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9 June 1983

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2150

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SLOVENIANS REPORT ROMANIAN-SOVIET DISAGREEMENT

Soviet Attack on Popescu Novel

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 5 May 83 p 16

[Article by Danilo Slivnik, DELO correspondent in Moscow: "Soviet Review Attacks Popescu"]

[Excerpts] For the second time in a few days a Soviet review has attacked a Romanian author for "anti-Sovietism." Today's LITERATURNAYA GAZETA criticizes the latest novel of Dumitru Popescu, "The Fist and the Palm" for the fact that the writer, in his portrayal of the Soviet people, is not far behind "those anti-Soviet accounts which come from the hands of bourgeois writers and journalists."

In some of its criticisms, the Soviet weekly goes beyond the literary aspects of Popescu's plot and Romanian literature in general. In the foreground is the relationship with the Soviet Union which is not free, in any way, from significant ideological and political problems which affect relations with the Eastern European socialist community.

It is no wonder, therefore, that today's article in the Soviet weekly caused a great sensation, because it confirmed the statements and opinions that pressures on Romania from here [Moscow] are increasing and that the differences between the two countries which, for some time, have not been able to find a common language in regard to some important issues of bilateral relations and international policy, are deepening.

The whole affair is all the more serious since Dumitru Popescu is also a member of the top leadership of the Romanian party and because, in his novel, he allegedly supports experiments re-evaluating "historically fortified truths and values," which, most likely, both parties confirmed long ago.

It seems that the most anger is directed against Popescu's remarks about the Soviet soldiers and their "liberating role" in Romania and Eastern Europe and his views on Soviet socialism. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA does not quote what Popescu wrote about this matter but gives a firm response, saying that the "liberating mission" of the Soviet Army in World War II and the "humanity of the Soviet soldiers" who, supposedly, "rescued the world from fascism," are well known to all.

The article says that Popescu distorts the moral image of the "soldier-liberators, the image of the Soviet army, and the character of World War II." There is also the suggestion that Romanians are in no position to act as judges in the matter since there were many Romanian soldiers at Stalingrad.

Romanian Response

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 May 1983 page 3 publishes an article by the TANJUG Bucharest correspondent entitled "Sharp Romanian Response" reporting on the article by Pompiliu Marcea in the 12 May issue of the Romanian Writers Union weekly ROMANIA LITERARA, which responded to the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA attack on "The Fist and the Palm."

CSO: 2800/292

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEPLETION OF INDUSTRIAL WORK FORCE RESERVES REPORTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 20, 16 May 83 pp 63, 66-67, 69

['GDR' feature article: "Too Late, For the Most Part: Chronic Lack of Work Forces Compels GDR Enterprises to Resort Increasingly to Rationalization"]

[Text] While beyond its western border 2.3 million FRG unemployed are on the dole and in all of Western Europe even more than 15 million unemployed are registered, a household word that applies unaltered in the GDR, and with which restaurateurs appease impatient guests, crafts collectives their customers, and industrial enterprises the commerce waiting for goods is "no help, no help."

Ever since there has been this workers and farmers state, the permanent complaint about lack of personnel has been the echo of real socialism to that precept in the GDR Constitution (Article 24) which gives "every citizen the right to work, the right to employment and its free selection in accordance with social requirements and personal qualifications."

However little the wall and other border fortifications protected the GDR economy from international economic crises, from higher prices and the trajectory of inflation for most raw materials--unemployment has virtually been the only capitalism-induced inherited evil that has stayed away.

Still there is hardly an industrial enterprise to be found in the GDR where large posters on the plant gates would fail to announce that labor of all type "from the nonworking population" is ardently desired and seldom found. To hire personnel away from other enterprises by promising rarities such as a guaranteed vacation spot on the Baltic or a free apartment in the plant is something the socialist managers have found strictly forbidden under law for years.

As no other industrial country in the world, the GDR has exhausted its labor potential systematically down to the last man and last woman. Though the population itself between the Baltic Sea and the Erz Mountains shrank by a good one and a half million between 1951 and 1981, the number of working people, apprentices included, rose in the same period by more than one million: from 7.7 to 8.8 million.

GDR women make up the by far largest proportion of this remarkable increase. Their massive employment, of which the party has time and again made an official and essential argument for the highly praised equality in the GDR, not only compensated for the departure, up to the year of the wall, 1961, of 2.7 million GDR citizens toward the west, but it also preserved whole economic branches from a threatened collapse due to labor shortages.

Meanwhile every other job is held by a woman. Some 49 percent of the women work, while of their sisters in West Germany only one out of three does so.

In mobilizing female workers the GDR economy in its own estimation has now also come to the end of the flag pole. Other labor reserves, such as keeping pensioners employed, are also completely exhausted. And on foreign workers from other socialist countries the East Berlin economic planners never wanted to depend in the first place.

Toward the end of the 1970's, to be sure, up to 50,000 Poles and Hungarians were employed in the GDR industry, but this guest worker proportion never came to more than at most half a percent of all persons employed. There are no recent figures but there are indications that in the last two years especially the Polish contingent has been greatly reduced for political reasons.

Though the "no help" complaint hardly ever waned, the GDR economy never before found itself in a, comparatively speaking, more favorable demographic situation. Since 1976 the employment figures, due to age-groups with strong birth rates entering the job market, increased more than proportionately--at an average of 50,000 annually.

This relative ease, which has now diminished however, was an essential prerequisite for the partly realized sociopolitical program of the SED in the last decade, the various measures of which--from the extended vacations to the paid baby year starting with a second child--since then not only have burdened the state budget but the enterprise balances as well.

How much that has been was recently figured out by the East Berlin economic scientist Otto Reinhold: In its total the reduction of working hours corresponded to "the performance of a million working people"--that is one eighth of the entire GDR job potential.

For the years ahead, however, the GDR economy can count neither on more material nor on more working people. "The extensive growth sources," says Central Committee member Reinhold, "are essentially exhausted"; there were neither "additional raw materials and fuels" nor "additional labor available."

Rationalization and intensification therefore are the magic words in the economic diet program by which the GDR industry is to economize in two directions: for one thing, a more parsimonious and efficient use of material and then the saving and release of manpower for new industrial branches, such as microelectronics, and for the long understaffed areas like service enterprises, for example.

GDR economic scientists have been demanding resolute job cutbacks since the late 1970's, but more noisily and emphatically so lately. According to Siegfried Tannhaeuser, chairman of the scientific council for socialist industrial management at the East Berlin Academy of Sciences, there is no "labor shortage" at all in GDR industry, but a "job surplus."

The Tannhaeuser formula says in different words what Western economists have long been calling "hidden unemployment" in the socialist countries: "Because of the complicated and distorted price structure," as Heinz Vortmann of the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) in West Berlin put it, "efficiency cannot be computed at all, nor can one figure out whether a man on his job might not cost more than he brings in."

Worried, SED general secretary Erich Honecker remarked late last year that "in many combines labor productivity is growing more slowly than production" and compared with the FRG, for instance was by 30 percent too low.

Emphatically the government chief admonished socialist management to handle more cautiously in the future "our country's most precious potential, the labor capacity of more than 8 million working people."

How that may look in a centrally administered industrial society which knows neither the economic sanction of dismissal and unemployment for an individual worker nor bankruptcy for an enterprise that works uneconomically, has for some years been demonstrated at the PCK, the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine on the Oder, the largest petroleum processing enterprise in the GDR. In the late 1970's, as PCK general director Werner Frohn describes the pressure situation at that time, one had faced the alternatives "either to run new installations with the people available or confine the development of the plant."

The Schwedt initiative, "fewer produce more," has since rated in the whole republic as the shining model for socialist job rationalization.

Within 4 years 2,400 workers were released in the parent enterprise, one out of five from the administration, retrained at the expense of the enterprise, and assigned on new production plants. The result: the bureaucratic hydrocephalus shrank from 28.5 to 22.3 percent of the whole work force, and labor productivity in the plant in place for the first time rose faster than the output.

Up to 1985 the Schwedt Combine intends to cut back another 820 workers, almost 10 percent of the work force, and also reduce the administrative personnel further, now to a proportion of 18 percent.

The Schwedt rationalizers have to be sure found some imitators meanwhile-- from the Fritz Heckert machine tool combine in Karl Marx Stadt, the management of which pledged an annual saving of 3 percent of the work force up to 1985, to the Wilhelm Pieck Mansfeld metal working combine, which intends to release 1,120 employees in the same period. Yet on the whole, an executive associate of the State Planning Commission complains, "too little is moving, and what there moves, comes too late for the most part."

Reasons for this widespread inflexibility there are plenty: Often enterprises find little inducement for being stingy with manpower because high wages, holding steady as accounting factors, are keeping the officially set production prices high, while for every mark invested revenue has to be paid that cuts into the profits. Says DIW expert Vortmann: "Substituting capital for the labor factor may be unfavorable for the various enterprises."

Many combines, furthermore, having become smart by many years of competition experiences, tend to hoard men and material to be prepared for the next annual plan and, hence, for the next production boost. Enterprise egoism in holding on to all sorts of quiet reserves which are then "uncovered" by and by, according to plan, then always wins out over economic reason. Most releasing operations of recent years then also brought nothing but inter-enterprise effects; for other enterprises in town or in the bezirk, extra personnel was seldom left over.

Many enterprises also are compelled to rationalize their frequently obsolete production plants through in-house means and many improvisational tricks because investments have been stagnating for years. Still today, for example, in the GDR's metal processing industry four out of ten production workers in assembly are engaged primarily in heavy physical work. An internal GDR survey established that "up to 85 percent of assembly work goes to moving the shifting or production parts."

At least 9,000 additional industrial robots are expected to produce a "perceptible rationalization thrust" (Honecker) up to 1985, the end of the current five-year plan, of which East Berlin's official economists promise themselves a cutback of between 6,000 and 7,000 workers.

Finally, a socialist system, no matter how willing it is to adapt capitalist methods, still has a hard time with what ancestor Vladimir Ilyich Lenin denounced as the factory-type "art of squeezing out the sweat." Enterprise trade union managements have a decisive word to say about any rationalization measure. They see to it that the retrained colleague does get the proper training and gets settlement money until he can make at least as much on the new job as he used to make on his old one.

If an enterprise actually ever gets into the situation straightened out by Article 54 of the GDR Labor Code, where a colleague must be given notice on account of a "change in production, the structure or the position or manpower plan," this may be done only if the person concerned was first offered some other "reasonable work."

Opinions differ of course greatly while rationalization is increasing, about what work may be considered reasonable. It was not always easy, sociologist Heidrun Radtke, who works at the Central Committee's social science academy, now admits to reintegrate the released working people elsewhere "according to their qualifications." Not rarely such insight into economic necessity definitely amounts to a "personal sacrifice."

These problems, which increasingly surface in a discontent or dissatisfaction with work, ultimately stem from the GDR citizens' high qualification level. Every other worker has completed technical training, more than one out of nine successfully graduated from a technical school, one out of sixteen has earned a college diploma and one out of 29 is a master foreman.

Social science surveys carried out in the GDR in recent years indicate that the considerable fluctuation in the labor force--500,000 change jobs within a year, after all--is kept going mainly by those who have higher qualifications. An authors collective of the GDR Central Social Science Institute found out, for instance, that almost half of the job want ads in East Berlin's BERLINER ZEITUNG were placed by college and technical school personnel.

"Conspicuous" and also "disquieting" those researchers found the fact that one out of every three persons placing such an ad was ready to accept a "different sort of job." They thought this indicated "that on the one hand working conditions on the job often have not yet been solved satisfactorily or that, on the other hand, the conception of one's occupation may not always coincide with reality."

In this fluctuation, the sole and usually undesired interruption of full employment in the GDR, between 6 and 7 percent of the work force takes part each year--at considerable expense, with an estimated M 30,000 for a job change of a university graduate and M 10,000 still for a technician. The efficiency loss computed for 1978 due to unplanned fluctuation was M 9.5 billion.

As it is, the high livelihood quotient (GDR 52 percent; FRG 46 percent), by which economists measure the proportion of working people within the total population, clearly indicates that GDR citizens definitely accept work as a value.

