to release this important report now because it could do so (let us remember that a very important report by the last council came out at the beginning of martial law and was never allowed to be published). In its statement, the council spoke out strongly against indifference. However, its statement can only be correctly understood as a reminder of a citizen's right to make decisions about his own community. However, public activity is not always the remedy to indifference. Sometimes, it is the indifferent that must be prevented from taking action. Activity cannot be a strange game of appearances in which meaningless movement is driven by an indifferent attitude toward reality and in which people do as they are told.

For many years and in several communities, it was the normal and accepted thing for public life to be organized and controlled. In that situation, participants became mere actors who in only unusual circumstances were allowed to improvise or say something for themselves. It was common knowledge that one cannot introduce one's own (and not previously approved) ideas to public activity. This was especially true for Catholics, especially when it was being determined who would represent the forces of progress and who was to be associated with conservatism. Catholics could only think about, as the old slogan says, "joining in the realization...". Every attempt at discussion on just what was supposed to be realized was cut-off at once as an attempt to "clericalize life".

The statement that the aspiration to organize life according to one's own beliefs is a fundamental but, as I have already said, obvious civil right may be a real discovery for some people today. It is also worth pointing out that this right does not imply a right to force one's will on others. Catholics, and there are obviously quite a few of those in Poland, have no reason to hide the fact that they want to organize social life according to the principles of their religion. There may be some place in these aspirations for certain differences in concept because the Church does not "authorize" any tightly-defined practical model.

Since the conciliar constitution *Gaudium et spes*, the document of the Primate's Council reminds one of the need to distinguish between actions taken in the name of the Church, actions to which both the Church hierarchy and the faithful are entitled, and other actions taken by the faithful on their own. It was the second type of action that was limited in Poland for various reasons. Officially sanctioned and supported were the activities of groups that called themselves Catholic and that closely cooperated with the government (according to the principle of "involvement in the realization of..."). The government also more or less eagerly recognized the right of the Church to take a public stand on issues. A lay Catholic who did not belong to officially recognized organizations did not fit into the patterns set under different circumstances. After all, Catholics not only have the right but, according to their religion, also the duty of aspiring that social life be organized, as the conciliar constitution states, "according to the voice of Christian conscience". Regardless of whether one is active within an association of small-lot owners or the Sejm, there is no reason to be ashamed of this.

This internal voice allows one to make important decisions and it becomes clearer if one's conscience is in order. That is why it is so important to give the proper training to everyone who decides to become involved in public activity. Above all, one must know the principles of the Church's social teachings or to put it more broadly, gain a mature understanding of the Church's teachings on contemporary problems.

A person becoming involved in the public life of his community also needs the support of the group he represents. To some extent, the parish which seems to have been unintentionally overlooked in the Primate's Council's document should be that group. However, an important role is also played by other groups and especially the Catholic associations which, although they remain in full contact with the Church hierarchy, would still act according to their own principles. The Primate's Council writes that "we want associations that would not be manipulated for political purposes alien to the Christian vision of social life".

Catholic intellectual clubs have gained public prestige. For many long years, there were only 5 such clubs allowed to operate. For better or worse, there are scores of them today and that creates an entirely new situation. This offers an enormous potential for creative thought and work which are waiting only to be properly "managed". It is also perfectly justifiable to set up more such clubs, especially where they have been unable to resume the activities that were interrupted by martial law. The model of the Catholic intellectual clubs may, however, and should be enriched with other concepts. One interesting direction is shown by the efforts in Gdansk to register the "Verbum" Academic Association. From its ideological declaration published in GWIAZDA MORZA we read:

"As students we are especially responsible for student life. The university is autonomy and pluralism, independence of scientific study, diversity of research methods and solutions, independent intellectual growth and collective interaction. The university is a meeting place for different philosophies and systems of values...We want to educate people to be responsible for their own actions, able to independently evaluate the world and ready to accept the consequences of their actions. We want to propose a certain pattern for Catholics and to base that on the principle of conscious, personal choice and commitment. We want for this ideology to teach people how to live by giving them a more profound understanding and a system of religious, ethical and social values. We want to increase the number of intellectuals with a deeper Catholic awareness and a stronger feeling of responsibility for the Church. With a knowledge of their own roots, traditions and history and by our presence in public life, we want to help create a citizen's state that expresses the public's aspirations and desires. We want to create a Poland that fulfills our expectations and has a place of its own among the Christian family of nations."

Catholic associations are supposed to support persons involved in social activity rather than function as a separate, Catholic movement. Such separation would confine the associations to a ghetto existence. Public action must be taken wherever it is needed and can be effective.

However, there is at this moment a very critical problem, one that the authors of "Catholics in public life" are also aware of. The present restrictions make it necessary to clearly formulate certain stipulations. The first concerns the principle of participation in collegial bodies that under our conditions have a strictly-defined roster that automatically determines how they will vote in certain situations. The Primate's Council's document states: "A member of a group or collegial organ is regarded by that body as the co-author of all of its decisions. Therefore, any eventual *votum separatum* must be plainly heard." To put it simply, it is very easy to say that some decision or other is made by a group that includes some Catholics. However, their presence makes little difference when the deciding vote belongs to someone else.

Here are still another two "warnings and injunctions": "One must not in any circumstance enter public life at the price of falsehood or by hiding one's beliefs. For the same reason, a Catholic should not accept work in any institution that he feels is useless to public life or is a falsification of public life" and "he should definitely not belong to organizations hostile to the Church and to religion". Both principles are clearly and precisely stated with, as I myself know, careful thought given to every word. However, life is more complicated than that. Where do we set the limits? Just what does "falsification of social life" mean?

Although it is often hard for a person to make the choice, there do exist situations that are morally unambivalent in which one cannot act at the "price of falsehood".

(Passage censored under the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and public performances, article 2, item 6; DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, item 99 and No 44, item 204). A Catholic cannot accept such a condition. However, how does one set limits on the issue of institutions that are useless to public life? If we were to use very strict criteria, many persons would have to quit their jobs at once but if we soften those same criteria, what are the limits? And there is the question of institutions that are in principle necessary but in all reality harm the interests of the public. Let us look at a politically neutral example: no one would argue that cities must have waste treatment plants but what would have to be done if such a plant were scandalously poisoning the environment? If there is no real way to improve the situation, could a Catholic work at such a plant? Could a Catholic be the director of that department?

Almost everyone must find an answer to those questions. Whether they like it or not, everyone is in some sense a participant in public life which has, as a whole, been affected by numerous distortions and has become to a certain extent falsified.

There are situations in which one fully honest solution is to refuse involvement in public activity when it affects one's normal professional responsibility. Sometimes it is better for the actor not to act and the journalist not to write. Sometimes it is only necessary to just try to save certain precious values for the future. However, that cannot be the standard for behavior. That is why it is so important today to seek the right means and forms of activity for the good of society and to create conditions that encourage such activity.

However, is the occasional opposition between the two tendencies of social activity and family life proper? The values of family life are held in high esteem by many people and this is often interpreted as a sign that people are avoiding public issues. It is supposed that the lack of any chance of self-realization in public activity is what makes people seek to fulfill all their aspirations within their own homes. However, there is much more to it than that. From the point of view of Christian values, this turning to the family may be very valuable. It can change society in such a way that the family would indeed become the smallest but most basic unit of social organization. If the family now holds such a high position in the hierarchy of values, this creates an opportunity that must be wisely used to rebuild social life. Of course, this family orientation cannot be allowed to shut people off in their own private lives. This statement may seem too general but it is the family which is open to the problems of other people that is the first step toward an enfranchised society. The importance of the family as the place

where people are prepared for public life has been properly emphasized in the council's document. However, one must remember that the role of the family goes far beyond that.

(Passage censored under the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and public performances, article 2, item 6; DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, item 99 and No 44, item 204) There already does exist a younger group of socially-committed people who were still in school in 1980-81 but it is still hard to imagine social activity being awakened without the help of the "Solidarity generation". There is no need to continually return to old issues or to encourage the sort of "combative" attitudes that one finds everywhere anyway. However, an honest reckoning of the past demands clear recognition of the positive achievements not only of the enigmatic years of 1980-81 but also those of Solidarity. It is true that Solidarity did make some mistakes and we can and must discuss them. However, we cannot...(passage censored under the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and public performances, article 2, item 6; DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, item 99 and No 44, item 204).

Even the briefest such mention of the past was unfortunately absent from the Primate's Social Council's document which in reference to 1980-81 and social agreements repeats the Pope's view about the new meaning that the word "solidarity" gained at that time but does not mention the former union by name. In Warsaw perhaps, where one can not only organize but also proclaim in Janusz Onyszkiewicz's press conference held on the anniversary of the introduction of martial law that the psychological significance of such a settlement of history is no longer so important today. (Passage censored under the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and public performances, article 2, item 6; DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, item 99 and No 44, item 204) I do not intend to wait for Solidarity to be canonized but one cannot help but notice that the latest generation in Poland has its own cross to bear. One should not be surprised that many members of this generation tells us that if we know better than them, we can do it all ourselves. Fortunately, that is not the common attitude. In various circumstances, one still encounters the names of people who became active in 1980 and continue to carry on their work.

Almost everyday, one can see more signs that in spite of all of its difficulties and restrictions, Polish society is becoming more of a factor in public life. In this situation, Polish Catholics, and I quote the document of the Primate's Council, "have not only the civil right but also the duty imposed by their faith to influence the society they belong to and to contribute to the emergence of new life motives and hopes".

Church Role in Scouting Groups Attacked as 'Demoralizing'

2600251b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
27-28 Feb 88 p 4

[Article by Kazimierz Kozniewski: "Dual-Education Demoralization"]

[Text] In the early fall of 1987 the Polish Episcopate published an extensive declaration calling upon the faithful to participate as actively as possible in the creative life of this country and society, to join in a civic effort to build the values upon which rest the foundations of our state, and of every modern European state. This was a highly positive document.

It is obvious that educational processes play a fundamental role in shaping the society and hence also the state.

For a couple of years, or to be exact since 1981, we have been witnessing certain actions, not infrequently initiated or authorized by ecclesiastical authorities (e.g., the formation of suitable spiritual ministries), whose results are bound to be disturbing from the educational standpoint, and hence also from the standpoint of moral consequences. This concerns the deliberate organization of a kind of dual ideological education, the planned provocation of ideological-educational controversies and conflicts whose longterm consequences shall be, as can be readily conceived, definitely negative. This is so because any internally contradictory education in doublethink, any dual and inconsistent system of education promotes the formation of deceitful, opportunistic, and two-faced attitudes in individuals thus taught. Any knowledgeable educator knows that a system of education that operates with two different and mutually contradictory sets of values practiced within the framework of one system, one method, and one organization, harbors the peril of the worst moral consequences.

This Concerns Scouting

Scouting is a youth organization in which educational processes should operate (as indeed happens!) more intensively and substantively than in the public elementary school and subsequently among recruits doing their military service. Any literacy-promoting, educational, or upbringing organization, which in the modern state is normally public and open to all, must honor the principles ensuing from some lowest common denominator; in the modern society that denominator is represented by secular civic education, education by the state, as well as by secular knowledge. It is only upon that secular ethics, secular knowledge, secular basis that one can erect, like upon a foundation, a philosophy of life and a world outlook. This principle is binding nowadays for the entire modern world, from the United States to the Soviet Union, with Europe included. The recent conflict in Italian education is also very closely linked to this; the

Christian political party, which in Italy is a highly important force, had to opt for a secular and state school. It cannot be otherwise in the world nowadays.

Separate Instruction in Religion

On the other hands, these common, secular, state organisms must, precisely because they are universal and mandatory, allow for the realities of the pluralism of world outlook and hence, in addition to the required basic curriculum, they must provide the conditions for nonrequired, elective, and separate instruction in religion. Similarly, in the army the religious needs of the troops are, as a matter of elective, personal choice, served by the military chaplaincy system in addition to the required basic military education. There can be no question of forming within the educational system of the state or the army a separate and, as it were, externally directed educational system subservient to rules other than those binding in the state's or the army's educational system. There can be no question of any such duality.

And hence, what is binding on the state's educational system or on the army—namely, uniformity of the instructional curriculum!—must be all the more so honored by by organizations of a primarily educational nature, including those operating on totally voluntary principles. If such organizations are to exercise their state-education tasks, they cannot be organizations with differing ideological programs, differing premises, and differing goals, which pursue differing educational objectives for their pupils or students.

Yet, in certain troops and branches of the Polish Scouts Union (ZHP) we have been dealing since 1981 with **dual education**. Within that Union there operate the so-called Scout ministries, established by a couple of bishops and engaging in extremely unequivocal activities. They attempt to establish within many Scout troops and branches bridgeheads, as it were, for different educational and ideological methods, spread among them a different ideological orientation, and shape other options than those applying within the ZHP as a whole. To be sure these activities are not highly ramified, extending only to a few percent of Boy and Girl Scouts, but they are a disturbing symptom precisely because they represent dangerous, demoralizing pedagogical practices. For they involve different curriculums of instruction and extracurricular activities, and a differently worded oath of allegiance as well as different rules compared with those binding for years on the ZHP as a whole. Certain Scout troops are used for services (e.g., during the visit of John Paul II to Poland) that conflict with the secular educational premises of the ZHP as a whole. Highly explicit stress is being placed on a religious education, in contradistinction to the secular and lay principles underlying for more than 40 years instruction within the ZHP.

I do not perceive any impropriety when Catholic chaplains engage in educational work with youth within their own parishes. Not at all. In addition to the school and Scouting and other youth organizations, there also is room for work of this kind, stressing a religious education and employing its own specific methods. This is a separate activity, in which the young take part on the principle of its being just as optional as joining the ZHP. Then everything is clear and there is no doublethink or dual education. Nobody is trying to demoralize anybody.

Oath of Allegiance for the Entire ZHP

In this place let me point out that I personally view it as a great pity that, in the 76 years of the existence of Scouting (with a capital S!), this movement has, from the very beginning at that, quite often and unnecessarily altered the wording of its original oath of allegiance and rules. These changes, dating back to the earliest years of Scouting, have always weakened the pedagogical effectiveness of its educational approach. The uniform and the cross are the same, and so is the system of scout troops, but the oath and the rules have been repeatedly altered. Permanence of decalogues of this kind—whose interpretations may and should be updated—is a highly important element of any ideological-educational method. The two words “serving God” have in time become such a shopworn phrase that the modern man increasingly interprets this concept as some general human, humanist, ethical, cultural, and traditional values, and less and less as purely religious values.

In the situation of a pluralist tolerance of views in which no one militates against religion, the concept of “God” becomes extremely secularized, losing its confessional nature but gaining the nature of a primarily psychological and cultural concept. I would be in no way bothered by that phrase, “serving God,” so variously interpreted, even when used in an organization inculcating secular and state ideals in youth. I would be in no way bothered if present-day ZHP were to be bound by the oath and rules of 1912 or 1915 (on replacing, or course, the English “Scout” with the Polish “harczerz”), on condition that they would be the oath and rules binding on the entire ZHP under its bylaws. Since, however, owing to historical, national, state, and extraneous factors, a different oath and different rules have applied to the ZHP in the last few decades, that is, longer than any previous wording of that oath and rules—which in itself, I repeat, is a highly important factor—any change in wording to adapt it to the “second circulation” [the underground] is absolutely inadmissible in ideological-indoctrination work. This represents a criminal exposure of youth to the consequences of doublethink and dual education. This is clear!

This also applies to the formation within the ZHP troops and branches of new structures and varieties of subordination other than those ensuing from membership in the

ZHP. Out of respect for elementary honesty in education, students should not be exposed to equivocal situations. I understand, being familiar with world history, that this has always been done by all illegal associations, forced to act thus by the law, as it were, but this is not how cooperation between the church—a church that prays in the catacombs and at the same time builds more temples in our country than throughout the remaining Europe—and the state should take shape in Poland. This should not happen if it is to be cooperation between two fully legal institutions, vis a vis themselves and vis a vis fully loyal citizens to whom the best possible moral condition of the Polish society does matter.

This can be only a game with open cards on the table, a fully loyal game, without baptizing the coffins of deceased nonbelievers or propagating doublethink. The Catholic church in Poland has every opportunity for refraining in its educational-religious work from the application of equivocal and insidious methods and from any ambushes, ploys, and clever tricks. It can pursue openly its educational activities in the churches, in parishes, without creating formally false situations, in which someone always is lying to someone else, and hence situations that are educationally harmful. It should not be participating in the raising of opportunists and “two-faced” individuals.

Serving the Polish State

In Poland, and since 1935, prewar times, at that, the appellations “Scouting” and “Boy Scout” and “Girl Scout” as well as such Scouting insignia as the cross, the fleur-de-lis, the uniform, etc., are legally registered. No one can form a separate Scouting movement outside the legally existing one. To be sure, this did happen in the past, but, instead of resorting to legal means, other means had justly been employed to clear up the situation. That is why the clergy [at present] should not attempt to establish the so-called Scouting ministries. This kind of infiltration of the Scouting movement, this game of tunneling under the fortifications and bearing other ideological propositions and even—yes, it does happen!—other political propositions, does not, to be sure, violate the letter of the law as in the case of the “separate” Scouting movements, but it is aimed against something much more important by exposing part of our youth to morally destructive upbringing.

Historians may dispute the extent to which, prior to 1939 or 1945, the ZHP had been an organization educating scouts in a religious spirit. As a prewar scoutmaster who had been closely linked to the KIMB and the “Golden Arrow”—to those familiar with the history of the ZHP these two names tell all—and as a member of the Gray Phalanxes [underground Polish Scouts of World War II] (which did, after all, differ in something essential from “Polish Scouting”), I have a definite opinion on this subject. But what matters right now is not the historical dispute about the course of the secularization of Scouting education, which had from its very

outset been far from intended to serve the Lord above all! We remember clearly the original Polish law governing Scouting; its purpose has always been above all service to the Polish state—at first, before independence, to the ideal Polish state, and subsequently to the real one. The disputes about the phrase “serving God” which took place during the first years of existence of Polish Scouting do prove something! Nowadays, however, here and there, this historical process is not important. What is important is the present-day reality, which by now has lasted for more than 40 years. Forty years—that is more than an half of the lifetime of Scouting. In those 40 years Scouting was and is an organization for a secular education, having no interest in the religious attitudes of its members, and quite deliberately avoiding any organized religious life. As for religious life, it is available outside Scouting and outside the school system to those interested.

Both the present and all the relevant studies invariably demonstrate that religious attitudes, the consequences of a religious education, exert neither any special positive nor any special negative influence on the practice of civic, moral, state, national, and occupational life. The religious attitude of a broad mass of Catholics is quite distinctly separate from their actual lives, even in such domains as sexual or family life, let alone conduct at the workplace of civic conduct. But as for any confrontation within an educational system, any ambiguity of this kind, it always produces negative educational consequences whose cost is borne later, in the adult life of the successive generations, by the entire society—both by believers and by nonbelievers. That is why the demoralization of educational methods and structures owing to a side-door introduction of other authorities, priorities, methods, ideological rationales, and outside groupings, is an extremely risky undertaking.

The splitting and blurring of Scouting from outside is a socially perilous and morally harmful practice. A “second-circulation” Scouting should not be organized, if one desires to attain positive effects in the process of upbringing the rising generation—positive for the country, for the society, and for the state.

For Educational Reasons

Of course, some people may follow totally different educational objectives. But this leaves open the question of whether this kind of dual ideology, this kind of ideological-moral opportunism with its glittering ambiguities and highly risky confrontations, can lead to desired educational results? Two-faced and opportunistic individuals, calves that suckle two mothers, are just as harmful in ecclesiastical as in lay structures.

It is high time for posing clearly this whole matter which previously has been hidden behind a curtain, under a rug, as it were. Catholic chaplains and lay Catholic activists should cease their equivocal work within the ZHP. Young people whose needs the ZHP does not

satisfy should select as soon as possible other forms of commitment more suitable for them. This also applies to senior scout troops and scoutmasters.

I repeat, this is advisable not only for legal but also for educational reasons.

1386

Catholic Activist Discusses Religious Associations, Political Roles

26000247 Poznan WPROST in Polish
No 10, 6 Mar 88 pp 4-6

[Interview with Janusz Zablocki, Catholic activist, member, Consultative Council under Council of Ministers, by Piotr Andrzejewski and Krzysztof Golata]

[Text] [Question] In Poland, a country in which according to church sources over 90 percent of the people are Catholics, where 60 percent of the deputies to the Sejm declare themselves to be Catholics, the main political force is the Marxist party...

[Answer] I think that this makes Poland a special country, a special terrain for the building of socialism. Catholicism is deeply rooted in the history and culture of our nation. The Polish society is denominationally quite homogeneous and the Catholic Church occupies a very important place in it. In the 1950's it avoided political dependence on the authorities and was independent during the entire time.

[Question] But all of this means that the list of social conflicts in our country is longer than in other socialist countries.

[Answer] Yes. At least these conflicts are more open here.