It is much tougher for those working people with the neo-Prussian work ethic the SED incessantly seeks to recruit. Yet all the million cases of reporting sick or being late, out of which the economic functionaries keep adding economic losses of impressive magnitude, is but seldom an expression of political recalcitrance but rather a natural effect of the total labor society: When labor makes so many claims on the life of individuals, vital needs must be satisfied also while at work.

Or we may repeat what journalist Irene Boehme, who emigrated two and a half years ago from the GDR to West Berlin, has said: "If the hair grows during working hours it must also be cut during working hours."

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CSO: 2300/247

FIGHTER PILOT RECALLS PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN TRAINING

East Berlin FLIEGER-REVUE in German No 3, Mar 83 pp 100-101

['GDR-Mosaic' feature interview with Lt Heinz Naumann, fighter pilot in the Vladimir Komarov Fighter Squadron, National People's Army (NVA); by Ewe Endert; date and place not given: "He's a Fighter Pilot"]

[Text] On the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the National People's Army (NVA), FLIEGER-REVUE talked with our former comrade of the Society for Sport and Technology (GST), Lt Heinz Naumann, now a pilot in the Vladimir Komarov Fighter Squadron of the NVA. Lieutenant Naumann is 25 years old, married, with one child.

[Question] Heinz, you once wanted to drop out from secondary school and today you are a fighter pilot. How did that happen?

[Answer] At that time I simply did not have any idea about what I wanted to do, was a quite ordinary student with many interests and tried a little of everything. I participated in military sports, started with the motorcycle for patrolling and multiple combat, advanced in judo to the fourth kyu. In parachute jumping I had already passed the theoretical test and I played gigs in the villages as a saxophonist with the Mefo-Combo.

[Question] And, in spite of these many hobbies, were you a good student?

[Answer] Well yes, I was not the best, but I was good. And above all, I had in Klaus Tropp a good teacher. As I told him of my decision to drop out of the EOS in Floeha and to go back home to my parents in the LPG, he listened calmly before starting his "offensive." He talked with me for a long time and asked about my loftiest ambitions. Everyone has dream callings, but they usually fall into the category of unfulfillable desires. My dream was to become a pilot. But after I had read somewhere that the doctors would turn you down for as little as a missing tooth, the affair was settled for me. I didn't have a missing tooth, I had several. My teacher urged me to at least enquire at the local military command. I did and was surprised.

[Question] Because they did not ask about your teeth?

[Answer] Well, that too. But that was not the most important thing. The comrades there understood and helped me, but they also made demands. They did not need any officer candidates who did poorly on their final examinations.

[Question] Was there any danger of this?

[Answer] Not immediately, since I would not be taking any examinations in the beginning. They said without mincing words that one who intended to become a professional soldier would have to shoulder extra burdens and start right away preparing himself for his future profession in the Society for Sport and Technology. For me that meant premilitary training as an airplane pilot. Could I do it? Would I do it? I said yes because I finally saw a goal.

[Question] And would you have gone back to the farm if you had not passed the flight physical?

[Answer] The comrades at the recruiting station also asked about that: What happens if...? But my decision was firm. I listed aircraft technician as my second choice for training, was accepted in the FDJ-candidate collective of our school, the EOS "Erich Weinert," and went to Koenigsbrueck in May 1976 for my physical.

[Question] And there?

[Answer] Yes, and there...they looked at my teeth which had been fixed in the meantime and found them quite fit. Fit for service! In Floeha I was put in charge of our candidate collective and the same year I began pilot training with the GST. My only regret is that I had lost so much time that I had to go directly to powerplane training without first going through the better, safer and more attractive route of sail-plane training.

[Question] Did that make a real difference?

[Answer] Yes, for sure. I had to learn and assimilate the theory of flight, aerodynamics and the associated arts very quickly whereas the sail-plane trainees brought much of this with them to power plane training. And flying itself was more difficult for me since I had no feel for flying or flight experience. I had to figure out many things which the sail-plane trainees knew by intuition. Therefore, I recommend that all young men who aspire to be military pilots sign up with the GST for sail-plane training as soon as they reach the required age of 13 or 14. Sail-plane training provides more than just theory and flight practice; it also fosters team behavior, mutual help, comradeship, discipline and order. Finally, these are required behavior traits for pilots for entrance into the Officers' Technical University and for later managing service systems.

[Question] But you made it nonetheless?

[Answer] I pushed myself to the limit, but of course my flight instructors helped a lot. At that time, I made the first flight of my life at the GST flight-training school at Schoenhagen in a Z-43. An experience that I will probably never forget. My instructors were Fritz Fliegauf, Sepp Pietschmann,

and Klaus Prodoloski, all three acknowledged experts. Following the theoretical courses at Schoenhagen, training continued at the GST Regional Training Center at Zwickau in the Jak-18A. I finished in just under 130 flights and 45 flight hours. After once-arounds and the eagerly anticipated solo, cross countries and aerobatics followed.

[Question] There you were in the twelfth class. Were you not afraid that it would be too much for you?

[Answer] During this time I had enough occasions to test myself and my capabilities. In addition to flight training another advantage offered by the GST which others of my age cannot experience so directly and noticeably is the impetus to intensively work on, analyze and test oneself to demonstrate responsibility for such an expensive equipment item as an airplane. The GST awakened tenacity and discipline--especially self discipline--in me and trained them to high utility.

[Question] Was training also fun?

[Answer] It goes beyond learning to fly and is a duty which one cannot avoid as a soldier. For me it meant at the same time that I finally had a real goal and conceived in it the idea of preparing myself for university graduation. But, to answer your question, yes, training was a great deal of fun for me.

[Question] Then you attended the OHS?

[Answer] Not immediately. First, I was called up for 14 days of basic training after which I was sent to Schoenefeld. At that time I had a secondary school diploma but no trade. The latter I learned at the Berlin Airport. The theoretical and practical training there was extremely hard and put heavy demands on us. After a few weeks we were working shifts in the brigades. I was assigned to shift 4, engines; my brigade leader was Dieter Merz. Il-18, Tu-134 and Il-62 were the models on which I was trained. After a year I could justifiably call myself an engine/air-frame flight mechanic.

[Question] During this time you had of course not flown. Did you forget how?

[Answer] One does not forget how to fly; its like riding a bicycle or swimming. And immediately after this we started our theoretical and practical flight training at the OHS. I finally flew the L-29 jet fighter in bad weather, mastered high-altitude aerobatics and formation flying. Following that came the transition to the MiG-21! And in 1981 I entered service with the squadron as lieutenant.

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CSO: 2300/217

BRIEFS

LEBANESE OFFICIAL VISITS--Muhammad Atallah, chairman of the Lebanese Reconstruction and development Council, who had visited Hungary at the invitation of Minister of Foreign Trade Peter Veress, departed Budapest on 16 May. During his visit, the two sides had talks on the development of Hungarian-Lebanese economic relations and signed a pertinent government agreement. Muhammad Atallah met with heads of Hungarian enterprises interested in participation in Lebanese reconstruction projects. [Summary] [AU212033 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 May 83 p 5]

COOPERATION WITH YUGOSLAV WRITERS--The Hungarian Writers' Association delegation led by Secretary General Miklos Jovanovic has returned from its visit to the SFRY. During its stay, one 1983-85 cooperation agreement was concluded between the Hungarian and Yugoslav writers' associations. It provides for exchange visits by writers, cooperation between literary journals, mutual participation in literary evenings, and study tours. [Summary] [AU212033 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 May 83 p 6]

CHURCH COUNCIL OFFICIAL'S VISIT--Dr Philip Potter, secretary general of the World Council of Churches, is paying a visit to Hungary at the invitation of the Ecumenical Council of the Hungarian Churches. On 17 May, he visited Secretary of State Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs. They discussed topical aspects of detente and disarmament and the activity of the World Council of Churches against armament. [Summary] [AU212033 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 May 83 p 9]

ROMANIAN AGRICULTURAL MINISTER--Ion Tesu, Romanian minister of agriculture and food industry, departed Budapest on 18 May. He had talks with Jenő Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food supply, on possibilities for expanding agricultural cooperation between the two countries and inspected several farms and plants. [Summary] [AU212033 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 May 83 p 8]

CSO: 2500/265

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

PRON's Involvement in Political Life

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 14 Mar 83 p 1

[Article from PAP, Warsaw: "Activization of Society, Prevention of Malfunctions, PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Is a Lasting Formation of the Country's Political Life"]

[Text] A two-day seminar of Democratic Party activists representing all provinces dedicated to the role which the party plays in the pre-congress PRON campaign ended the 13th of this month in Warsaw. The meeting was characterized by a working exchange of viewpoints about the ways for spreading the idea of the national understanding and program foundations of the movement in society, as well as about internal organizational questions of the party.

Chairman of the Democratic Party's Central Committee-vice premier Edward Kowalczyk, who emphasized that the purposes and ambitions of the party are concurrent with the directions of action drawn out in the declaration from 20 July of last year and in the projects of PRON's program documents, met with participants of the seminar on Saturday.

Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and general secretary of the PRON Provisional National Council, Marian Orzechowski, characterized the directions of work of the national rebirth movement. He declared that movement should become a permanent structure in our political life, which would have the purpose of socialist renewal in our country. This is the leading intention of the PZPR as well as the five remaining signatories of the declaration concerning PRON from July 20 of last year. This movement however will be able to fulfill its function only in a period of full stabilization of life within the country. Its purpose is to prevent degeneration of socialism through creation of organized public opinion and also through activization of society and through rationally taking advantage of all of its energies. The speaker pointed out the need to counteract various threats, which can crop up against PRON, for instance, the danger of transforming it into a superficial movement or also a transitory movement.

As the most important tasks for activists of the movement in the pre-congress campaign the general secretary of the PRON Provisional National Council included the presentation of that movement's foundations in society, dissemination of the proposition that there is no other way out of the crisis other than conquering it through one's own energies.

In the discussion as well as in the questions directed toward the seminar's special guests, participants touched upon the problems resulting from the work of PRON and the Democratic Party. The fact that PRON and its actions are being carefully watched by society was emphasized, especially in the rural areas.

Lodz PRON's Improvement of Structure

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 15 Mar 83 p 3

[Interview with Dr Jerzy Zak, PRON Provincial Council member, by Leszek Rudnicki: "PRON Provisional Council [WTR] in Lodz on the Subject of Consultation Concerning Taxes and Prices Cure the Structure"]

[Text] Without a doubt, questions connected with questionnaire polls of the Price Research Center on the subject of discussion the last few days. That action--possibly because of being too weakly prepared--evoked a mass of emotion, speculation, normal rumors and instigation.

Through numerous interviews and statements during the press conference organized by the Price Research Center last week, it tried to explain the purposes and foundations of that public opinion research. Its results are also known. However, at this point it is worth noting that the PRON Provincial Temporary Council in Lodz also expressed its position on that matter. Thanks to the efforts of the group for questions of social consultation, it expressed its opinion after consultation with a broad range of opinions among the worker environment in Lodz. We asked Dr Jerzy Zak from the PRON Provincial Provisional Council in Lodz to present the results of this research and conclusions resulting from it.

[Answer] I will probably begin from the area of our consultation. We based ourselves upon several hundred letters that the Provincial Provisional Council received, on over 1000 telephone conversations as well as on opinions formulated by socially active members of large industrial plants. And therefore, for instance, on the subject of variation proposed in the Price Research Center poll, statements were given by workers of the J. Marchlewski ZPB, the Defenders of Peace Lodz Cotton Industry "Pandts," Luxury Items Plant "Wagnet", the Lodz Printing Company, Manufactures of Textile Machines "Polmatex-Wifama", the S. Harnama ZPB and others, also activists of the Wielkoposka B and Lodz-Gorna Citizens' Committees for

National Salvation [OKON], workers and students of the Lodz Institute of Technology, a number of individual and group farmers.

[Question] Therefore all walks of life in Lodz were represented among those interested?

[Answer] We tried, and it appears that to us the collected material is representative of the social atmosphere which dominated in the Lodz environment after announcement of the consultation. Our work also resulted from the conviction, that the questionnaire published in the KURIER POLSKI couldn't give a real picture of public opinion, taking into respect the specific reading public of that newspaper. As shown by all of the statements, the questionnaire should be carried out through the help of the place of employment in cities, and social organizations in the village.