[Question] But in our political system there are organizations which attempt to tie the religious element with the political one. I am referring to Christian social groups—PAX, the “Znak” community, the Polish Catholic Social Union (PCSU), and the Christian Social Association (CSA). You yourself are living proof, having participated in most of them at various times.

[Answer] I think that the meeting of Marxist socialism with a society devoted to Catholicism created, from the beginning, a field for different types of experiments and concepts of coexistence. I was able to observe many of these attempts, and participate in some of them. The organizations you have named do not, obviously, exhaust the entire range of the numerous Catholic groups which now exist in Poland. Everyone of them was born during a different historical period and embodies different experiences. PAX was formed back in 1945, the “Znak” movement and CSS after 1956, and PCSU in 1981.

[Question] The listing of these dates alone tells a great deal. What is your participation in these organizations? You began with PAX, then through "Znak" helped to organize PCSU, which you left in 1984...

[Answer] I was and am an advocate of a search for a correct formula for the meeting of two forces—the State and the Church, and their permanent coexistence. During the first period it seemed to me that PAX, from which I resigned in 1955, might make this possible. Later I was connected with the "Znak" movement, within which in 1967 I organized the Center for Social Studies and Documentation (CSSD), of which I am still the head. Its task is to study and spread the Church's social thought in Poland, in a new post-ecumenical council edition...

[Question] Did this activity, connected with your activity in different organizations, stem from a change in your viewpoint?

[Answer] I think that it was not so much a change in viewpoints as in the process of their development. After a period of initial searchings, after 1955 I became stronger in my conviction that relations between the Church and the socialist state are not best served by the activity of one kind of Catholic vanguard or another...

[Question] PAX was at that time such a vanguard?

[Answer] Unquestionably. I came to the conviction that direct relations between the Church hierarchy and the State authorities are the most important here. This is also connected with my fascination with the person of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, who, fortunately, found himself at the head of the Polish Church during its most difficult period. Our Center always operated in contact with the cardinal, and had his support and understanding.

[Question] Is CSSD a political organization?

[Answer] No. We concern ourselves with publishing, studies and informational activity. However, political initiatives sprang up within our sphere of influence—deputies from our circles went into the Sejm, and in 1981 the PCSU was organized.

[Question] But after a few years of heading PCSU, you and CSSD parted company with this organization. Why?

[Answer] This was the result of the conflict of two different ideas of what this organization was to be later. The departure of the advocates of one of them turned out to be unavoidable. I do not believe that I should say any more on this subject.

[Question] We heard that you are now forming a new Catholic organization...

[Answer] Indeed. Late in 1987 we applied to the authorities for registration of the Society for the Propagation of Catholic Social Sciences (SPCSS). This organization will have no political aims. It is an institutional expression of that which we have actually been doing for over 20 years, in the ideological and structural sense.

[Question] There is a belief circulating around the Catholic organizations that although they are not large in number they are strongly in conflict with one another, if not divided. Proof of this are the many splits, resignations, formation of new organizations...

[Answer] I am familiar with the beliefs about the conflicts in these circles. But when I look at their stormy history I think that not everything can be reduced to personal or organizational conflicts. This is more the reflection of a certain process in the development of Catholic thought in a situation where there has been a great meeting of philosophical ideas in our country.

[Question] But how much are the activities of Christian organizations caused by political aspirations and how much by the religious factor?

[Answer] The presence of political aspirations is rather immeasurable. After all, it really applies to every public activity. But insofar as philosophical reason is concerned, it seems that in the case of each of these associations it is somewhat different. PAX, historically speaking, was the first community which, along with the Catholic philosophy, accepted the socialist system ideal. PAX is still faithful to this choice. It professes a triple commitment: Catholicism, patriotism and socialism. Insofar as CSA is concerned, in the light of the speeches made by its leaders its position is a radical separation of religious inspiration and politics. According to this principle, a Catholic should not carry over his position on political issues to his choice of religion, which is his private matter. On the other hand, PCSU from the beginning accepted the rule that it will be guided by the inspiration of the Church's social sciences, flowing out of post-ecumenical council documents, papal encyclicals, and the instructions of the Polish Episcopate, with which it wanted to be connected.

[Question] But this differentiation does not prevent the Christian organizations from involving themselves in political activity. After all, they are present in various institutions of the political system. But the question arises—what role are they supposed to play in this system? Are they supposed to be pressure groups or quasi-political parties?

[Answer] Speaking objectively, I think that these organizations are fulfilling, at least until now, the role of pressure groups. They try, through their influence on the authorities, including the Sejm, to affect government policy without aspiring to replace it.

[Question] Whom do they want to represent—all Catholics or only some Catholic circles?

[Answer] Representing all Catholics is unrealistic, for Catholic unity in politics is only a fiction. There are far too many political, economic and cultural differences...

[Question] How, then, do the Christian associations really differ from one another, in the political sense?

[Answer] I think they differ by the degree of their readiness to cooperate with the authorities, or, to put it more precisely, by their position between the State authorities and the Church hierarchy. Looking at it from this point of view, PCSU, at least in the first years of its activity, was closer to the Church hierarchy than the other two associations. Anyway, I think that each of these organizations should itself define its relationship to the authorities and the Episcopate.

[Question] The relationship of the Episcopate to them also was and is different....

[Answer] I believe that the Church authorities should and do respect the pluralism of the political options of Catholics. Their right to take—on the basis of a common philosophical position and loyalty to the Church's social sciences—different viewpoints on concrete issues, stems from what we have already talked about. The Church hierarchy approves of this, unless individual Catholics deviate from this "common base".... I think that relations between the State and the Church are very important in this matter. The conflict, which took on tragic dimensions during the Stalinist era, and also later, during the Gomulka government, was extremely serious, caused a polarization in Catholic circles. They had to define themselves—stand with the State or the Church. For some time this conflict has been dying down and we can now really talk for the first time in 40 years about regular State-Church relations. I believe that this has an impact on relations between the Church and the respective organizations.

[Question] You, as a Catholic activist, occupy a very exceptional position. You have good relations both with the authorities and with the Church hierarchy. You are received by General Jaruzelski and by Primate Glemp. At the same time, you are known from your controversial viewpoint, expressed back in 1973 at the Sejm, that Catholics in Poland should have the right to create their own party. Do you continue to be an advocate of this idea?

[Answer] Indeed, I spoke at that time about the right of Catholics to organize, if they feel it to be proper, into a party. But this does not mean that I think that the conditions for this are present right now. The right about which I spoke is, I believe, one of our civil rights and is in keeping with the spirit of our constitution. But, on the path of the inevitable evolution will the logic of the past public involvement of Catholics lead them to form such

a party? I am not at all sure. We can well imagine a situation in which this involvement will remain in its present form. Nevertheless, I think that if the process of the democratization of public life is to go on, we will not escape this problem and, therefore, we must take some kind of position on it.

[Question] But what kind of conditions do you see in which such a Catholic party could be organized in our country?

[Answer] I think that the conditions would have to be such that it would not fulfill a disintegrating function, but would strengthen social integration... Because its real calling is to fulfill the role of an independent center, which could help to overcome the social disarray and positively mobilize society for the implementation of the State's most important tasks.

[Question] But speaking concretely, how do you see the functioning of such a party in our party system? The majority of our people are Catholics, and combining politics with religion as a rule is not good for either one or the other.

[Answer] I see no reason for the existence of such a party if it were to be a "coalition" party, as, for example, CDU in the GDR. On the other hand, neither do I see the possibility of its existence if it would want to be only a form of organization to oppose the present political system.

[Question] Then what would it be?

[Answer] Its existence would then make sense only if, as an "independent center," it would base relations with other parties on the principle of partnership.

[Question] How does the Church look upon your idea? Is it willing to support such a party with its authority?

[Answer] This is surrounded by many misconceptions. It is expected that the formation of such a party should in some degree be the work of the Church hierarchy, or at least that it should be authorized by it. I do not think so. The organizing of Catholics in a party, or the choice of a political position, is always the result of their own autonomous decision, into which the Church is not drawn, because the Church would then be responsible for the decision. Such a party, therefore, cannot be the emanation of the Church or an instrument of its hierarchy, even those its members would have a moral obligation to respect the Church and its social sciences.

[Question] You sat in the Sejm for several years as a representative of Catholic circles. In the present term you are no longer a deputy. It appeared that you had withdrawn from political life. Yet you are participating in the work of the Consultative Council under the chairmanship of the Council of State. ..

[Answer] The most important reason for my joining the Council was the conviction that in a situation of serious socioeconomic crisis and the disarray in our nation, we must support every initiative which creates a common plane of dialogue between the authorities and the opposition, the Church and Marxist forces. I believe that when the State authorities are making a step towards dialogue, it is our duty, as the independent social forces, to meet them. When State politics distance themselves from this dialogue, then refusal would be justified.

[Question] In the Council do you see yourself as liaison between the primate and the chairman of the Council of State?

[Answer] In a certain sense this is the role of all 12 Catholics, members of the Council, received last year by the primate. Insofar as we are able, by expressing our opinions we want to help to solve all of the problems facing the State. That may not be much, but nothing should be rejected.

[Question] What you say sounds quite optimistic. Do you also look optimistically on the future of State-Church relations?

[Answer] Frankly, I look at this future more optimistically than the future of economic reform. Everything indicates that we have emerged from the period of basic conflicts between the State and the Church. We are approaching real normalization, the confirmation of which will be the Sejm law being prepared, which will regulate all problems in dispute, and also the Polish-Vatican convention permitting the restoration of diplomatic relations severed in 1945. Therefore, I see no sources for the destabilization of political life in the nature of Church-State relations in the future. But these relations cannot be separated from the overall social situation in the country. Only if the democratization of political life continues can these relations develop properly.

9295

Defense Committee Meetings Reported

26000222b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
3 Feb 88 p 2

[News Item by (W.P.): "Voivodship Defense Committee Deliberations"—PAP report]

[Text] Voivodship defense committee held meetings. In Szczecin and Wloclawek they evaluated the involvement of institutions and public organizations in the patriotic-defense education of youth. The need to enhance activities promoting the historical education of the rising generation was stressed.

In Bydgoszcz, Nowy Sacz, and Przemysl the implementation of tasks of combatting social pathology and strengthening law and order and public security was discussed.

1386

Reform Program in Enterprise Autonomy, Health Sector Criticized

26000135 Czestochowa NIEDZIELA in Polish
20 Dec 87 p 7

[Article by Andrzej Adam Seweryn: "Make-Up"]

[Text] The fruit of several years of work by the Reform Commission is the development of a program for the second stage of economic reform. A description of the proposed changes was presented in the "Program for realization of the second stage of economic reform" which includes a schedule for reform actions through the end of 1991. By the end of this period, the economy is to be reconstructed so that in 1992 it will be functioning smoothly enough to not need any more fundamental changes. This shows how important the second stage of reform is and its results are supposed to affect the functioning of the economy for many coming years. Does a reading of the "Program for realization" give one any hope for a successful reform?

The reform is supposed to create the conditions under which market laws would reign and in which producers, state enterprises, cooperatives, private producers and farmers alike, would function as independent economic entities. In such a situation, practically everything and above all prices, wages, what is produced and how, and investments are decided on the basis of the three S's. The producers would work and plan under conditions set by market conditions. Contact with the state would be made only through the legal and fiscal system.

Unfortunately, the "Program" does not in any way state how enterprises would achieve independence and self-management neither during the second stage of reform nor after that. On the contrary, the word most often used is "control". Of course, an enterprise must be controlled and monitored. Other than the Labor Inspectorate, environmental protection and the credit-giving banks as well as the prosecutor in cases in which the law is violated, no one at all seems to be interested enough in independent economic entities. Meanwhile, the authors of reform see control as the panacea for all economic ills. Therefore, modernization is best achieved through the "creation of a state system of control...and modernization". It is further written that "...costs, prices and profits can be monitored by 10 different control institutions and 15 institutions monitor the quality of goods and services...". Another part of the "Program" mentions the "preparation of organizational assumptions of a state quality control system" which will require the development of investigative facilities and the employment of highly-qualified people.

The problem of control is also associated with that of enterprise self-management. "Realization of the principles of self-management" is supposed to be based on the creation of "various self-management forms of work organization such as brigades, partner groups, efficiency teams, etc." One can call such groups "management teams" but they do not have much in common with self-management. What will these groups "self-manage" aside from the money they earn?

We furthermore learn from the "Program" about the need for "tighter bonds between the goals of the director, the enterprise and the workers represented by the worker's council". In other words, it is assumed that different goals will be set by the enterprise and workers and it is the director that represents the enterprise's goals. How then can a worker feel that he too is responsible for his place of work? It is understandable that completely independent worker self-management would have a natural tendency to "overeat" profits (although, on the other hand, the shareholders of western corporations do not at all designate profits for their own consumption). These tendencies can be eliminated by properly defined legal or financial regulations.

Therefore, once the second stage of economic reform is instituted, enterprises will continue to be in many ways dependent on the government.

The actions of reformers are obviously carried out according to the principle "I would like to but I am afraid to". In other words, I would like for the market laws to come into play but I am afraid to make enterprises independent because someone can say that this is not socialism (it is even hard for reformers to make a decision about the independence of cooperatives: it is true that cooperatives are no longer obligated to join a central cooperative association but at the same time, there has been some talk of "increasing the responsibilities of the Supreme Council of Cooperatives as a controlling institution for the independent cooperatives. Will they still be willing to remain independent?). The economic situation requires bold and far-reaching actions. Half-hearted measures will give us nothing but cause greater conflicts between workers and authority and especially the directors who represent that authority and that obviously does not help the enterprise achieve greater efficiency. We must decide just what we are going to do. Half-measures will not produce any improvement.

The implementation of reform has certain social costs. The government assures us that these costs will be distributed so that they will not fall too heavily on the least-advantaged workers. In the case of health care and welfare, the reformers have not lacked in inventiveness. What is lacking here? There is both partial compensation for medical treatment and a reduction in basic wages and pensions that also allows "additional insurance" (masked by the enigmatic statement of "a stronger connection between the amount of benefits and the amount of payments into the system"). Changes have

been made in ruling a state of disability so that such a ruling would "determine inability to perform certain jobs rather than the inability to work in general" (but what is done if the pay in a job that an invalid can do turns out to be less than the pension he would normally receive? In the end, almost every disabled worker would have to become a night watchman).

This is embellished by flower after flower: proposals to modify the payment of sick pay so that the "pay not become too much of an incentive to take sick leave". Gentlemen! This is 1987, not 1887! Sick leave is taken on doctor's orders and not at the whim of the patient. This idea is not only inhumane but it is also, in spite of all appearances, uneconomical. This would lead straight to tuberculosis and heart disease from untreated flu and medical costs would then skyrocket.

The idea of reimbursing medical treatment and "extra insurance" may even be acceptable. However, let social security payments not exceed 43 percent of the wage funds and the difference be paid as a supplement to wages and pensions. The money deducted by ZUS [Social Security Agency] is allotted for "social security" and there is so much of that money that ZUS has considered investing the surplus just like PZU [State Insurance Agency]. In other countries, the competition between ZUS and PZU would raise the benefits paid out. However, if they must invest money, let it be only in "nonprofit-making support...to activity associated with their charter obligations", all the more so as "raising the quality of services" by the health care system (aside from the possibility of selecting a doctor and monitoring the quality of services) proposes nothing more than investment-free increases in the possibility of choosing inpatient care. That is not very much. Is it really true that we cannot save money in other areas?

Reform plans predict many positive actions (although all of the "enlargements" and "intensifications" are imprecise and can be interpreted in different ways while practice shows that it is generally confining and shallow) but do not offer any promise of resolving basic problems: the creation of a market economy with free economic activity of independent economic entities. The image of the economy will not change in any real way. That is why it seems a bit too much to give the proposed actions the name of reform. They are more like putting make-up on the old structures.

12261

**Bratkowski on World Bank Report, CEMA
Exports, Heavy Industry Lobby**
*26000210 Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish
No 7, 14 Feb 88 pp 4-5*

[Text] The report does not deal in depth with either the nature or the sources of Poland's debt. And it would no doubt be very instructive to investigate what the debtor did with the billions it received from loans and exports

of its coal during the oil crisis. It would be instructive because before the creditors, and before the debtor itself, is the question of how to protect possible new credits from a repeated offensive of prodigality (as far as I know, it would turn out that a large amount of the funds would simply) [—] [Art 2, items 2 and 6, Law on control of publications and performances of 31 July 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99), amended 1983 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)] and another part would serve. . . to rescue failing firms from the creditor country.

To overlook this analysis is like failing to learn a great historical lesson on bad management. Yet the report says politely that countries with different systems have also been touched by a high debt burden. The report even finds a reason for a certain optimism, emphasizing that in proportion to Poland's national income, the debt is not really so grossly high. But in proportion to exports, which bring in convertible currency, it turns out to be much too high and these same forbearing, benign World Bank experts calculate that Poland will be unable to achieve solvency even by the year 1990-1996.

No consolation here. The structure of the debt changes from year to year. The original credits today constitute less than half of it. The imposition of martial law, the report notes, made possible an agreement with creditor countries, which brought with it additions to interest owing on the borrowed capital. It is still being added. The burden of unpaid obligations from the years 1982-1986 falls into the years 1990-1996. It comes to \$23.4 billion plus additional interest. I do not have to explain what this means.

About 50 percent of Poland's debt in convertible currency is in liabilities in dollars. Let us turn this strangely imprecise information ("about") around; apparently the other half is other currency; in other words, with the ever stronger mark, for example, the debt in dollars will grow as it increased without an additional pfennig of credit over the past year. Fortunately, we are dealing mainly with the domain of the mark—with Western Europe, although, as the report notes, 55 percent of Polish exports go to CEMA countries, "with an upward tendency, as Polish authorities anticipate." [—] [Art 2, items 2 and 6 Law on control of publications and performances of 31 July 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99), amended 1983 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

Money Worth Consideration

Commercial banks are convenient to debtors. They are not in a hurry, obviously, with new credits, but instead they permit more than half of the annual payments to be used as temporary semi-annual commercial credit for Poland. It is tougher with governments. In the text I received, the World Bank experts do not offer any means or solutions. I do not know why. It is precisely this that

could be expected of them. I would even say importunately that they are being paid for something. It is not out of the question that they added on some secret supplement in this issue. If so, I apologize. I understand.

The issue is truly delicate. The creditor countries have a right to two-thirds of Poland's debt; Poland must probably prove to them—as one should presume—its ability to put its economy on its feet, prove this, basing it on lasting, unfeigned social peace, on stability and growth. But we know nothing of the particulars. The mission of the World Bank does not refer to any kind of consultation or opinions from the governments of creditor countries.

Something is known of them in Warsaw thanks, for example, to the discussion of Minister Samojlik with James Baker. Baker was not and is not a partner who drains money or maneuvers. He has his own opinion on necessary guarantees. And I would note that it was James Baker who came out not so long ago with a truly revolutionary plan in the matter of Third World debt—proposing retroactive reduction of interest. So Baker's alternative is also a chance for Poland. In my opinion, the only one.

That is why I still regret that the World Bank did not bring to the issue of Polish debt that "assistance group" during whose deliberations it would be agreed, openly or discreetly, who demands what and for what, who can count on what. I think it would be worthwhile, since we are dealing with billions. Egypt alone is more in debt to the Paris Club.

The Burden of a Tough Lobby

The review of Poland's investment goals was a shock to the Bank's experts. No wonder. It was not even necessary to drive across Poland; it was enough to read officially furnished material. Of the 3.3 to 3.6 trillion zloty forecast for the "collectivized" sector, for this five year period, 464 billion (s 51) was to go for nuclear energy, 227 billion (s 47) for new anthracite and bituminous coal mines, 300 billion (s 51) for modernizing working mines and 115 billion (s 47) for heavy industry. At the cost of an even 500 billion zloty for another nuclear power plant. At the cost of coal from the newly built Stefanow mine, naturally in the luckless Lublin basin, at \$350 per ton, which at the time of the report meant 68,950 zloty per ton (\$1 = 197 zloty). With the illusory nature of all these calculations, which one must take at word of honor, since they never were straightforward, even in intent, but rather reckoned on the chance of "getting caught in the plan," on manipulation of "those above."

I would bet that the true share of the energy and heavy industry lobby is already much greater in the plan, and in practice will prove to be greater than that which is planned (if the new president of the Planning Commission does not pare it out). It was never otherwise. Even the independence of the president of the Polish National

Bank, currently outside the government, will not help. They have methods for him too, under present circumstances as well. They, the heavy industry, heavy thinking lobby on the Planning Commission, the economic "super government" of Poland, managed, on the day before the naming of the commission's new president, to designate the entire composition of the executive board, the entire "super government." They do not lose their heads!

Indeed, the World Bank experts would gladly see savings in energy. Nevertheless, it would be fruitless to look in their report for suggestions on the subject of, for instance, utilization of natural gas, which is so much cheaper investment-wise, or on the subject of local sources of energy for the villages. And there is nothing from them on the plan to build an international gas pipeline for 250 billion zloty, instead of which a small fraction of that sum would be enough to manage deposits of our own gas, as was discussed in PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Henryk Jablonowski's article, which I have already quoted.