[Question] Let's try therefore to collect some conclusions from your poll.

[Answer] The propositions presented were also evaluated in the context of high price increases from last year. It was evaluated that those propositions are incorrect and full of inconsistencies. The fear was expressed that introduction in whole of the proposed change in prices and taxes can cause results opposite of those intended--that means: instead of the liquidation of inflation, there will be an upward spiraling through a loosening of the price spiral, a lower work-yield, and with this a further worsening of working people's standard of life.

[Question] Therefore what kind of propositions were announced as a solution to break the deadlock?

[Answer] It was ascertained that in order to liquidate this inflationary overhang it is necessary to aim for an increase in the supply of merchandise goods, by raising the work output, its better organization, raising work discipline, liquidation of waste, and an improvement in production quality. This should be accompanied by moderate wage increases, but with an appropriate tax policy, and last of all a justified price increase on luxury items. Along with this we must plainly define what we mean by luxury: video recorders are without a doubt a luxury, but refrigerators or washing machines definitely are not.

It can be said that our society is prepared for structural price changes but not to an increase in them. And government policy in this respect should be clearly defined.

[Question] In light of these statements, how therefore are we to understand structural price changes?

[Answer] Plainly speaking this means an appropriate proportion between them. Price restructuring can result however also from production restructuring. One can make use of certain examples which frequently came up in the discussions. Generally speaking the Lodz community isn't the highest-paid. The worker therefore must have his cigarettes, and it's known that he can't

afford expensive ones. An explicit price increase causes to some extent an approval of under-the-counter conniving. Why? Cigarettes should be cheap, although maybe not the best, but for let's say 25 zlotys a pack, and next to them there can be cigarettes for even 400 zlotys a pack. That's the way it is in the world and those that can afford it, but the average citizen should have the possibility of guaranteed purchase of popular, cheap articles, although maybe qualitywise not as high as the highest standards on the world market.

A similar argument came up in reference to alcohol. It was said that prices on alcoholic beverages are presently increased to the maximum. Of course from the point of view of a sensible family, they don't care about drunks or any price increases. Therefore why lead them to buy illegal liquor, when expensive liquor can successfully level out the difference.

The cited examples for needed structural price changes also have an economic aspect. For instance, a 48-inch color television costs \$1,500-2,500 around the world. Let one here cost even (please don't take this literally) 80,000 zlotys. Buying 10,000 of them abroad for a cost of barely \$2 million, we'll draw a huge amount of money from the market without taxes and without touching the normal working and earning citizen. Here the dollar exchange rate suits us better than if we would exchange them officially in front of "PEWEX". Plainly put, we must search for structural and efficient solutions making use of many possible elements in price policy.

[Question] Are you however aware of the fact, that such a trend will immediately cause manufacturers to escape to production of luxury articles as paying off better, making more profit with a smaller input of energy and resources? And where is the interest of the average citizen here?

[Answer] This type of policy would be possible exclusively in conjunction with assurances that popular articles will be accessible to the average citizen on the market. Next to the television for 800,000 zlotys would have to stand a normal television for 8,000 zloty. If "Pollena-Ewa" Cosmetic Factory wanted to manufacture some sought-after cosmetic for 500 zloty a package, it would be able to, offering a popular equivalent at the same time. In this situation the client must have the right to choose according to the possibilities of his family budget.

In this situation it should be assumed, that inflexible economic laws would very quickly regulate many market problems for us. They would allow for regulation of proportions, even the price of one egg and the price of a loaf of bread. This can't be pushed to absurdities because then it will cease to pay for a breeder to produce feed and he will begin to buy out bread for feed. That's exactly how it is presently. After all, last year's increases didn't normalize price proportions at all. And so, increases aren't necessary, but rather appropriate price policy and an appropriate structure for it.

[Question] Let's go to concrete items of the research. We are interested whether the conclusions of the PRON Provincial Provisional Council in Lodz agree with the results of the Price Research Center?

[Answer] Before we get to that I'd like to call attention to one thing yet. The opinion of people who gave statements in our research is that the poll of the Price Research Center wasn't completely thought out and brought with it many moral inquiries. Interpretations of research of an academic character weren't accepted. Our society, tired from the events of 1980-91, started to quiet down at the beginning of 1982, and again it was shook up to the core. Also from that need society turned to the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] seeing in it protection and understanding for its needs and interests. The work of our consultation group and its results are, in short, fulfillment of these expectations.

Let's go now to the basic elements of the Price Research Center's poll. It was decidedly opposed to introduction of an inflationary tax, seeing in this a reduction of compensations, which as known aren't the highest in Lodz. Eventually it proposes raising the threshold to 12,000 zlotys, but on each family member and not on each working member. The rate of this eventually-adopted tax should also be graduated.

A complete unity of thought dominated in the statements on the subject of savings in the administration. A decrease in expenses of a minimum of 20 percent, if not 40 percent, was proposed. Examples of inefficiency were given at the same time. There were, for instance, 16 associations in Lodz, and in their place 23 association offices have already sprung up with a combined employment not much smaller. It was concluded that in an elaborated antimonopoly law, founding of associations would be forbidden.

As far as cigarettes are concerned, most distinctly a need for structural treatment of prices began here. As for proposed variations, opinions were highly varied.

As far as coffee was concerned, the second variation based on lifting state control over it was supported. A price increase on high quality cosmetics, mainly those imported from capitalist countries, was recognized as sensible. However, again in connection with the stipulation that popular articles would be available. With clothes, yard goods and footwear, increases--as it was asserted--can be considered only for products imported from capitalist countries. Retail prices for domestically manufactured clothes are already high, and the principle of applying negotiable prices is not a means of control from the point of view of stability. The conclusions also considered a stringent enforcement of quality requirements, penalties for deficiencies, and that every divergence from the norm should cause a drastic decrease in the price.

As we know, durable goods pricing evoked much controversy, above all in the respect of defining what is a luxury good and what is not. Increases were accepted for color televisions, cars with a high fuel capacity, tape recorders and high quality stereo radios; however, it was also recalled that the Fiat 126p was to have been a car for the working family, and has become a luxury item.

As for apartment rents, it was asserted, that rents on semiprivate quarters should definitely be equalized with rents on government-owned apartments.

In agreement with principles of social justice, the situation of occupying large apartments by well-to-do people, who pay ridiculously low rents and the situation of speculative subletting should be liquidated. From this should come not the variability of price increases but equalization of types of rents.

The same as in the Price Research Center questionnaire, the largest objections were evoked by proposals for increases in health and social services payments, energy and food articles. Although even here are certain elements which deserve attention: for instance, a modification of prices on basic medicines was proposed.

With food items it is again a question of production and price structure. This was dependent on establishment of a list of food articles for which price increases will not be allowed, as well as on the stipulation, that higher quality items will be able to be introduced only after first assuring the supply of popular basic articles. This process should be put under citizen control, and similarly the activity of the agricultural products purchasing apparatus. Price increases for sugar were also not accepted, because they are too high proportionally in relation to the structure.

In many statements alternative solutions were proposed, as for instance a price increase on bread in exchange for a decrease and guarantee from the government on the price of eggs. In general, energetic work, specifically on structural changes, on a timetable for their enactment as well as surrendering price-setting to citizen control was demanded. As stated, the independence of manufacturers can't free them from social control and judgement of their work.

[Question] The conclusions and observations are as we see plentiful, and as we should assume, probably reflect well Lodz public opinion as opposed to the propositions presented in the Price Control Center Poll. In general, after all, they also agree with the results obtained through that research. What's going to happen now with the opinions of Lodz residents?

[Answer] We gave the comments and conclusions gathered by us to the PRON Temporary National Council as well as to the Price Office. As we were assured, they will be carefully looked over and taken into consideration in the course of further work intended to improve our system of prices and market policy.

[Question] We thank you for the conversation.

Delegate on PRON Congress

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 3

[Interview of Ryszard Gazda and Czeslaw Jarzabek, PRON Congress delegates, by Regina Osowicka: "If You Want To Help the Fatherland"]

[Text] Delegates elected from Wejherow to the First National PRON Congress which will take place May 7-9

of this year in Warsaw were: Ryszard Gazda--M.A., vice director of the Education-Upbringing Center no. 2, chairman of the committee for sociopolitical affairs in the PRON Provisional City Council, and Czeslaw Jarzabek--Polish Motor Transport worker, chairman of the PRON Provisional City Council.

We are talking with master's graduate Ryszard Gazda: 37 years old, physicist, graduate of Gdansk University, youth teacher.

[Question] In the congress, 1412 delegates will take part, from which each one will represent 25,000 people of our country. Do you feel the weight of such a responsibility?

[Answer] At first there was the satisfaction from knowing that my colleagues from our municipal PRON elected me--that they bestowed upon me their confidence. Reflection on that to which this election obligates me came late.

[Question] To what, in your opinion?

[Answer] To that, that I shouldn't waste this honorable chance to be a representative...of almost half the citizens of our city. I look at it this way. I'm going to the congress for something but in addition with something. I will attentively follow the course of the sessions in order to later convey as much of my personal experience as possible to members and sympathizers of our movement in our city. I think that I will find out and learn a lot. I also promise myself much after the lobbying sessions, during which heated discussions between delegates from various regions of the country surely will take place. Because, with certainty, not everyone will be able to make a statement from the speakers platform.

[Question] Let's stick with the official course of the congress. What will you present?

[Answer] I would be dishonest if I assured you that I am already adequately prepared for that important assignment. I still have to think over many things and consult with problem-groups of our PRON council, so that my presentation will be a synthesis of attitudes, opinions and propositions of our entire environment of activists for the revival movement. I already know one thing for sure: if I have the occasion to speak, I will try to avoid professional particularism, that I will speak in that way. This is usually based on the fact, that even in a forum, that teachers talk exclusively about teachers' complaints, craftsmen about their own problems, etc. I feel that the social mission of delegates to the PRON congress doesn't consist of that. People who elected me would be disappointed with such a narrowing down of this question. They would feel--and rightfully so--that I am inappropriately taking advantage of my mandate.

[Question] What hurts you most as a citizen?

[Answer] That we Poles don't respect the law in the broadest meaning of that word, from which come many bad things. We treat every rule and prohibition, necessary for our well-being and safety, as an attack on our personal freedom. I'll give you a common example: one can frequently see a lack of respect for regulations, social discipline and extreme recklessness at the Wejherow train station. If a train is taking off from platform 3 instead of platform 1, passengers jump down from the high platform and run across the tracks, as in a frenzy, not even checking to see if another train is coming in. Young people, old people, women, men jump. Sometime it's going to lead to a tragedy. It's sad to say, that the saying, "A Pole is smart after the damage," is frequently still true. As a society we must learn subordination. That subject will certainly come up at the congress.

[Question] Subordination, order and respect for the social well-being.

[Answer] Exactly. I'd like to tie in here with General Jaruzelski's speech at the end of the National Conference of Worker Activists. The premier recalled losses in the billions resulting from vandalism, damaged staircases, devastated telephone booths, cut up seats in trains, etc. These acts of barbarism of a part of society must be suppressed by us: by all of us, not only by the police and security forces. A respectful member of PRON can't passively look upon such facts lightly.

[Question] The opinion that youth doesn't want to enter into social life is quite widespread.

[Answer] That's the fault of older people, who sowed unrest in youth's spirit in past years, and destructively influenced them. Youth's attitude also is the result of mistakes made by teachers. For instance, the young generation wasn't taught independence, and frequently decisions were made for them. They got used to the fact that they had to be prompted. Not long ago a member of a youth organization at a certain meeting turned to his elders: "Tell us what we have to do and we will do it." That's the result of this: Also, the discontent of some adults isn't very inspiring for youth. More than once one hears from them: "Older people are able only to complain."

[Question] What would you like to tell youth?

[Answer] The slogan: "If you want to help the fatherland, then come to us" is a guiding light for PRON activists. And so, we are waiting for youth to take its rightful place in the civil life of the country. Instead of discontented people and people leading them astray, they will meet in our broad circle enthusiasts and optimists, people of merit and tested in social action. Youth will find more than one personal model worth being imitated.