The experts are offended by the 33 billion for further electrification of railroads in light of strikingly small investments in modernizing communications in the railway system. From which it is not obvious where the rest of the more than 400 billion to be invested in the system will go. I understand that most will go to modernizing marshalling stations—to maintain the same direction as always—we are to continue to haul more than 200 million tons of bulk freight by train instead of by water. Yet our additional "coal trunks" were an economic absurdity—a person unfamiliar with transportation understands that bulk freight must be hauled not fast but cheaply.

If in the composition of Timothy King's mission there was at least one person conversant with the economics of transportation, he might persuade his colleagues what pays. A return to the order that once was its pride would certainly come in handy to the Polish rail system. Railroad workers in the roles of managers would defend against burdens beyond the limits of thrifty management and technical durability. They would concentrate investments on supplying containers and reloading equipment. And they would have nothing against water routes because the trains here will always have enough goods to haul faster.

I am afraid that these enigmatic railroad investments today are nothing but the railroad's supplement to investments in heavy thinking industry. I suspect that they have little to do with the real interests of transportation in Poland.

That is why I am less moved than the World Bank experts by the 45 billion for the Warsaw subway. I am at most upset by the chaos in organizing the execution, digging up half the city several years before the work at a given section—which the World Bank experts did not see.

How To Solve the Problems of Paraguay

The review of Poland's export capabilities in their view is marked by a similar random accuracy, whatever was at hand they evaluated with an almost instinctive objectivity. Fortunately, the "direct competition" between constantly increasing trade in non-convertible currency and trade that brings in foreign currency did not escape their attention.

[—] [Art 2, items 2 and 6 Law on control of publications and performances of 31 July 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99), amended 1983 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

The experts overlooked the volume of 55 percent of Polish exports. And probably not from fear if the Polish censor is not afraid to release articles like Jablonowski's. Indeed, there was no danger to the World Bank experts that some storm troopers from the Planning Commission or Belweder would abduct them. Much more dangerous "trouble makers" are being emitted today in Poland, if on those like the undersigned. So I think it was more a question of laziness.

Unless it was limited to some secret addendum in this case too. But what for? Without regulating trade within CEMA—which also postulates leading specialists from the country of our eastern neighbor—rational economics will be impossible. And it is hard to overlook a problem of that scale here.

One thing could explain Timothy King's mission: epidemic, schoolday difficulties with geography. The mission did not notice the Baltic; perhaps it really confused us with Paraguay or Nepal. And that is a rather big mistake. [—] [Art 2, items 2 and 6 Law on control of publications and performances of 31 July 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99), amended 1983 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

12776

ZSMP Executive Committee Concerned About Falling Educational Goals

26000214h Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Nearly half of the young people in our country end their education at the basic trade school stage. Barely 20 percent of young people go on to general secondary schools. This is illustrated to a certain extent in the decline of educational aspirations of the young generation of Poles. It is disposed mainly toward securing a trade, ensuring well paying work. And it is hard to wonder at this, since an engineer first receives a salary like his trade school counterpart only after five years of work. Problems associated with these phenomena were discussed on 21 December during the plenum of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] Executive Committee.

Present at the discussion were Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary Tadeusz Porebski, chairman of the Main Council on Science and Higher Education Klemens Bialecki and representatives of the Ministry of National Education.

The question of youth's low educational aspirations takes on particular sharpness when the skills, qualifications and knowledge of young people will determine the success of social and economic reform. The reasons for the decline in educational goals lie not only in material circumstances. The decline in aspirations can also be caused by problems with hiring graduates according to their education, barriers to career advancement for people who have attained specific knowledge during many years of study, antiquated school curriculums that are often overloaded, overlooking the needs and interests of pupils and inadequate essential preparation of teachers to carry out their profession.

So the situation is well known. What can be done so that the prestige of education in society and among youth would be higher than it is now? Many proposals were raised in the discussion. They dealt with changing school curriculums so they would not be limited to providing facts but would teach thinking and drawing conclusions; introducing modern educational and computer technologies; tying salaries to qualifications and knowledge and eliminating barriers to advancement for employees with an education and initiating an effective system of hiring school and college graduates according to the education they have achieved. The ZSMP is directing these ideas "outside" to political authorities and the Ministry of National Education.

And what does the union do as a multilateral organization of Polish youth? Proposals for action contained in the plenum's resolution aim toward developing extracurricular education, expanding the ZSMP's program of worker and people's universities, creating "21st Century avant garde" clubs, which relate to promotion of the most capable graduates of various kinds of schools, trade and course olympics and helping pupils choose a career.

12776

Military Reviews Youth Education in Light of Changing Social Conditions

26000251a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "Educating Young Troops in Present-Day Conditions"]

[Text] On 26 February in Warsaw was held a session of the Council for Social Sciences at the Ministry of National Defense, chaired by Chief of the the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army Division General Tadeusz Szacilo. The topic discussed was "Social Sciences and Problems of Educating Youth in Present-Day Conditions."

"The Polish Army," declared Brigade General Professor Mieczyslaw Michalik in his inaugural address, "has always been the subject of national pride and concern. It reflected the tendencies and correctness of the changes occurring in the society, and often also it acted as their precursor. Similarly, nowadays, the economic reform, the line toward democracy, the openness of political life, the civilizational progress, and the changes on the international scene markedly influence the visage of our armed forces."

Opinion surveys confirm the high standing of the army in the eyes of the society. But there also is no dearth of comments suggesting the need to improve military service and adapt its organization, training programs, educational practice, internal order, service conditions, and interpersonal relations to the realities of the present. The critical comments on the army come from a variety of sources. They stem from concern for national defense, from persistent stereotypes, but also from negation of the socialist system. Utilizing the rich accomplishments of the social sciences could be of considerable assistance to conducting institutional studies and determining which domains of the army's life actually need to be changed.

Many of the comments offered during the discussion dealt with the attitude of the rising generation toward military service. The discussants considered the extent to which sporadic instances of shirking that duty ensue from the privatization of attitudes, from viewing personal gain more important than collective interest, and to what extent they ensue from the worldwide and domestic situation, the political struggle, or the conditions in which military service is performed.

It was said that from childhood on some young people have been imbued in the parental home with the attitude of a "taker" and taught how to promote their personal interests without burdening themselves too much with obligations, especially with social, national obligations. The weakening of values, especially as regards interpersonal relations, underlies many negative phenomena. Other discussants criticized these comments, opposing to them the difficult conditions of existence of certain youth groups, the lack of prospects for the future, etc.

Much attention in the discussion was devoted to attacks on the army by hostile domestic and foreign political centers. This is an occurrence without precedent in the history of the Polish military, and not only in the postwar period at that.

The pseudopacifist movement "Freedom and Peace" was sharply criticized. But let us bear in mind, it was said, that in the world there also exists an honest and genuine pacifist movement the echo of whose activities reaches Poland and our youth. One has to know how to distinguish between these two movements. Some discussants also pointed to the need for a deeper and objective

study of the informal groupings of Polish youth, including also those pseudopacifist groupings, from the standpoint of their modes of reasoning.

The army, it was emphasized, is an institution not affected by political and social divisions, unlike, e.g., the schools, and that is why, in the course of 2 years [of military service of recruits], which is a very short period, it accomplishes such significant and lasting educational results.

The concluding address was delivered by Gen Tadeusz Szacilo, who, taking a position on the varied topics of the discussion and on the differing comments, announced that the Ministry of National Defense is carrying out systematic studies of various aspects of military service. Among other things, the manual of military regulations is now being revised. The revisions will affirm the principles respected in the army, i.e., a prosocialist orientation, patriotic and internationalist education, and the requirement of a tight military discipline, while at the same time acknowledging the irreversibility of the line toward democratization and humanization of military life. The Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army also mentioned the differentiated approach to recruits in poor physical condition. Extensive work is under way on legislation to broaden the forms of substitute military service. Also under way are revisions of other important laws governing certain principles for the performance of military service. The proposals offered during the present discussion will be submitted to the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense.

The following professors took the floor during the discussion: Tadeusz M. Jaroszewski, Jan Szczepanski, Czeslaw Staciwa, Jerzy J. Wiatr, Jan Bogusz, Wlodzimierz Szewczuk, Wladyslaw Kwasniewicz, Bronislaw Ratus, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Miroslaw Nowaczyk, Bazyli Bialokozowicz, and Tadeusz Lewowicki. Military educators-practitioners also took part in the discussion.

1386

Katowice TU Branch Notes Poor Overall Activity, Results

*26000222d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
6-7 Feb 88 p 2*

[Article by Stanislaw Zielinski: "A Better Program and More Effective Action Are Needed" subtitled "The Reports-Elections Campaign at the Voivodship Trade-Union Alliance (WPZZ) Is Over"]

[Text] The Katowice conference held on 5 Feb culminated the reports-elections campaign within local elements of the trade-union movement at the voivodship level. Those taking part in it included Politburo Member and OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance] Chairman

Alfred Miodowicz and Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee Manfred Gorywoda.

The tone of the deliberations was critical, especially whenever the effects of the activity of the Katowice WPZZ in the last 2 years were mentioned. One of the first discussants, Krystyna Cencek of the Sosnowiec FAKOP Factory, drew attention to the fact that the report presented to the delegates devoted more attention to what was still to be done than to what was already accomplished.

"It is true," argued Voivodship PZPR Committee Secretary and Vice Chairman of the Voivodship People's Council Czeslaw Brozek, "that the commitment of the local trade-union elements in the region has so far not been too great. The voivodship authorities believe in the possibility of expanding their partnership and cooperation with the trade-union movement."

"All the shortcomings in the work of the WPZZ," said Herbert Cuda, MPZZ [Municipal Trade-Union Alliance] activist of Tarnowskie Gory, "stem primarily from a faulty structure. No organization can accomplish anything if it is to rely solely on the activism of its presidium itself. There is a need for genuine rather than circumstantial and declarative support from the plant organizations, which after all represent the grassroots of the trade-union movement."

Unionists do not desire to act in a make-believe manner, it was repeatedly stressed. That is precisely why most of the speakers expressed their great concern about these matters, which are decisive to the living and working conditions of the population of Silesia and the Dabrowa Basin. The WPZZ must become their spokesman vis a vis the region's authorities.

The WPZZ should focus the interest of all the trade unions in the region on the problem of health protection and especially preventive health care, which still leaves much to be desired. Jozef Senkala of the Gliwice MPZZ proposed the establishment of a modern medical diagnostic center. Only this can cope with the tasks in the domain of preventive health care. The funds for this purpose could surely be found in every enterprise and workplace.

Considerable emotion was stirred by the region's ecological situation. Stefan Nawara of the Chorzow MZZP demonstrated the perils harbored by the polluted environment of his city.

Other topics drawing the most attention concerned health care for Silesian children, faster housing construction, a just policy of housing allocations, trade-union patronage of workers' culture, etc.

All the related recommendations were reflected in the adopted resolution outlining an explicit and extremely specific program of action of the WPZZ for the next few years.

The chairman of the Katowice WZPP was elected by secret ballot, out of two candidates. He is the incumbent chairman, Jozef Blaszczyk, a trade-union activist at the Zabrze-Bielszowice KWK.

Toward the end of the conference Alfred Miodowicz told the TRYBUNA LUDU reporter, "The activities of the Katowice WZPP have been selfless and committed to solving many urgent problems. Their results, however, as it turned out, proved to be below the expectations of the local community of working people.

"The new planks in the program are, I believe, in the right direction, and it only remains for me to wish the newly elected WPZZ members good health and stamina for a resolute struggle against the bureaucratic resistance which will be the greatest barrier to implementing the adopted tasks.

"But," A. Miodowicz added, "It is in the interest of all the trade unions active in the discrete industry subsectors to also strengthen local trade-union structures. Their importance will grow along with changes in the system of democracy. Hence, trade unions must to a greater degree become coproprietors rather than merely intercessors."

1386

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Fighter-Bomber Flight Training Mission Detailed *23000027 East Berlin FLIEGER REVUE in German* *No 10, Oct 87 pp 292-293*

[Text] Up to 17,000 soldiers, including 220 tanks, about 100 artillery systems and 24 transport helicopters participated in a troop exercise of the National People's Army in April of this year. The news service ADN reported on this training highpoint, which was observed by representatives of the KSZE member countries: "The 'Southerners' vigorously defended their interim defense sectors with combat firing onto simulated targets. Motorized infantry, artillerymen and tank soldiers conducted a counterattack and brought the attacker to a stop. The ground force units were supported by helicopters and fighter-bombers. These included the wing of Major Hartmut Kopetz,...which distinguished itself by missions at low and extremely low altitude."

Captain Karl-Heinz Voigt looked up the Kopetz wing for FLIEGER REVUE and learned about the events of the fifth day of the exercise and about the performances of the fighter-bomber pilots.

At the pre-takeoff line of the troop unit. Four MiG-23's, just returned from a combat mission, are rolling up and are directed by mechanics to their parking areas. Even as they climb down, the pilots—including Major Kopetz and 1st Lt Schirmer—are describing how they hit their assigned targets with bombs on the first run. But there was not a lot of time available for a thorough evaluation, because a new mission was assigned. Once again, they have to support the "Southerners," with whom they are cooperating, as stated in military parlance. But this time, with unguided rockets...

Another Takeoff Is Prepared

While the mechanics are still refueling the fighter-bombers, the aircraft armaments unit is moving the air-ground rockets up to the rocket pods. "Even though this is already the fifth day of the exercise—they're still fast, our comrades!" stated Unit Commander 1st Lt Wolf, satisfied. His recognition is not unfounded, because one can see the efforts of the weapons technicians over the last few hours. Countless times they had to unpack bombs, suspend them, install fuses. This tires the arms and hands as well.

Once the aircraft technicians finish their takeoff inspection of the aircraft, the replacement of weapons carriers can begin. But will the safety regulations be followed? Again, 1st Lt Wolf confirms. "Switch positions—automatic ejectors at zero position—cockpit roof closed—conductor placed around—external voltage source off—red flags 5 meters in front and behind the aircraft!" Only now do the weapons technicians refit the beam carriers, mount four rocket pods to each MiG-23 and load them up. Quickly, but without hurrying, they slide the rockets

into the aluminum-gray pods, establish electric contact using the plugs, until the four MiG's are equipped with rockets. Finally, the unit commander checks whether perhaps a cable has been damaged or even severed by projectile containers. Everything is in order; they even kept within the specified time, he thinks to himself. Everyone performed his duties.

But Why Choose 1st Lt Schirmer?

Major Kopetz, 1st Lt Schirmer and the other two pilots take back their MiG's from the technicians. 1st Lt Schirmer is participating for the first time in an exercise of this size. Two years ago, he was a fighter pilot, and on his way to becoming a fighter-bomber pilot, he had to overcome several hurdles. Retraining on the MiG-23 was only one of them; another, far more difficult one, was a fundamental rethinking of tactics. In order to achieve a long range and on patrol flights, he must fly with extended wings and at the slowest possible speed, and then again at a high, but fuel saving cruising speed with wings pivoted back, or in certain maneuvers in combat, with wings retracted to 45 degrees. Likewise, he had to master high speed flight at very low level to fly under enemy radar, and interdiction missions at great altitude with wings pivoted back. And in addition, he has to operate in a squadron and wing, instead of in pairs as before. Because the firepower of a fighter-bomber alone is hardly more than the proverbial drop in the bucket. Now 1st Lt Schirmer with his small amount of experience is to participate in this military "exam." What motivated Major Kopetz to select him?

"Naturally I could have chosen an older, more experienced aircraft pilot who had already mastered such maneuvers. Especially since this exercise is about obtaining the best title in the XI Party Congress Soldier's Deeds' Competition. But there are a few things which can be said in 1st Lt Schirmer's favor. He is already a top pilot, bears the responsibility for someone of that age and wants to attain the highest qualification of a military pilot, Performance Class I. Certainly one can give him numerous suggestions, but proper experience—isn't that obtained in practice?"

When the mission planning was announced in the squadron, 1st Lt Schirmer took it upon himself to justify the confidence placed in him at a Party Group Council of pilots, by preparing thoroughly and obtaining good results.

Takeoff and Approach

"Good luck!" The pilots shake hands and climb into the cockpit. The engines are cranked up and one MiG after the other rolls off from the pre-takeoff line. A brief stop at the technical inspection post. Once the pilots obtain permission for takeoff, they push the throttles forward and tongues of fire meters long shoot out from the jet engines. A few moments later, the squadron disappears from the sight of the technicians and mechanics.

Major Kopetz leads the small detachment forward. He bears responsibility for precise arrival in the target area, for target search which will surprise the "Northerners." The flight schedule has to be selected so that his subordinates can operate successfully. And because of the needed camouflage, he will have to severely restrict the usual radio traffic.

The training area moves closer. 1st Lt Schirmer is wide awake; he follows all maneuvers precisely. His tension mounts. The flight schedule contributes to it—the squadron is flying at extremely low altitude... They have to overfly their own units, the "Southerners," right to the second. Because from the brief discussion before takeoff, the pilots know that the "Southerners" are, at this moment, conducting an artillery strike against the attacks of the "Northerners." If the fighter-bombers arrive too soon over the battlefield, then they would cross through the projectile paths of their own artillery.

On the Attack

"Wings to 45 degrees!" commands Major Kopetz. The pivot wings on all four aircraft move to the specified position. "Weapons system on!" Quickly, 1st Lt Schirmer operates the two switches. Where will the targets appear? Observation is impeded, because visibility has deteriorated. Clouds of smoke from the preceding artillery fire partially conceal the battlefield. Now the commander, Major Kopetz, pulls his plane into a climb!

The others follow. Then the dive—only 6 to 10 seconds are available to seek out and destroy the targets. 1st Lt Schirmer concentrates on the ground; he even thinks he sees the muzzle fire of infantry weapons. But there, at the edge of the forest, the rectangular, dark-green spots, aren't those "tanks"? Yes, that must be them, the simulated motorized rifle emplacement of the "Northerners"! Major Kopetz withholds permission to fire: "Stay on course! Target recognized! Will you allow an attack?"—"Attack allowed!" What happens next demonstrates cohesiveness and high-level military mastery. The air-ground rockets shoot off, straight on target, and detonate in the "enemy" emplacement. The MiG's pull out of the dive, complete maneuvers to escape the "Northern" air defense. Little by little, the tensions dissipate on the return flight.

One Step Closer to the Top Performance Rating

The aircraft land safely and roll up to the pre-takeoff line. While still at considerable distance, 1st Lt Schirmer holds up his thumbs to the aircraft technician. "Aircraft mission-ready, combat mission completed!" is what that means. And the otherwise so reticent 1st lieutenant talks and talks. He is justifiably proud, because with this mission, he is one step closer to Performance Rating I. His success also helped Major Kopetz' squadron to obtain the title "Best Unit" in the first training semester.

9280/6091

POLAND

'Budopol' Bankruptcy Recalled, Legal Issues Unresolved

26000171a Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
20 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Urszula Szyperska: "After the Failure of 'Budopol,' Reform Mechanisms Can Be Troublesome—Who Pays the Debts?"]

[Text] Older readers may perhaps remember prewar companies going bankrupt. Sometimes, the bankruptcy ended with the company owner's suicide or escape to some remote foreign country like North America. After all, that is where we get the word "plajta" for bankruptcy, "plajta" coming from the Hebrew word for escape. What are the results of a bankruptcy in Poland in the second half of the 1980's? The June 1983 law has established a legal framework for bankruptcy of state enterprises but experience in using the system is so far very slight.

That is why it is worth looking at the results of the bankruptcy of Warsaw "Budopol", one of the first construction firms to fail after this law was introduced. It is also the first such firm for whom the syndic of its estate is another state enterprise, namely, the Warsaw "Dzwigar" enterprise.

"Budopol" ceased to exist on the basis of a 16 September 1987 court ruling and in October, its name was struck from the official list of enterprises. The history of this firm's bankruptcy is well known and I will therefore only briefly recount it.

A Firm in the Bushes

Director Elzbieta Janiszewska of the Ministry of Regional Government and Construction, which as Budopol's founding organ last year recommended that the court rule that firm bankrupt, feels that the firm was crippled from the very start. It had no proper infrastructure, worker hostels and was, as its employees say, a firm stuck in the bushes. As early as 1982, barely a few months after economic reform was introduced, Budopol was one of the first candidates for bankruptcy.

At that time, I spoke with Budopol Director Jozef Modzelewski (for only a short while because the firm often changed directors). He said that the general contractor for the Warsaw Oncological Center and various construction jobs for the Warsaw Medical Academy and other hospitals and higher schools simply cannot be allowed to collapse. On the other hand, however, can we still continue to prop up a firm that has to install entire hectares of tile for hospitals with only 6 tileworkers but at the same time 5 directors?

Budopol managed to survive only another couple of years on revitalization programs which included credits received thanks to a ruling by the construction minister and since March 1986, the commissary management. In January of last year, the bank finally refused any further credit and Budopol's safety umbrella was closed. The construction ministry then decided to recommend an announcement of the firm's bankruptcy. During the first court hearing on 8 June 1987, Budopol's debts were calculated to be 408 million zlotys to the bank, 242 million zlotys to the state budget and about 200 million zlotys to its material suppliers and other contractors.