[Question] We are talking in the Month of National Remembrance....

[Answer] On this occasion I'd like to tie into the statement of a past prisoner of Stutthof--Leon Prusinski from Wejherow--representative of the District Commission for Research into Nazi Crimes in Gdansk. In one of his

moving speeches on the mass graves of 12,000 murdered Poles at Piasnica, Mr. Prusinski, embracing with his eyes the crowd of those gathered at the ceremony for fellow countrymen, he asked the dramatic question: "Are we worthy of these victims' offerings?" The nearby forest was absolutely quiet and it appeared as if each of those present was searching his own conscience. Let the memory of those killed in action and those murdered become a contribution to reconciliation, a lesson for national understanding. We are acting in such a way, so as to be worthy of those, who gave their life for us during the occupation.

Krakow Province PRON Congress

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 8-10, 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Jerzy Wicherek: "Movements of Bold Partnership"]

[Text] Tomorrow at 9 o'clock in the Slowacki Theater the session of the First Provincial Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth will begin. Participating in it will be 435 delegates--representatives of basic elements of the movement (from housing developments, places of work, schools), representatives of city-district, city-township and township councils, members of the Provisional Provincial PRON Council. The congress will have a programs-elections character and will at the same time bring an end to the provisional phase of the structure in formation of the movement. A program of action will be assumed during its course, which will be based not only on discussion at the congress, but mainly on conclusions, comments and postulates submitted during the course of the pregress campaign. The delegates will appoint the Krakow region PRON Council, will elect 47 participants to the National Congress, which will deliberate in Warsaw from 7-9 May, and will recommend 5 representatives to the National PRON Council.

The very idea is not questioned by anyone, beyond possibly a small group of political maniacs or lunatics. The national understanding has been talked about uninterruptedly since the Polish "August" [1981], is constantly present in Polish disputes and discussions, and has taken a permanent place in the lifeline of social consciousness of the 1980's. When we hear it and read about the changes brought on about all of the instances, and the outright fear is born that we do not talk the matter to death, and that the "national understanding" will not divide the fate of another concept, which also was to bring us together, but deeply and painfully divided us: the famous "moral-political unity of the country" of the 1970's.

The PRL appealed for national understanding. Political parties supported it. Leaders of Poland's Episcopate spoke about the need for social agreement in its presentations. Numerous social organizations and artistic associations added their vote "in support of." People with authority and lucky to have general public respect expressed their conviction, that it is an absolutely necessary condition for getting out of the crisis. Of course, very understandably, the semantic level of these opinions was not homogeneous, emphasis was placed in different places, and different political, historical and cultural traditions were called upon. But--alongside all the differences--

there was a common motif: being divided and agitated, untrustful and suspicious of each other is building what kind of Poland for us? Will we not manage to free ourselves from the Polish ill fortune--" he did not find happiness at home because there was none in the fatherland."

"We are undertaking action during the deepest political, economic, social and moral crisis period in our country since the war"--such was written in the draft for a declaration of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON]. Essentially, today's moods are far from the post-October enthusiasm, post-December revitalization, post-August hope. Those that decided to take part in the movement frequently did not do it as a result of a uncritical reflex of support "because..." but as a result of prerequisites based on the principle of the understanding "in spite of the fact, that... however..."

It was not easy to make such a decision during the threatening Polish winter of 1981-82, when the first Citizens' Committees for National Salvation came into being. It also was not easy later during the stormy summer of 1982, at that time the declaration of six signatories stated that the time has come to bring the many diversified trends together within the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth and to call its Provisional Council into being." In spite of the evident turning point that took place after 10 November of last year, and later after the suspension of martial law it still today is not easy, when the movement, among other things, is looking for its place on the country's sociopolitical map by means of the pre-congress campaign.

Planned passivity admittedly is not a universal phenomenon, but people involved in the work of public life, post-13 December institutions still happen to meet social ostracism or, more culturally speaking, talk about political naivete and gullibility, or still differently speaking, suspicion about a desire to make a career of it. And it's really hard to speak of polemics on the merits, for honesty and efficiency of intention are verified only in time to come.

The future--for the movement is still in the larva stage, from which no one knows what will hatch. Will it not lose a daring partnership, written into its origins? The direction in which our reality will evolve depends after all not only on the authorities (after all, one can interpret such a view from official and semiofficial statements of its representatives). So that an interruption between the actions of the "top" and the expectations of the "bottom" will not lead to another Polish crisis a partner in the dialogue is needed. A partner, and not a flatterer and a "yes" man. Who indeed could be better in that role than daring people?

In this specific and, let us hope, uncomfortable way, PRON therefore needs the authorities. But still more so, it needs society as a body to express its views, aspirations and demands. Among many questions which need to be put in order, it appears, that one of the most important is a proof that socialism is a social justice form of government. How is that to be done? How, in a situation of scarcity of various goods, can the sometimes divergent interest of everyone be reconciled? On what kind of scale are we to weigh

the situation if newlyweds or retirees are more in need? Does a talented expert or a single mother with three children deserve more? Does the urban community need a hospital, schools and preschools more or apartments?

Those are questions only from one subject area. And yet, which sphere of our life would not be touched by divergent opinions that are cropping up everywhere, and by opposing articulated standpoints? The notion that PRON will bring everyone into agreement would be a pious illusion. There have been, are, and will be unsatisfied people. Even so, PRON wants to try: "We are above all trying to remove the source of conflicts within society as well as between it and governmental institutions. In justifiable cases we are ready to offer our 'good services' in conflicts between social spheres and groups, as well as between their organized representatives and government agencies."

The chance was given me to participate in many PRON meetings on various levels. To listen to presentations of eloquent speakers and clumsily-concocted phrases of township representatives. To become acquainted with the bulk of knowledge weighed down by the expertise of people with academic qualifications, and from the practical experience based on the sound thought-patterns of workers. There also managed to be a maniac at this forum --because, after all, PRON invites all people to the discussion--who tried to sell his unrealistic ideas.

I lacked something, that I would describe as "creative frenzy" and with which the question of the barely perceptible participation of young people in the movement is related.

However, impatience was the common feature of 20-year-olds involved in the revitalization--party members as well as labor union members. On the other hand, discretion spoke through the mouth of those, who didn't know December, October and years earlier still from various sources of distributed leaflets, but from their own painful experience. The former called the latter opportunists and the latter called the former lunatics. Today in PRON precisely a deepened outlook, distance (not free of time or skepticism) and reflection dominate. Courage and an uncompromising attitude are rarer features.

The essence of the movement was formulated this way in the proposal of the declaration: "We want to assert and influence the attitudes of those who hold power as well as on the attitudes of society." That statement opens the field to many basic questions: PRON is also made up of signatories, who themselves are part of the authorities. Are their representatives in PRON going to "assert an influence" on themselves? How will the relation be shaped between individual participation and group participation, such as submitted by many organizations? Will PRON have enough strong arguments in order to convince society of the authorities' decision, which--leading with realism--it recognizes as necessary, although they will be unpopular?

Such questions are formulated during pre-congress discussion. One also tries to find an answer for them. Nothing is prejudged. The Movement still continually possesses the certainty that everything is possible. But at the

May congress shuffling the deck of differing viewpoints, hypothetical constructions, and straightforward chances must end. It will be necessary to already lay the cards out on the table not in the form of projects, but of a concrete program. Let society be the judge...

Krakow, Nowy Sacz, Tarnow PRON Congresses

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Ryszard Niemiec, Ryszard Dzieszynski, and Slawomir Sikora: "A New Stage in the Development of PRON--Permanency After Provisionalism"]

[Text] The movement of national rebirth along the road to the Congress is passing from a state of provisionalism into one of lasting presence in the Polish sociopolitical reality. An important event in creating this state were the provincial PRON congresses in Krakow, Tarnow, and Nowy Sacz. Our own reporters took part in the meetings: Ryszard Niemiec, Ryszard Dzieszynski and Slawomir Sikora. This is their report:

"Poland still has not perished..."--the national anthem sung in the stately hall of the Slovacki Theater opened the session and at the same time created a climate of high patriotic intensity, such as accompanied the PRON First Provincial Congress in Krakow. For the cautious observer of the congress a strong accent of social welfare practicality could be found without difficulty in the contents of the presentations, which supplemented and materialized the pompous trend of the gathering. Aside from an outline of future plans to which the movement aspires and for the cause of which it is working (a socialistic Poland, ruled democratically by marxists, but not rejecting the diversity and multiviewpoint character of society) present already in the program address of Provisional Provincial Council chairman Ryszard Zielinski was a whole series of considerations resulting from the sum of fundamental experience of PRON elements. The characteristic of the fruits from pre-congress discussion in the PRON community of the Krakow region brought to the forefront two essential thoughts of a moral-governmental system character. The first of these is a collective support for new incentives for our traditional tolerance, slogans of which are worthy of embellishing organizational banners, but above all should be disseminated throughout everyday life. The second constitutes an interpretation of the first and foremost essence of the movement, which in the political system of the PRL should fill the role of a genuine consultant for decisions, and above all should be provided with legislative initiative.

Two provoking statements for reflexion on the fatherland should still be absorbed from the presentation full of literary expression by editor Zielinski. In mending the fatherland nothing has to be demolished that our predecessors built, and in expressing one's opinion about this renovation one still cannot recognize the movement as the exponent of the entire nation's opinion.

Numerous references to the chairman's statement were found in extensive discussion made up of presentations by 30 delegates representing all walks of

life and social forces supporting PRON. Very grave statements were made by representatives of Catholic circles associated with "Pax", ChSS [? Christian Association of Students], PZJS [? Polish Union of Catholic Students] (among other Jan Piotrowski, Franciszek Mamulski, Adam Markowski). They expressed a common will to intensify the stature of actions which will bring us out of the crisis. They can be intensified also by expansion of the social base for government rule, and through working out the most favorable electoral law, possible for the present development of internal relations.

The subject of honest work in the broad sense came up so often in the course of discussion, that one can speak of its genuine renaissance, especially when we had to deal with the decay of the trend in the culture of debate among Poles for 2 1/2 years. Considerations about social pathology as a second extreme of our reality constituted a supplement. A series of powerful presentations, recalling the intensification of efforts to protect man's natural environment were begun by Tadeusz Szostak, who once more outlined the threat to Krakow's old city, as well as Wieslaw Topornicki who made a plea to society to stop the processes degrading the city and mines of Wieliczka. The statement by Jan Piotrowski, suggesting that the attempts from work to protect the environment be made an item in the PRON program harmonized with these postulates. Speeches of activists from the village environment--Wanda Bednarska, Zdzislaw Sierant, Franciszek Lis, Jan Grzybowski--were received very warmly. They presented information about work of elements of the movement, which among other things, do much toward overcoming misunderstandings between the city and the village, are concerned with inspiring civilization progress, with the fate of old people in the village and with an equal start in life for farm children. Among the presentations which penetrated the area of cultural problems, the largest impact was made by Mariana Kuszy's speech, in which she appealed for intercession of the PRON council in the matter of the drawn-out rebuilding of the Krakow National Museum. The congress passed a special resolution on that subject in which they declared their help. Also, a declaration which promised involvement of the PRON council with the idea of saving Wieliczka became the final document of the congress in the form of a resolution. The third was a resolution forming conclusions from the pre-congress discussion in the Krakow region's PRON conglomeration.

The final accent of the First Congress was the elections. From the 150-person body of the Krakow region PRON Council, a 33-person presidium was selected. At the head of it stood: Ryszard Zielinski as chairman, Zbigniew Siatkowski (he led the congress meeting with the normal fluency he is known for) as first vicechairman, and Jan Kucharski as vicechairman. From among 47 delegates elected to the PRON congress in Warsaw (we will give the full list on the TV "Krakow Chronicle") five activists were recommended to the national PRON ruling body. These are: Zbigniew Siatkowski, Jan Kucharski, Wanda Bednarska, Franciszek Mamulski and Gustaw Lembas.