The firm owed a total of 850 million. Its assets amounted to only 384 million and it, therefore, suffered a deficit of almost half a billion zlotys.

During this first hearing, the court also ordered the construction ministry to within a few months name candidates for the bankruptcy estate syndic. However, the search actually took longer and there were recommended three candidates including two firms. The court's choice fell on the Warsaw "Dzwigar" Construction Firm.

Why Dzwigar?

Regulations require that a syndic (if it is a firm rather than an individual) have had good economic results. Dzwigar fulfilled this condition as it is one of Poland's economically strong enterprises with a good record. The firm's director, Jerzy Uzarowski, also took care to meet the second condition: he looked over the regulations on business bankruptcy. In several cases, the 1983 law referred back to the 1934 bankruptcy law and the civil procedure code. The 1983 law gave him some grounds for negotiation. Director Uzarowski now sees himself as an expert in this area of law but is not well known in practice.

The court's reasons were very clear. However, I was much more interested in finding out why Dzwigar took the role of syndic. Director Uzarowski says that there was one reason and that was that he wanted to hire the employees of the bankrupt company and especially those directly involved in construction jobs.

In the middle of October of last year when the syndic began to fulfill this function, Budopol had 420 employees. The threat of bankruptcy has seriously cut that number by now. In 1982 when the first talk about bankruptcy began, Budopol had 950 employees. In accordance with regulations, the syndic dropped work contracts. An exception was made for just 30 persons needed to conduct the bankruptcy proceedings and they were mostly bookkeepers, stock clerks and supervisors. Later, a proposal was made to have Budopol's workers sign contracts with Dzwigar but so far, only 9 persons have done so.

Why did that not work? As early as the first meeting with the employees of the liquidated enterprise, Dzwigar's directors were convinced that the plan would not work. The syndic became increasingly dissatisfied with the court ruling. Budopol never really believed it was bankrupt, even once the court proceedings were under way. The worker's council still recommended that the firm be converted to a business partnership or corporation in which the employees would hold stock. Maybe they suspected that no one would want to be the syndic. The directors of Dzwigar were clearly told that this contributed to Budopol's failure.

The syndic also never had a chance because a large number of construction firms tried to hire Budopol's workers. Polonia firms offered the skilled workers more than 100,000 zlotys monthly while construction supervisors were to get as much as 150,000. They could look at these offers as a sign that bankruptcy is an opportunity to find better work.

Property Under the Hammer

Things were not quite so merry for the syndic. No sooner had Dzwigar taken on the function than Budopol's creditors called in their debts all at once. They believed that the syndic would take over Budopol's assets and pay its debts but Dzwigar was only the executor of the court's ruling and was acting in the name of the court. First the press announced (on 22 October) Budopol's bankruptcy and that the firm's creditors should make their claims within three months. Once this period elapsed, the court would call a meeting of creditors to appoint a council. Only then would the firm be put up for sale and if no buyer could be found, the property would be sold. It will, therefore, take another few months for the creditors to collect their money.

Will they ever see it? The bank credit was paid by the construction ministry which had guaranteed Budopol's loans. That sounds good but the ministry's funds come from the state budget and, therefore, it was the Republic that paid.

Budopol's assessed taxes of 280 million zlotys for an above-normal payroll were also lost. The balance left the syndic at the end of last year shows that the amount outstanding was 248.3 million and about 100 million less than the estimated value of Budopol's production assets. If the sale of property is successful, a certain sum should be left for the founding organ.

Creditors can, therefore, rest assured that the money returned to them will have another value than what they would have received a few months ago. However, the syndic is uneasy. The drawn-out bankruptcy procedure has caused it more worry and brought up questions that it cannot answer.

Off the Beaten Path

It is hard to imagine the machinery and equipment of a bankrupt firm lying idle for months while the court rules on its sale. This caused no problem for the first three months because in accordance with regulations, this equipment was used to do different jobs for former Budopol partners. But what now? The syndic [illegible word] asked the court to agree to the sale of at least part of the property but has not received an answer. Now it must decide whether to shut down the machinery with full awareness of the losses involved or to break regulations and continue to use it.

The syndic must also make various expenditures without waiting for the bankruptcy estate to be sold. For example, it must pay to maintain a house Budopol built for its employees and which was opened for use in April of last year. The house is a large one of 80 apartments and it cost 150 million zlotys to build (and Budopol, facing bankruptcy as it was anyway, did not cut any corners to save money). The syndic proposed turning this building over to the city but the expensive present has not been accepted. The Warsaw city government already has enough problems of its own. However, I think that it will still get another one because who else will pay to keep up the building of a firm that no longer exists?

Director Uzarowski said that if he had known a few months ago what it was like to be a syndic, he would not have allowed himself to become involved. Dzwigar has had almost no benefits from the arrangement: just 9 employees recruited, 60 "borrowed" for three months and a few purchased construction materials. The director and assistant directors themselves have only gained some extra income and they set that figure for themselves because the regulations do not state how much a syndic is to be paid. It is also unknown just who should be paid—the firm since it is the syndic, or the persons who do the work of the syndic.

Firm bankruptcy is an area with few beaten paths and one often hears the words "for the first time" used in bankruptcy practice. That is why there are no answers to the many questions that bankruptcy poses. This particular example also shows that bankruptcy proceedings last two long and freeze the bankrupt company's assets for many months. It might be a good idea to cut the time for such proceedings to allow the property to be used as long as it goes unsold.

Bankruptcy was once a dramatic event. For whom is it now a drama? Not for the employees who are snatched up like fresh rolls by other firms. Not for the directors who have been changed so often that it is no longer possible to pin blame on anyone in particular. They get along well enough now and brag about having gotten out of Budopol in time. It is no drama for the founding organ which no longer has to stand in line for exemptions and subsidies for the faltering firm.

However, at the same time, this bankruptcy has for three months stopped the construction of some large buildings and hurt their investors. Director Uzarowski estimates that if we add up everything including the "freezing" of construction jobs, Budopol's unpaid credits and unpaid taxes, the public cost of this bankruptcy amounts to three billion zlotys. We must, therefore, answer the question of for whom this event is a dramatic one.

This does not, however, mean that we need to prop up sick and weak enterprises. It has been Budopol's long death agony that has made its bankruptcy so costly. If the firm had fallen through just a few years ago, the costs would have been incomparably lower and the investments for which Budopol was the general contractor would have been farther along. Today, these high costs are above all the result of indolence in resolving the bankruptcy.

12261

Economists Blast Monopoly Inefficiencies, Stagnation

*26000171b Poznan WPROST in Polish
No 4, 24 Jan 88 pp 10-12*

[Interview with Professor Jozef Kaleta and Professor Waclaw Wilczynski by Piotr Grochmalski: "Watch Out, Monopolies!"]

[Text] "Socialist concerns" (in the power industry and mining) or "limited companies" (in electronics, textiles and pharmaceuticals) have sprung up like mushrooms after a rain and all of them have appeared in the economic sectors "orphaned" by the recent liquidation of ministerial patrons. In the press, supporters of concentration emphasize the "need to create for investment purposes capital joint ventures with elements of joint management". Their opponents call that the emergence of "classic branch-monopolistic coordinating and distributing structures" while self-management activists speak about how this would "put the principles of self-management on the back burner".

Just as the 1 January 1988 law on prevention of monopolistic actions in the national economy was about to come into effect, we asked two well-known economists, Professor Waclaw Wilczynski and Professor Jozef Kaleta, for their opinions on the subject.

Piotr Grochmalski speaks with Professor Jozef Kaleta.

[Question] Like mushrooms after a rain and just as the antimonopoly law has been introduced, gigantic monopolies are springing up. What do you think of that?

[Answer] I oppose all monopolies in our economy because no progress is possible without competition. I do not share the widespread opinion that monopolies and large industrial corporations have greater opportunities for growth or for introducing technical progress and that

they can achieve more dynamic export trade than small firms. After all, the very people who claim these things reduce their ideas to an absurdity when they claim that the larger an enterprise, the more socialist it is. These people have somehow forgotten that it was the monopolization and concentration of the economy in socialist states that has been one of the chief causes of economic regression. Meanwhile, the dynamic growth of small enterprises and economic liberalism in highly-developed countries have become a source of revitalization and progress.

[Question] That is a little general...

[Answer] Do you want details? In the USA, employment in large industrial corporations has dropped by more than three million over the last 5 years but has grown by 10 million in the small companies. Within Europe, Spain and Italy have achieved the highest economic progress in recent years thanks to the especially dynamic growth of small business. At the present time, Italy is growing by about 350,000 small companies each year while another 100,000 are being liquidated. In Spain, the same respective figures are 250,000 and 150,000.

[Question] However, from an economic view, the small companies do not play any substantial role.

[Answer] I beg your pardon! In the German Federal Republic, for example, more than half of export products are made by small firms. Aside from that, more than 70 percent of the recently introduced inventions in highly-developed countries are found in small businesses. We also cannot forget that in the most technically advanced states of the West, there are large industrial corporations in some branches of the economy but that these do not enjoy a monopolistic position. Furthermore, these corporations cooperate with small firms. The world's largest corporation, General Motors, works with 33,000 such enterprises. Siemens has 10,000 partners and Toyota works with 20,000. The small firms create more than 50 percent of the production value of these large corporations.

[Question] However, does not the future seem to belong to the big firms?

[Answer] I seriously doubt that. Small companies adapt to economic crises better and react more flexibly to changing market conditions. As a rule, they also have fewer administrative employees and that makes them more efficient.

[Question] But can you really compare our giants with western concerns?

[Answer] Yes, I can. In Poland, capital is concentrated by administrative measures rather than by any economic rules. As a result, we have in Poland a concentration and economic monopolization seen nowhere else in the world. This also seems to be one of the reasons that our

economic crisis is the severest one in the modern world. That is why it is good that we already have an antimonopoly law, want to demonopolize our economy and create better conditions for small businesses in all sectors. Officially, they say that all sectors will operate under conditions of equal opportunity and that there will be free market competition.

[Question] However, has not practice shown something else altogether?

[Answer] Unfortunately, here at the start of the second stage of economic reform, we are already seeing tendencies for more monopolization. This has led to the monopolies of "Polish Coal", "Polish Power Industry" and "Elpol". The central and voivodship cooperative associations that are actually monopolies also intend to become enterprises with numerous plants so all we have is a change in name. This is an alarming sign, all the more so as, monopolistic tendencies very much run against economic reform. Any increase in such tendencies would further undermine the little public faith there is in the "reformers".