The following took part in the congress meeting: member of the Central Committee's Politburo--Prof Hieronim Kubiak, First Secretary of the PZPR Krakow region committee--Jozef Gajewicz, chairman of the United Peasants'

Party Krakow regional committee--Wladyslaw Cabaj, vicepresident of the Democratic Party Krakow regional committee--Zbigniew Razowski, mayor of Krakow--Takeusz Salwa, chairman of Krakow's National Council--Apolinary Kozub, and chairman of the National Unity Front Krakow region committee--Prof Mieczyslaw Klimaszewski.

Over 230 participants of the PRON Provincial Conference--delegates and guests --who deliberated last Friday in Nowy Sacz wrapped up this stage of discussion on the shape, purposes and assignments of the movement. Few of those among the 27 who took part in the discussion gave a straight answer to the questions: With what kind of comments, conclusions and propositions the Nowy Sacz delegation will take to the Congress? The majority of them concentrated on describing work of movement elements in their environments up to this time, difficulties and dangers that PRON and OKON [Citizens' Committees for National Salvation] activists must conquer and avoid. In statements concerning the movement, concern about bringing society out of the moral crisis came up most frequently. According to many of those in the discussion this crisis is the cause of much unhappiness which has come upon the country.

Wladyslaw Kita asked: How is it that poverty once united us and now it divides us with difficulties? PRON will not waste the chance for rebirth if it gathers together people with big hearts and clean hands.

Gabriel Urbanowska proposed a different interpretation of the acronym PRON: "Poland [P]-with love; countrymen [R]-my brothers; rebirth [O]-my purpose; renovation [N]-of the republic in my hands," so that these thoughts can be a guide for action in an agitated society.

Olgierd Debski said, that PRON will meet the expectations which many people have toward it, if it proves that it is an authentic and credible organization. It must have the possibilities to express openly its judgments and opinions, and should extend social control over government administration. Another among those at the discussion stated, that whether the movement will be a new force and standard in social life does not only depend on the activists themselves, but also on whether the authorities want to have a critical partner and whether people will believe that through PRON they will have an influence on life in the country.

A different train of discussion concerned the need for political realism (for instance that statement of Jan Bogdanowicz) and including the movement in the fight for threatened peace in the world (the statement of Lieut Col Boguslaw Kolsut).

Addressing himself to the congress delegates Franciszek Sentysz requested that they return with a PRON statute clear and understandable for everyone. Discussion on the form and tasks of the movement can be summed up with the words of Aleksander Giertler, who said that from the point of view of a lack of answers on a number of basic questions concerning PRON, it is hard enough to come about a description of which kind of forms it will present and with what will it concern itself. On the other hand, in order to gain social acceptance, it is easier to say what the movement should not be.

The conference participants added 5 persons to the Nowy Sacz delegation to the congress and accepted nominations for candidates to the future ruling body of the PRON National Council.

The session was conducted by Jan Turek--chairman of the PRON Provincial Provisional Council, and attended also by: Jozef Brozek--first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Edward Nowak--secretary of the United Peasants' Party Provincial Committee, Zbigniew Drozd--vice chairman of the Democratic Party Provincial Committee, Tadeusz Zapiorkowski--chairman of the National Provincial Council, Kazimierz Weglarski--chairman of the National Unity Front Provincial Committee, governor of the Nowy Sacz province--Antoni Raczka, Col Stefan Michalek--military commissar, Bogdan Stanny--chairman of the Provincial Division of the "Pax" Association, Stanislaw Ledniowski--chairman of the ChSS [?Christian Association of Students] Division.

The rebirth movement already began to form in the Tarnow province in the first day of martial law. Its first elements arose in Debica and Bochnia in the form of Citizens' Committees for National Salvation. Its participants were called "people of good will" and their desire was to strive for national unity and an improvement in the social atmosphere. At first the movement was met with expressions of indifference or even of hostility, during which the greatest part of the community assumed an attitude of anticipation toward it. Nonetheless, it gained more and more followers. Presently 77 elements comprised of 3,000 residents are working in Tarnow Province.

At the PRON First Provincial Congress in Tarnow Saturday chairman of the PRON Provincial Provisional Council--Jan Kuczek--spoke about this in a report opening the discussion in which over 10 participants took part. They pointed out achievements of the rebirth movement as well as its shortcomings. PRON activists intervened several times with a positive result in the matters of residents' everyday life, controlled the correct functioning of trade and the administration, and judged projects of concrete progress by district authorities. Unfortunately it was not possible to expand the base of the rebirth movement among nonparty members. This movement also has not reached youth and women on a broad scale. Therefore it's important that work be especially intensified there, directed in a way so as to gain new members for the movement. Problems of the region also continually not taken care of were talked about: apartment problems, problems with municipal economy, inadequate supply of resources for agricultural production. Kazimierz Sik--farmer from Plasna--accented that in his presentation: he said that agriculture must pay off, but how can one work here when prices for production resources are so high and prices for sale of their products not very high. This must be changed, for without this the confidence of village residents will never be gained. Marta Strojniak from Tuchow--Socialist Union of Polish Youth activist--appealed for an understanding of youth's attitudes and aspirations, for a kinder approach to its affairs, which will allow us to overcome antagonisms between generation. Mieczyslaw Stach from Mierzchoslawice perceived the leading tasks of the movement in bringing help in solving the everyday problems of social life, for this is one of the roads leading out of the crisis. He called attention to the fact, that a great number of

citizens' complaints and grievances about the work of offices and institutions are not handled honestly, which is not favorable to building of social understanding.

There also was no lack of opinions during the discussion concerning the project of the PRON ideological declaration. According to them, it in essence reflects the general ideas of the movement, nonetheless much of it requires more accurate wording. PRON should also have definite powers in face of governmental agencies and notation should be entered into the constitution of the PRL concerning the role and place of the movement in the country and society.

Among others, guests of the congress were: member of the PRON Provisional National Council presidium--Wit Drapich, secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee--Wladyslaw Plewniak, chairman of the United Peasants' Party Provincial Committee--Stanislaw Partyla, chairman of the Democratic Party Provincial Committee--Zygmunt Pacyna, chairman of the Provincial National Council--Jan Zieba, and governor of the Tarnow region--Stanislaw Nowak.

12281

CSO: 2600/757

INNOVATIVE FUNCTIONS OF PZPR COMMISSIONS VIEWED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 8, 13 Apr 83 pp 8,9

[Article by Andrezej Szczyrek: "From the Experiences of the CC Commission"--
Socialization of Central Echelon Functions"]

[Text] The implementation of problem-solving commissions of the Central Committee resulted in a realistic reform in the party echelons. Due to their efforts in the year and a half of practical party functioning, we are rediscovering nearly all of the most important values through the revived process of Lenin's principles for party functioning implemented at the Ninth Congress.

Activities of the 16 CC problem-solving commissions are determined by the fact that the work of the Central Committee has taken on a truly social character. In the area of their concerns are found problems of interest to a large number of party members, that is why there are frequent commission deliberations in the field, at plants, in the country with the participation of the action groups and directly at the places of employment. Political expression is conveyed through the efficiency evaluation commissions' evaluation of the CC departmental work. Benefiting the evaluation commissions is the democratization in operations of the central party authorities, firming up of the ties of CC divisions with rural village labor and intellectual organizations.

In compliance with section 52 of the PZPR Central Committee's statute, the Central Committee at its second plenary session created 13 problem-solving commissions within the CC: Internal, Ideological, Economic Reform and Policy, Agricultural, Science and Education, Social Policy, Elected and Self Governing Bodies, Youth, Law and Order, International, Protection of Health and Environment, Suggestion and Complaints, Cultural, Mining and Maritime.

Commission activities, in accordance with the authorizations enacted in the "Work Regulations of the Central Committee," devoted primarily to the realizations of the congress' decrees, elaboration of proposals and their presentations to the Central Committee, Politburo and the Secretariat of the CC, as well as conducting analytical research work connected with scheduled plenary meetings, the regulational development projects and elaboration of resolution projects of the CC. Commissions devote much attention to the rendering of opinions, inspiring and controlling the work of the party organizations in this area.

The commission's tasks involve the members of the party's authorities, delegates of the Ninth Congress, first secretaries of the CC, persons performing managerial functions in the sociopolitical organizations, in national administrative and economic boards, political workers of the CC, experts, educators and the patrons of culture.

In the course of the transpired year and a half of operations, the commissions have jointly held 143 meetings. The problems undertaken by them are of a wide scope involving the complexities of questions in ideologies, politics, social and organizational functions of the party. The result of these efforts was the preparation of document projects for plenary meetings of the CC.

CC Plenum Preparations

Important and worth mentioning are the expansive social methods the CC employs in the preparation of its plenary meetings. Ordinarily they are preceded by consultations in work establishments and rural party organizations. They are enriched by suggestions of the provincial committees as well as other commissions and also by suggestions of social and youth organizations. Up to this time, all resolutions accepted by the CC were prepared or evaluated by problem-solving commissions of the CC.

The next meeting of the Central Committee will be dedicated to ideological problems and staff policy. For instance, preparations are being made for the creation of five problem-solving commissions: Interparty, Science and Education, Culture and International.

Results of the commission's activities and cooperations with the departments of the CC are also a series of documents, programs and standings in relation to many important directions of party activities. After their analysis and acceptance at meetings of the Politburo or else, the secretariat of the CC, they became mandatory directives. Of the many document programs passed in this manner we will name a few: "Directives of the Politburo of the CC PZPR for 1982/83 Concerning Meetings and Report Conferences," the Interparty Commission's "Founding of a Party Educational System Dealing With Organizational Programming," the Ideological Commission's "Determination of the CC PZPR Secretariat on the Subject of Improvements in Safety and Health at Work," and the Commission on Social Policy. Included in these types of initiatives should be the first plenary of the party's Ideotheoretical General Conference organized in April of last year and represented a wide display of party attitudes toward the major problems of the country.

Suggestion Activities

An important developed field of endeavor of the CC is the expression of opinions on laws of the Sejm. The commission's political actions in this field are most often expressed by the formulations of its own positions, basically achieved through consultations within party organizations. The influence of the commission activities on the Sejm's legislative functions evidences itself also indirectly through invitations to members of PZPR to meetings of permanent staff representatives, allowing for the transmissions of their observations. From the

abundant accumulation of convictions and opinions of the Commission for Legislative Projects, as a typical example we can name the following: proposals of the Commission for Economic Reform and Policy of the CC on the progress of preliminary efforts for the implementation of economic reforms, the position of the Commission on Science and Education of the CC in the matter of a project for a law on higher education, opinion of the Commission for Elected and Self-Governing Bodies of the CC on projects for laws dealing with agrarian and the cooperatives self-government. Particular activity in this area was shown by the Commission on Law and Order of the CC in its close cooperation with appropriate Sejm commissions, relaying to them its own findings and proposals to many laws, including the procedures for dealing with persons refusing to work or study, dealing with minors and steps for combating alcoholism.

The CC Commission's subsequent area of activity is the rendering of opinions on programs of primary government endeavors. The extensive activity of the commission in this area as well as its increased development of cooperation with individual departments should be noted, and also the effectiveness of the commission's undertakings. This was evidenced by the presentations to an especially elaborated program of the commission regarding a case under consideration by the Council of Ministers, and first of all in the fact that the remarks and proposals of the commission actually had an influence on the final determination of the government. The more important initiatives of this kind that should be mentioned, are: the proposals put forth by the Commission for Economic Reform and Policy of the CC serving the interdepartmental group to profit from a projected housing program, opinions from the Youth Commission of the CC to the youth's life start and occupational preparation program, proposals of the Commission for Protection of Health and Environment of CC in the matter of mother and child protection.

The above-characterized undertakings of the problem resolving commissions of the CC were oriented toward the complex, systematic regulations within the most important areas of the party's and the state's activities. The same difficulties were undertaken by various commissions, sometimes at joint sessions, often reconsidering them, reviewing them from all angles, consulting both with groups of specialists on the particular subject matter and by party organizations having representatives on the commission staffs. It is a common practice to solicit opinions from the Provincial Committees and their problem-solving commissions, also through their mediation with a wide group of party activists.

Assistance for POP

Much attention has been given by the CC Committees to the efforts of the basic party organization and especially to the assurances of better working conditions within political activities.

Very helpful in achieving this were deliberations of the commissions conducted in the field, most of all in work establishments and in the country. These gatherings are more productive than the routine ones since they are held in areas having interest in matters under consideration. Members of the commission provide much time for direct consultations with the workers, thoroughly acquainting themselves with local conditions. To the acting host of the party echelon,

the presence of a large group of Central Committee members offers a favorable occasion for the presentation of his complex work problems and a chance to gain positive determinations of the party organizations. For these among other reasons, all hitherto problem-solving commission field deliberations were very highly rated, equally by commission members and the organizing echelons.

In this endeavor the Mining Commission was the most active. It conducted four field meetings at major mining centers. The Culture Commission conducted two such meetings, one in a large industrial center and one in a rural center. In addition to these, field meetings were held by the: Ideological, Agricultural, Elected and Self-Governing Bodies, Youth, Social Policy and Women's Commissions.

With intentions of improving the functions of the basic party organizations, the Internal Commission of the CC in conjunction with the Organizational Department of the CC prepared a publication titled "Guide Book of the Basic Organization PZPR." Its favorable reception at many centers has encouraged the commission to undertake additional efforts in this direction. Guidelines in the matter of strengthening the party in large labor establishments have recently been compiled in the form of directives. Other projects serving the same purposes are: implementation of regulations initiated by the Interparty Commission for the purpose of withholding a portion of the contribution fund at the disposition of POP, development of a work schedule concept for railroad organizations and in general for their conditions, this was assigned to the Economy Department CC by the Commission for Economic Reform and Policy of the CC, extensive consultations with the participation of all party organizations acting within the health services and with their assistance, consultations with the whole professional public health community on the subject of public health services under economic reform conditions.

On All the Rungs

It is necessary to bring attention to the interesting experiences of the problem-solving commissions, which do not have counterparts in the departmental structures on either the provincial or basic rungs. These commissions have become initiators in the building of party activity structures without the support of the party apparatus, but with the support of the active social groups. The foundations for these structures are the problem-solving commissions called upon at all rungs of the party echelons. A good example illustrating this process is the performance of the Suggestion and Complaint Commission of the CC, since it was the one that introduced the formation of an efficient system for party intervention directly after the Ninth Congress. The first stage of this systems development was the drafting of an all-embracing concept, which was approved at the Ninth Plenum of the CC. Next, was the expansion of the Suggestion and Complaints Commissions at all voivodship committees, city committees, gmina committees and plant committees. Now, since we already have the enlarged basic organizational structures at this level, independent scrutiny was made possible for the social activity groups gathered within the commissions involved in matters pertaining to them, reaching the party commissions from the members together with all the other interventions from citizens. The first positive effects of this really new approach put into practice by the Suggestion and Complaints Committee are evident; such was the

appraisal of the provincial committees in Katowice and Wloclawek, which evaded this problem at their plenary meetings.

Other commissions expanded their party social activity structures analogically: Science and Education Commission of the CC together with the Science and Education Committee of the CC form a center organizing the party's public opinion and party enclaves for educators because of the serious problems connected with the dissemination of education, furthering of science etc. The Cultural Commission of CC and the Commission for the Protection of Health and Environment of CC are expanding their activities in this direction.

Recounting the year and a half achievements of the CC Commission, we can see another current in their work. Many initiatives are present in this new current: preparation of special publications, organizing conferences, controlling work of the echelons and party organizations, conducting analytical research work and also intervening in matters arousing social anxieties and dissatisfactions.

The effects of such varied and important functions of the CC are the noticeable increasing interests of wide public opinion regarding its work. The press coverage is expanding, editors of PAP attend all meetings. Since fall 1982 the TRYBUNA LUDU has been assured of unrestricted coverage of all committee activities. In addition, individual commissions have close contact with other editorial offices of major central periodicals, among others, ZYCIE PARTII, ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE and also occasionally with other editorial offices. The result of this cooperation is the systematic publication of information on commission meetings.

The discussed 18-month term of the CC Commission's work had a decisive meaning in the practical development of basic forms and principals of their activities. Concrete program undertakings whose fulfillments individual commissions directly supervise, have been crystallized. The accumulated gains are worthy of extensive propagandizing, as an example party's central echelon's work; work arising through inspiration and close alliance with party activists.

12306

CSO: 2600/768

PROVINCIAL PARTY UNIONS DEVELOPMENT NOTED

Concrete Activities of Trade Unions

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Wojciech Jaros: "Concrete Action by Dint of Trade-Union Organizations: Elections Continue; The Conference Should Not Be Over-Loquacious; Training the Aktiv--Telephone 517-860; Supra-Plant Structures Since When?"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /By the end of last week 681 trade unions have been registered in Katowice Province; 191 in Bielsk Province; and 149 in Czestochowa Province. Altogether, in these three provinces, 148 additional trade unions which have supplied the required documents to province courts, are awaiting registration./

/Following a marked influx of applications in the fall and winter months of last year, they have decreased in numbers. However, either initiating groups or founding committees preparing the formalization of new trade unions exist and operate in most labor establishments./

Wherever trade unions already are registered, /the stage of elections and of the making of first steps by their authorities/ is continuing. Unfortunately, both the organizers of and the participants in the elections conferences regularly commit the same several basic mistakes.

/Experience shows/ that the delegates are discouraged by the practice of limiting the number of nominations from the floor of candidates to the trade-union board. This practice prevents certain trade-union organizations (especially in the case of multi-plant enterprises at which a single trade union is established) from nominating their own representatives. /This problem was resolved very effectively during the elections at the KATOWICE Iron and Steel Plant,/ where candidates were presented successively by delegates from individual departments (sections) and at the end the meeting was asked for any additional nominations. It would be a good idea to determine in advance the procedure for eliminating from the election lists those who receive the least number of votes. Otherwise the elections would last indefinitely and be ultimately decided not by the opinion of the voters but by their exhaustion.

It is also inappropriate to restrict the speaking time of persons taking the floor. This should be done when opening the conference and not during it after several "gold-mouthed" speakers already succeed in presenting their opinions on all possible topics.

Experienced trade unionists devote great attention to counting the votes--it is a rare occurrence when the all the counted "pros," "contras" and "abstentions" coincide in number with the number of the theoretically present delegates. Some do not vote at all, while others vote twice each time. The counts are best verified by dividing the auditorium into smaller sectors and assigning each sector to a voting monitor. It is wiser to work harder during the conference than to risk any subsequent justified questioning by anyone of the validity of the decisions it adopts.

Those to whom experience in organizing meetings is not foreign attend to the technical preparation of the conference. That is, they see to it that the selected auditorium has the proper audio characteristics and that anyone making a proposal would be heard by all rather than by his nearest neighbors alone and that mutual shouting would not take place.

Elections of trade-union officers do not end the organizational stage. It is only after these elections, and on the basis of the presented proposals and comments, that a concrete plan of activities is elaborated. It is difficult to estimate quantitatively, but in a very large number of cases the situation of trade unions is not easy. They encounter formal barriers placed by the plant management, attempts to impede their activities by exploiting loopholes in laws and provisions and keep them away from providing concrete defense of worker's interests. Even now the need is obvious for forming--wherever possible--supra-plant structures that would help the plant trade unions to exchange experience and take a joint position on problems that recur in discrete subsectors of the economy. For this very reason, and to dissipate certain doubts, the trade unions of miners will next week organize a meeting with representatives of the Ministry, the Presidium of the Social Consultation Commission under the PRL Council of State and the Constitutional Commission active under the Katowice Province People's Council.

Some of the unions at which elections already are over are registering their representatives for training courses for the trade-union aktiv. Information on such training is provided by the Province Information and Consultation Team for Trade Union Affairs, Katowice, telephone 517-860. It is worthwhile to consult that office about any questions or doubts. For experience shows that a trade union which uses the services of a plant legal advisor gets sometimes misled--not necessarily deliberately but sometimes out of simple ignorance of the most recent regulations. And let us bear in mind that the power of the new trade unions is to reside not in the loudness of shouting by their representatives but in skillfulness of action based on the provisions of the labor law code mandatory in the PRL.

Organizational Supra-Plant Union Structures

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Interview with Alfons Soczynski, inspector for trade union affairs, by (zka): "Before the Supra-Plant Structures Are Formed" under the rubric "Organizational Activities of Trade Unions"]

[Text] /The Information and Consultation Team for Trade Union Affairs has now been active for 5 months. It was appointed on 21 October of last year by a resolution of the Presidium of the RNWWiMW [People's Council of the Wroclaw Province

and the City of Wroclaw]. What conclusions ensue from its experience so far? What plans?/

/We interviewed Mr. Alfons Soczynski, inspector for trade union affairs t the RNWWiMW offices:/

[Question] First, please tell me who are on the Team's staff.

[Answer] The Team consist of eminent experts in the theory and practice of law. There are 13 of them. They do their work on volunteer basis, contributing their own leisure time. The director is Judge Zbigniew Doroszewski, chairman of the District Labor and Social Insurance Court. Initially they chiefly provided information and counsel on establishing new trade unions. They showed up for work four times a week. Now that some trade unions already are operating, they are on duty twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays from 1000 to 1400 hours. They chiefly provide legal advice. In addition, one person stays on duty daily right here in Room 562 at the telephone number 44-78-60, between 0800 and 1500 hours.

[Question] Are you that person?

[Answer] Yes. I try to provide assistance in organizational matters, on the scope of activities of trade unions, etc. It is simply that the renewal of trade union activities early this year has led to new problems. Thus, the forms of the Team's work had to be adapted to the new situation. The Team had to be complemented with members of the boards of the trade unions that already operate in work establishments, on selecting them so that they would represent different occupational groups. On 15 March the thus enlarged group held its first session. It included chiefs of trade unions from the JELCZ [expansion unknown], the CHEMI-TEX Synthetic Fibers Industry Works, the ASPA [expansion unknown], the State Motor Transport [PKS], the Polish State Railroads [PKP], the Gniechowice State Farm and the Municipal Enterprise for Communal Helth Services [MPSUK], and they discussed the problems and doubts following the initial period of trade union activities.

[Question] Did any commonly shared doubts emerge in their comments?

[Answer] Yes. They mentioned for example the need to create supra-plant structures. Not just after 1 Jan 1984 but earlier. This would make them more effective. On the very day on which that session was held, RZECZPOSPOLITA published an article on the pertinent comment of the Legal Commission under the Council of State. It is worth noting that there exists the possibility that the period during which only plant trade-union structures can exist will be shortened. Such a decision can be taken by the Council of State. Even now, of course, discussions may be under way on supra-plant structures. Here, they are under way, besides: on 22 February and 1 March this was discussed by agricultural workers. Tomorrow agricultural trade unionists from ten provinces of the south-eastern region will hold a meeting. Construction workers, railroaders, chemical industry workers, and employees of trade, communal economy and labor cooperatives are preparing joint conferences. The participants in the expanded session of our team considered how to solve the following problem: since the trade unions are not yet too large numerically, their board officers and heads as a rule serve on volunteer unpaid basis. Yet at the same time, at the JELCZ plant, for example, where the trade union has only several hundred members, it attends to problems of the entire workforce of several thousand. Many agreements with the management cover not only the union members but all employees. Since many of the matters

agreed upon affect the entire workforce and require the devotion of a great deal of time, it has been proposed that trade-union activists become salaried. But the only question is, how will they be funded? The trade union at the plant simply cannot afford it. What about the management then? The new members of the Team value also praised highly the seminars on trade unions organized by the TWP [Society for the Popularization of Knowledge] and the idea of commencing their third cycle.

[Question] What kind of third cycle?

[Answer] Perhaps I should begin by saying that, contrary to public view, the persons who at present undertake to form trade unions lack, as a rule, previous experience in trade-union activity. Generally they used only to be beneficiaries of that activity. Now that they took over the helm, they have to be helped, chiefly in learning about the legal provisions on which their activity is based. This is promoted by the first and second training cycles organized by the TWP Province Board (which had been besides reported on by GAZETA). Considering that the new trade unions already are beginning to make the first mistakes due to still incomplete knowledge of the pertinent laws, the Team found it necessary to organize two-day training courses. It has submitted a corresponding proposal to the presidium of the People's Council. It is evident, after all, the more trade unionists are conversant with legal provisions and knowledgeable about their rights, the more effectively they can accomplish their ends. In this connection, I would like to add that training in trade-union law should be extended, properly speaking, not just to unionists but also to directors and managers who, too, make many mistakes which often stem from ignorance.