Piotr Grochmalski Speaks with Professor Wacław Wilczyński

[Question] The next great monopolies are forming under the banner of reform!

[Answer] There is one basic cause of all initiatives to form a monopoly and that is reluctance to give in to the economic rigors of the new system which is supposed to be followed by everyone. The calculation is a simple one: the great pseudo-corporations are counting on pressuring the government enough to gain a position of economic privilege. Aside from that, I see still one other cause and that is a completely irrational reluctance toward all innovations and restructuring. This is what I would call production conservatism.

[Question] However, an attempt is being made on behalf of society to work things out so that big monopolies become one way to quickly modernize the key branches of our economy.

[Answer] I do not believe that monopolies can bring about technological progress faster than market competition between independent firms. Let me tell you who stands at the head of these corporations—the former heads of the associations. I do not think I have to explain just what that means.

[Question] However, do the people beating their chests say that the corporations in no way limit the independence of their member companies?

[Answer] If that were so, why would the companies join them?

[Question] It is an open secret that there is an entire arsenal of means to make firms join these pseudo-corporations and that it goes all the way from "gentle" persuasion to economic blackmail.

[Answer] All I know from my conversations with directors is that they decided to join these corporations only after they had long thought about it. They felt that their decisions were justified by fear of losing foreign capital and supplies. Let us be frank: if we now had to deal with norms and a healthy economic system in which it was not one's connections but economic success that counted, most of these pseudo-corporations would not exist at all. I want to make myself perfectly clear: I have no reservations about real corporations formed to make profits but am actually quite enthusiastic about them. There is no doubt that they are really necessary because many specific enterprises, especially on the scale of city and region, can only be realized if resources are pooled.

POLAND

Assistance Committee Views Financial, Organizational Issues

*26000121b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9 Dec 87 p 2*

[Unattributed article: "Help to the Most Needy"]

[Text] The 6th Plenum of the Polish Social Assistance Committee [PKPS], Poland's largest charity organization, discussed what must be done to more fully realize its charter obligation of helping the most needy.

The committee received information about far-reaching changes broadening civil rights and the protection of civil rights in our country.

The committee's most important upcoming task is to increase the number of people involved in the social assistance movement, to develop new forms of profitable economic activity and to make voivodship PKPS organizations independent enough to cooperate with citizen self-government groups to carry out the most important public initiatives.

12261

Nursing Shortage Calls for Local Solutions

*26000121a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
9 Dec 87 p 2*

[Article by (jota): "From the Work of Sejm Commissions—Nurses—A Shortage of Personnel?"]

[Text] (Own information) Six months ago, the Sejm Commission on Public Health and Physical Education Policy evaluated the training and working conditions of physicians and pharmacists.

Deputies have by now become familiar with the situation with middle-level personnel. Problems in the vocational training and work of nurses and midwives were discussed on 8 December. The situation is fairly complicated and opinions are divided as to how the needs of Polish medicine are to be met.

According to a report read by Vice-Minister of Health and Social Welfare Leszek Krysta, we have a shortage of nurses and midwives. Poland ranks lowest of all of the European countries in the number of middle-level medical personnel. According to ministry data, there are now some 186,486 nurses and 29,773 midwives. This means that there are 49.5 nurses and 5.5 midwives for every 10,000 inhabitants.

Every year, secondary medical schools graduate about 12,000-13,000 nurses and midwives and it has been estimated that 30 percent of them are unemployed in

their profession which is becoming less and less attractive. The work ethic among nurses has practically disappeared. Wages are very low and the work is uncommonly demanding. Girls are, therefore, changing their professions. For understandable reasons, some of them have decided to have children and, therefore, leave their jobs for a few years.

The ministry feels that in order to alleviate the shortage of nurses, the voivodship people's councils must become involved in solving the local problems of medical training and in the social facilities for pupils and especially orphans. This can only be accomplished through an increase in the number of trained personnel. It is also very important to have consistent wage principles to help stabilize the number of nurses and provide proper housing conditions. According to statements made by the deputies on the commission, an especially hard situation is faced by girls living in nurse's hostels because they do not have the right to become members of a housing cooperative.

There was also much criticism of the working conditions of nurses overloaded with excessive paperwork and too little time to properly care for their patients. The poor state of facilities at health care centers has also had a detrimental effect on the work of the personnel.

The discussion reflected the fact that many specialists think that the shortage of middle-level medical personnel is an illusion and that the actual truth of the matter is that Polish nurses are not put to proper use. One can use the example of at least several European nations that have fewer nurses but in which medical care is still highly rated.

The meeting was chaired by Deputy Zbigniew Gburek and participants included the deputies Stanislaw Koba (PZPR), Andrzej Sidor (PZPR), Kazimierz Grzybowski (non-party), Wojciech Musial (ZSL), Mieczyslaw Szostek (non-party) and Elzbieta Struwe (PZPR).

12261

Rural Emigration Figures, Prognosis for Future Noted

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[Interview with Professor Andrzej Stasiak: "Peasant Exodus From the Country to the City"]

[Text] [Question] Until recently, rural emigration was seen as a sign of social and economic progress. In recent years, satisfaction over rural emigration has dropped significantly and some people have even expressed alarm. Why?

[Answer] When it started, rural emigration was indeed beneficial because it helped eliminate rural unemployment and bring poor people into the cities.

Just after World War II, the rural population was 16 million and only 8 million lived in the cities. At the present time, the rural population is not quite 15 million while the urban population is 22 million. Therefore, the entire postwar gain in Poland's rural population migrated to the cities. In the 1970's, the level of rural emigration for the first time exceeded the gain in population. In some regions, the rate of emigration was so high that depopulation with all of its harmful effects took place. It must also be pointed out that the rural emigration was selective in nature and the most energetic groups moved to the cities.

Furthermore, there is now a new trend in rural emigration. As opposed to the 1950's, it is now chiefly young single women that are leaving. In 1985, there were about 120 eligible men for every 100 women aged 20-34. In Bialystok and Bielsko-Biala voivodships, the number of eligible men per 100 single women in that age group were 140 and 130, respectively. This has made it hard for farmers to find a wife. To be honest, economic activation and especially the growth of private agriculture cannot be achieved in these regions without women.

[Question] Has rural emigration not slowed down somewhat in the 1980's?

[Answer] In essence, the dimension of emigration has dropped. Some 200,000 people emigrated from rural areas in the 1970's while in the present decade, that figure has dropped to 120,000. Meanwhile, it has become harder to find work and apartments in the cities. We recently examined the figures for rural emigration in 1979-1985 and learned that in 54 percent of rural communities, the level of emigration exceeded the natural growth in population and that the population of these same communities had therefore dropped.

[Question] Are there regions in Poland in which rural emigration has still not reached epidemic proportions?

[Answer] Yes and one such region is the Baltic coast where the postwar demographic displacements still echo, as well as south and east of Krakow, in other words, poor old Galicia. This was where there occurred the most positive changes in rural living conditions. There are many industrial establishments in which the rural population works and earns and that also make local investments. Here there is much so-called pendular migration in which people temporarily leave the area for work elsewhere but there is not much definite or lasting emigration. Definite emigration occurs in regions in which such conditions have not been provided.

[Question] Do we have to make it impossible for people to work in the city for them to remain in the country?

[Answer] A critical factor in rural emigration is the lack of any possibility of finding nonagricultural work close to one's place of residence. The other factor is neglect of the rural social and technical infrastructure.

[Question] Some of these shortcomings still have objective causes.

[Answer] Indeed, given the large number of small villages with the average village numbering about 350 persons, it is hard to provide every community with the required elements of social infrastructure. However, we can still improve the availability of at least the mobile services.

[Question] We cannot "deliver" schools to villages!

[Answer] Schools no but we can organize mobile libraries, health care and bring in mobile radio and electronics repair shops, etc. Schools and especially the secondary schools and some consolidated schools should have boarding houses. The school busing system has broken down. State farms and agricultural circles cooperatives no longer want to do this for free and the primary schools do not have enough money to do this.

[Question] Has rural life indeed ceased being an attractive alternative for people?

[Answer] Yes. The stereotypical view is that no one can expect anything good from rural life. We recently studied the opinions of residents of villages in Suwalki, Siedlce and Biala-Podlaska voivodships where 70-75 percent of respondents stated that urban life is better. Most parents wanted their daughters to move to the city. They were reluctant to send the son intended to inherit the farm to school because he might "wise up". That is a social aberration! The flight from rural areas is also the result of changes in the level of education of people and their increased demands. Rural people want to live "like people", that is, have plumbing, telephones and buses. However, rural bus routes are closed down in winter, there are increasing shut-downs of electrical power and no telephones. In the space of just a few years, telephone lines were brought into every corner of France and Finland. These countries have calculated into their cost of agriculture the fact that a person wants to be able to communicate with the outside world.

The negative attitude in Poland's rural areas also has another cause and that is the way a peasant is treated by the government and economic authorities. He stands in line with his grain, stands in line at livestock purchasing centers and stands in line to buy coal. And what can he buy in the local shops? He has trouble selling what he produces and cannot always buy what he needs.

[Question] You have painted a very black picture of rural life in Poland.

[Answer] Unfortunately, that is the very prose of life in much of our country. That is why the demographic prognosis for Poland until the year 2000 in the voivodships of Bialystok, Biala-Podlaska, Jelenia Gora, Konin, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Skierniewice, Wloclawek and Zamosc has determined that the populations there will

drop 10 percent (and in Bialystok as much as 17 percent!) by the end of the century. In the other 12 voivodships, the population will drop by 5 percent. This is a disaster caused by our regional policy. The age structure of our rural population will also deteriorate. For example, according to estimates, in Bialystok Voivodship, the percentage of people in productive age groups will drop by as much as 27 percent! That would be a catastrophe!

[Question] Is the government familiar with this prognosis?

[Answer] Yes. At the wish of the government, the academic secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences created a task force chaired by myself and including Piotr Eberhardt, Izaslaw Frenkiel, Andrzej Gawryszewski and Leslaw Zaleski to prepare a report titled

"Analysis of the conditions and results of rural emigration with special consideration of the influence on the demographic structure". The presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences accepted this report and passed it on to the government. At the same time, the decision was also made to set up a research program called "Depopulation of the Polish countryside" which had the two goals of making a precise diagnosis of the causes of rural emigration and trying to formulate a concept for activating depopulating regions. The entire program is to be implemented by the end of 1990. Our proposal is presently being reviewed by the Council of Ministers' Committee on Science and Scientific and Technical Progress. But this is a really urgent matter. We must find a way to prevent areas of Poland from becoming social deserts. One-third of Poland already faces this danger.

12261

10

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