[Question] What mistakes are made by unionists?

[Answer] Sometimes, for example, they try to act in lieu of social service commissions. At the aforementioned session one unionist complained that at his plant the social services commission operates so well that his trade union cannot match it. But the point is not to match it. This is a misunderstanding. The question of whether trade unions are to attend to such matters or to more pertinent problems is contested at every meeting. If they do so, perhaps they will lack the time to focus on more pertinent problems.

In some cases, too, trade unions cannot find a niche of their own in the structure of an enterprise. For example, here and there they already succeeded in offending the management. The point is not that they should act humbly but that their militancy and uncompromising attitude should simply be astute, as then the effectiveness of their action, too, will be greater. This is what counts in the end.

It also happens that founding committees elect provisional officers from among themselves, and even become regular officers, of the trade union. This is impermissible. A founding committee has only two tasks: to register the trade union and to prepare elections. It is not, on the other hand, an organ authorized to act as a trade union. Hence, elections should not be delayed. The election of a social inspector of work also should be borne in mind. There are plants at which this is not done because the new decree on social work inspection is being awaited. But actually, until this happens the old decree is still in force. The new decree can be expected only after a few months. Should then during this period the trade union suspend its activities with regard to assuring safety and hygiene of labor? One would say that a trade union as such has the right to

demand improvements in working conditions. This is true, but it lacks the pertinent powers such as a social inspector of work has.

What else....? Many rules vital to the trade unions are not directly specified in the decrees. They have to be spelled out in the union's own statute. This concerns, e.g. election bylaws, the level of statutory allowances for members, dues, etc. Sometimes certain of these matters are overlooked in statutes and doubts are resolved by looking up general regulations.

[Question] Let us return for a moment to the expanded session of the Team on 15 [Mar 83]. It was not attended by representatives of plants outside Wroclaw (other than the Gniechowice State Farm). Are not you confining your activities too much to Wroclaw?

[Answer] The very next day after that session, on 16 March, we met in Wolow with representatives of 24 work establishments from the Wolow, Winsko and Brzeg Dolny gminas, because the Team realized that more frequent circuit trips are necessary. It is also making preparations for meeting directly at work establishments. Then the eventual information could be more concrete.

[Question] Could you describe the Wolow meeting a little more?

[Answer] Among other thing, a proposal on consultations was made there. The reproach was made that such consultations, if they exist at all, are practiced in giant industrial plants only, whereas 60 percent of workers work in small plants and view certain matters differently. Thus, if consultations are to be done, they should be done at 10 large plants and 20 small ones. It was asked whether anybody at all would ever travel to Wolow for consultation. So far this has never yet happened.

[Question] Perhaps in conclusion you could remind us how many trade unions operate in Wroclaw and the province?

[Answer] By 14 March they numbered 248. Elections already took place in 70. In addition, 20 more unions are waiting to be registered in court. Further, 285 founding committees are active. Unionists frequently complain about their hard situation. Certainly, they do not have it easy. They have the impression that they are not being helped. Of a certainty, not everything is being done for them, but this has its advantages perhaps. The fact that theirs are not hothouse conditions should promote the emergence of authentic activists. Otherwise the unions would be full of careerists. The current unionists must fight for many matters on their own.

Creation of Supra-Plant Trade Union Structures

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (rat): "Meeting of Unionists from Mining, Metallurgical and Power-Industry Enterprises" under the rubric "Before Supra-Plant Structures Are Established"]

[Text] (Own information.) Yesterday's meeting of the chairmen of trade unions or founding committees at 12 enterprises representing the mining, metallurgical and power industries discussed the problems that arise during the formation of trade unions or in union activity itself. An important item in the debate was reflections on the future, eventually accelerated, process of the formation of supra-plant structures. Most discussants were in favor of having the unions

transcend single-plant barriers as soon as possible. The metallurgical trade unionists shared with others at the meeting their experience in this matter, considering that they already held two national meetings and have drafted a proposal for the future federative-type supra-plant structure.

Among other matters discussed, much attention was devoted to the unfavorable phenomenon of excessively low participation in unions by representatives of middle- and high-level technical supervision at enterprises. It was said that this is largely due to respect for a wrongly interpreted principle of the independence of trade unions vis a vis the management. A similar problem concerns party members--quite a few of them refrain from joining trade unions, fearing the accusation of forming "party" unions.

The meeting also discussed the sources of the conflicts arising between trade unions and workers' councils at certain plants and considered ways of resolving them. Much attention was also devoted to financial problems. From the presented information it ensues that most trade-unions in these three industries follow the principle of utilizing union funds in amounts strictly proportional to their membership.

In Krakow operate 26 mining, metallurgical and power-industry enterprises at which trade union organizations could be established. Their establishment there has been initiated only in two plants--the ENERGOPROJEKT Power Plans Bureau (BPE) and the Electronic Analytical Technology Works [ZETO]--while founding committees still are active in the others, and in several of them elections of union officers already took place. More than 6,000 Krakow metallurgical, power-industry and mining workers have already joined the unions.

1386

CSO: 2600/859

SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS, POLITICAL STRUGGLE ASSESSED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 2, Feb 83 pp 5-17

[Article by Jerzy Kraszewski: "In the Shadow of Great Manipulations"]

[Text] In recent years, at least three parallel occurring, intermingling factors have distorted the consciousness of a significant part of society in a direction that is alien to socialism. The first factor is the deep economic, social and political crisis that has developed over a long period of time and became evident at the end of the 1970's. The second factor is the activism of antisocialist groups who entered into Solidarity elements and there, for the first time, acquired the possibility of working openly in legal structures. This factor had a destructive effect on the processes that were taking place in the social consciousness over a relatively lengthy period: between August 1980 and December 1981. The third factor is the diversionary role of Western anticommunist centers, who used the crisis and the rightist leaning of Solidarity leadership centers for their own ends.

How strong was the impact of our adversary on the social consciousness of the Poles? Are the traces of this influence still apparent? To what extent do rightist elements form the views and attitudes of citizens? Are these serious phenomena, or are they merely incidental? In other words, is there still a rightist, counterrevolutionary threat in Poland?

As we try to find answers to these questions, we should keep in mind that the 16 dramatic months ushered in not only a wave of emotions often prevailing over reason, reactionary pressures, antisocialist ideological content, doubts and errors, but also the polarization of political views and painful experiences; many illusions and delusions were shattered.

A severe, unrelenting political and ideological struggle in Poland surrounded the renewal slogan. This struggle was aided and abetted by the various rightist centers and groups. Taking advantage of society's dissatisfaction that was caused by errors in socioeconomic policy, oppositionist forces, encouraged by the first successes and by the weak counteraction of the authorities, manipulated moods and edged toward confrontation. According to their forecasts and projections, which were upheld by the capitalist West, the confrontation was to change the structure of forces in our country, it was to dismantle the system and it was to change the European postwar reality. The stakes were high.

Am I too severe in this brief assessment of the situation? Perhaps I am. Discussions and arguments surround the subject of the "post-August" situation in Poland and they surely will continue. They are useful because they may result in complete and reliable assessments. It is still difficult to answer many questions; studies and deeper analyses of the phenomena now occurring in Poland are needed. We have had to deal with the greatest political shock occurring in a socialist country and we have repulsed an extremely strong and, in our estimation, especially threatening attack of counterrevolutionary forces.

The quarrels over the genesis of events, the role of the subjective and objective elements, the impact of our mistakes and the role of the opposition during the first weeks of the strikes will surely continue. From the outset, however, it was clear to everyone that did not succumb to false euphoria that the main line of division in this conflict occurred between leftist and rightist forces. The division into the authorities and society was a sham opposition that was envenomed by our adversary. The major danger to the socialist state of Poland came from rightist social forces. In my opinion, we must consider this to be axiomatic. Anyone who rejects or questions this is on the wrong track and will draw false conclusions from his assessments. However, anyone who ignores the harm of conservative views and attitudes is in error. I am speaking here of attitudes and views that are truly conservative and dogmatic. I make this qualification because in some circles, faithfulness to Marxist-Leninist principles is provided with the ethics of dogmatism and views acknowledging the universality of the concept of socialism are considered to be conservative.

Obviously, conservative views do exist; essentially they emanate from fear that arises when one is faced with the new questions that a developing socialist society poses in a natural way. This kind of conservatism caused much harm in the past; perhaps it has an impact on some elements of social practice even today. Nevertheless, it is not a source of political programs that could obtain the support of the masses; thus, it does not pose a threat on a broader scale.

It is a different matter with regard to rightist political tendencies, society's conservatism and the class reactionary spirit of the forces that, despite attempts at camouflage, appear clearly as antisocialist, probourgeois forces founded on resentment and ideological confusion, and taking advantage the moods of criticism.

How did it happen, that 37 years after the party assumed authority, 37 years into the building of socialism in Poland, the Right is still very strong? Why has it succeeded in taking advantage of our mistakes to direct society's dissatisfaction against the system? Where should we look for the sources that began with the proposals to create new trade unions and ended with the notions of taking over the authority? What was the basis of the Polish oppositionist movements of the 1970's? Why did part of the working class yield uncritically to the manipulative actions of the rightist leadership circles of the former Solidarity? Why did this process last so long, and why is there still a part of society today that does not realize that continuing the course of events uncontrolled would lead to the fall of the state and a national catastrophe?

These are the crucial, cardinal questions regarding the essence of the conflict in Poland. They must be asked not for historical purposes alone. The traces of the rightist danger and counterrevolutionary threats have not at all disappeared. The imposition of martial law in the spirit of the political powers granted by the PZPR and the decisive actions of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON], the state authority and its security service dispelled the threat of civil war, broke the back of the opposition and markedly curtailed its activity. Words of the greatest recognition and respect are due those that, on that December night, without applause assumed the burden of responsibility for the decisions that had been made. The counterrevolution was halted, anarchy was checked and the dangerous course of events was stopped.

The rightist threat continues, although its vehicles are weakened considerably. Cheap optimism and faith in quick success did damage. Not all premises leading to the activation of rightist forces during the second half of the 1970's, and especially in 1980-1981, have been eliminated. This will not be effected by a single decision, but by many months of arduous work. The deformations of the consciousness, and thereby its increased susceptibility to the influence of alien views and ideas, were too deep. The return to normalcy can occur only as a result of a consciously steered, controlled and wisely programmed process. I believe that we must even consider the need to reeducate society, based on many factors. Certainly, continued progress in solving economic problems, and especially in easing and eliminating the problems of daily life will be of basic importance here. However, the issue is far more difficult and complex.

From Psychological War to Political Diversion

To comprehend the essence of the processes that occurred until recently in Poland, we must realize that an important cause of the especially dangerous course of 1980/1981 events in Poland was, and is the activity of internal anticommunist forces. In the past few months, this has practically attained the status of governmental doctrine for some states in the North Atlantic Pact, especially the United States. From the beginning, oppositionist movements in Poland won not only the sympathy of NATO states, but also their help in the form of financial and material assistance and, above all, in propaganda campaigns often, but not exclusively, conducted via Western diversionary broadcasts.

It is a characteristic phenomenon: the more the signs of stabilizing processes in Poland, the more the manifestations of normalization and progress in implementing the reform in accordance with systemic principles, the more brutal the psychological war waged against our country becomes. Its initiators no longer even hide their objectives behind lofty slogans as they did several years back, they no longer weigh their words; they set terms and try to dictate their ideas openly. With the assistance of Radio Free Europe, and riding the wave of such official governmental broadcast stations as the BBC and Radio France Internationale, the appeals have continued to rush in provoking conflict either indirectly or directly, calling for the organization of illegal structures and disseminating universally the instructions

of the underground and various appeals against the state. The interference of Western capitalist states into Poland's internal affairs has reached an unprecedented level in the practice of international relations and is an unparalleled phenomenon in contemporary history that requires separate study and research.

Why do the United States and Western anticommunist centers that are either directed or inspired by this state attack Poland so feverishly and brutally? Why does the United States continue its propagandistic aggression against our country? Why do they assist the opposition, thereby violating the principles stated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] Final Act?

We recall that from the inception of the 1980 events in Poland, and probably before then, the United States and its special services were involved directly in supporting a more and more active antisocialist opposition. This support included continuing plans aimed at taking advantage of the growing economic problems to weaken and even demolish the socialist system in Poland. Orders were issued by the major NATO diversionary and strategic planning centers in support of even stronger propaganda activity. The ultimate goals emanated from the assumptions of global strategy in the struggle with the socialist world. It is a strategy from which the capitalist world has never really withdrawn, a strategy to which it has remained faithful since the time of the first expeditionary corps that intervened in Soviet Russia.

The current assumptions of the strategy of capitalist states, revealed in 1980-1981 in Poland, was--to put it briefly--the resumption of the destructive processes in Poland, the creation of a state of anarchy and the breaking of the ties linking socialist states. This is only a step away from the dissemination of ultranationalistic slogans, from the undermining of military alliances and from changes in the European power structure. This structure resulted from World War II and postwar developments. It was sanctioned by agreements in Yalta and Potsdam, agreements between the FRG and socialist states and the Helsinki CSCE Final Act.

Thus, the perspective of time allows us to say today that the anti-Polish diversion was part of the global strategy of capitalist states against the socialist world. The tactics were changed to adapt them to contemporary reality. One method was used in Hungary in 1956, another method was used in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and a third one was used against us at the end of the 1970's. This last time Poland was chosen because it represented the weakest element in the community.

The primary focus was on discrediting socialist authority. Several years prior to the 1980 events, the Western ideological offensive more and more often transgressed the bounds of legality, broadly taken, and assumed the forms of overt diversion. Those who adhered to anticommunist ideology accepted every form of penetration that led to the reduced influence of the party among the working class. That is why from the beginning, Western anticommunist centers wanted to establish a strong oppositionist center in the newly arising Solidarity in 1980 that would expand their influence

on the broad member masses of this organization and on the major directions of its work over a short period of time. To this end, they used a vast store of methods that had been prepared and tested over decades in capitalist states. They took into consideration the pro-Western sympathies of part of Polish society, the many years of subtle propaganda of the "Western life style," the memory of Poland's historical ties with several West European countries and the sphere of influence of the Catholic Church. Inculcating views alien to socialism on Polish soil, they disseminated the idea that "Soviet-type socialism" does not lend itself to Polish conditions, that there are major sources of difficulty in its application to Poland. The ideological ferment grew more potent and tendencies and movements in opposition to the party developed practically openly. As is known, the center surrounding the Paris KULTURA and Radio Free Europe played a special role. Cultural and scientific exchanges, scholarships, contact with artists and other forms of cooperation between states were also used for diversionary purposes.

Did the capitalist West really play a vital role in the events in Poland? I am not an adherent of the conspiratorial theory of events and I do not believe that social movements and powerful political shocks, such as those we experienced in 1980-1981, can be brought on solely through political diversion and manipulative propaganda activities.

Nevertheless, we should not treat the aggressive propaganda spread against Poland, the psychological war that has been conducted for a long time, the provocations carried out by the West and the entire arsenal of other means currently in use against socialism as independent acts. They are the external manifestations of an objectively occurring contemporary process based on the greater internationalism of the class struggle by comparison with the past. Why its scope was never marked out by national boundaries, today it clearly has assumed global proportions. This emanates from the development of two separate political and state systems based on various social classes. Thus, it is not only the structure of class and political forces within a given country that determines the contemporary class struggle, but also the corresponding structure of these forces on the international scale. The fact that a force of groups inimical to socialism is dependent not only on an internal base but on the assistance of anticommunist, bourgeois external forces may be a consequence of this objective process. The example of Poland confirms this idea, once again proving that at least capitalism has not stopped exporting counterrevolution.

Thus, I think that we must expand our field of argumentation when we discuss the origins and causes of the crisis. Preoccupied with laying blame on ourselves (which is real, but frequently so exaggerated as to be incomprehensible to a foreigner), we are sometimes inclined to forget that we are living in a divided world marked by political and ideological struggle and that the internal and external factors of development interpenetrate and are contingent upon one another. Peaceful coexistence, which was initiated by the communists, does not and cannot mean suspending the class struggle. The very idea of coexistence presumes the existence of systemic and political differences and does not exclude competition and the struggle over ideas. But in all of this, international law and international customs must be honored.

Thus, I would answer the question: "What are the sources of the rightist, antisocialist dangers of Poland?" by saying that they lie not only within the country but in international conditions, in the plans for "plucking out" Poland from the community of socialist states--plans that have not yet been canceled. Our country is still treated by the West as that element with which to begin dismantling European socialism. I believe that the essential sources of danger lie in the consequences of this policy against Poland, that the Polish Right will continue to be willing to draw its forces from them. Under our conditions, the internal premises of counterrevolution are a threat to the extent that they are manipulated from without, by foreign anticommunist centers. Without the hope of external support, the internal forces of counterrevolution would not rise up in assault, knowing that it would not have a chance.

History, the Instrument of Struggle

The sphere in which internal and external counterrevolutionary forces caused the greatest damage in 1980-1981 was undoubtedly the social consciousness, including the historical consciousness. These ravages are so tremendous that it will take much time and effort to undo them. The danger of rightist recidivism in this field is still a threat, for it affects history, and consequently, the extremely sensitive tissue of the Polish consciousness that reacts to assessments of the past and on the ways that they operate.

It was no accident that our political adversary long ago tried to give battle to the party in this field. He partly succeeded in this before the August events: unquestionably, he succeeded after the creation of Solidarity and the entrance of the activists of illegal groups into a legal structure, an organization recognized by the state. This gave them access to a new printing and mass publications base; they were guaranteed the help of a permanent staff of several tens of thousands of people of this "social movement" and they had an economic-administrative base of operations.

The reinterpretation of history according to the concepts of oppositionist groups and in the antisocialist spirit was and still is an important point of the program of our political adversaries. The attitude to Poland's history, and especially to its recent history--the interwar period and the postwar period--became a crucial problem of the ideological and political war that occurred in 1980-1981. The oppositionist groups KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee KOR] and KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland], aided by Solidarity, attacked the Poles' historical consciousness, realizing that that predetermined their national identity and was a basic premise of attitudes, behavior and their relationship to the state. This emanated from the tragic experiences of the Polish people and from their extreme sensitivity to assessments of the past that was, for many generations, the foundation of the future. The activists of counterrevolution understood the interplay of these dependencies and conditions.

The opposition wanted to use history to achieve its immediate and long-term political goals, to revive the theory of the "two enemies" by placing primary emphasis upon anti-Soviet propaganda, to question the rights and native sources of socialism on Polish soil and to propose to society another systemic alternative. For a long time, the perfidious manipulation of native history was carried out on a broad scale. Taking advantage of the fact that our historiography sometimes passed over, explained insufficiently or simplified some fragments of history and that in society, especially among young people, there were large gaps of historical knowledge and familiarity with even the basic facts was lacking, the opposition tried to revise many historical assessments.

This was one of the darkest and most ignominious chapters in the activity of the antisocialist opposition in Poland. It was one of the darkest, because no discretion was exercised in selecting methods: they lied, twisted the facts and accommodated their assessments to the needs of the current political struggle. It was one of the most ignominious chapters because this propaganda was directed toward the younger generation who did not have empirical knowledge of historical facts and had only a weak understanding of them from poor--notabene--textbooks. The historical consciousness of this generation was ravaged and its morale was shaken. This is the greatest crime of those that started this "renewal" movement in history.

A fairly simple scheme was constructed to work on the imagination: pre-September Poland was a free and just country, flowering and respected worldwide, developing and abounding in democratic freedoms. According to this setup, People's Poland, created as a result of World War II, was supposed the negation of the other. The stereotype worked because the youth did not know pre-September Poland, learned about its history from superficial texts and did not know enough to look into the generally available sources and indepth studies. As this was happening, present day Poland was experiencing difficulties; criticism--both just and unjust--reached its peak. Thus, the stereotype worked, the bourgeois system was glorified and the concepts, orientations and ideas that life had proved false long ago resurged.

An example of the use of the past as a weapon was the attitude to Pilsudski. The legend surrounding him was revitalized in a manner resembling the propaganda models of the 1930's. He was described in writing as the "man of the hour" and a genius. However, his biography usually ended with the year 1926. The rest of the story was left blank. It was inconvenient to recall the May coup d'etat, the attempts to make Poland a fascist state, the pacification campaigns, the concentration camp in Bereza Kartuska and many other facts that make up the history of the Second Republic. They are complex, hard to comprehend and have both beautiful and scandalous chapters.

It should be noted that it was not only the editors of illegal publications and the Solidarity periodical that dealt with the rebirth of the Pilsudski myth and lore, as well as with specific attempts to reconstruct the other political directions that had a socially conservative aspect. Similar elements made their way into the columns of other newspapers and periodicals as well.

The depth of the ravages to the historical consciousness emanates primarily from the fact that the antisocialist opposition and its allies, both those who are conscious allies and those who are unaware of being so, have arranged their own "lessons of history" into a scenario of political struggle against the socialist idea, against the party. In an atmosphere of the total negation of the system, in a climate of provocation and tension, it was easy to falsify assessments of the past, to alter the facts and to gloss over what did not serve the purposes of the campaign's organizers.

For example, their purposes were not served by the fact that, after years of servitude, the first Polish government was set up on 7 November 1918 in Lublin under the leadership of PPS [Polish Socialist Party] activist Ignacy Daszynski. This fact did not serve the political goals of the opposition; thus, they omitted it in their "works" and later in the Solidarity paper. It did not serve their purposes likewise because it overshadowed the legend of 11 November 1918, when Pilsudski seized authority over the military from the imperial deputies, i.e., from the Regency Council. That was the extent of what he did. Of course, 11 November has a symbolic function. But history does not like any blank spaces; the historical education of society is effective when it shows the complexity of events and processes, as well as all of their causes. And in November 1918, when Independent Poland was born, there was not just Pilsudski. The working class struggled to rebuild the independent state, a movement of Workers Delegates Councils developed on Polish soil and various concepts for revitalizing Polish statehood confronted one another. All of this is our heritage. We must both know and understand it.

Although the dangers emanating from the manipulation of history are reduced, they still exist. First, ideas disseminated by publishing and propaganda activity of the opposition are still circulating. In many communities, nationalistic and anti-Soviet moods have been aroused, and old resentments and grudges have been rekindled. Second, the manipulation of the past continues, although its scope is reduced. Attempts are made to reawaken legends and myths and to give a one-sided interpretation to history in the columns of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and also in other publications issued by Catholic organizations and groups (and by others as well). In these publications, there still reigns the stereotype that was created by the opposition or its sympathizers at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's: homage is paid to the bourgeois past. The readers of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, on whose pages so much is written about the dignity of man and about just assessments, cannot find out, for example, what the editors of this weekly think, from the perspective of time, about the armed struggles in Krakow in 1923, when several dozen workers were killed, about the 1926 coup, when 500 people lay dead in fratricidal battle, about Bereza Kartuska and the political prisoners of pre-September Poland. Meanwhile, they can ponder over the legend of Pilsudski's Legions. Let them do it, but why must they overuse the epithets of morality and worth?

I believe that the question of historical education should be taken very seriously by all those responsible for the state of the social consciousness. A number of recommendations regarding this issue were made at the

First All-Poland Party Ideological-Theoretical Conference. It is worthwhile to consider what actions we should take and what methods we should use to help bring about the improvement of the state of society's historical know- Not only is there a lack of knowledge about those fragments of history that we have glossed over or interpreted superficially; it concerns practically all of history. One of the most pressing tasks for historians and journalists alike is to determine the cause of this situation. A deeper knowledge of and the laws governing the development of societies would have prevented the manipulation of the people's consciousness in 1980-1981, or at least would have restricted its consequences.

I also think that the methods of disseminating historical knowledge should be reconsidered and discussed. The historians of People's Poland, often researching sources of which only one copy exists, have worked on nearly all areas of our history, and in this regard there are very few blank spaces. These works are not found only in scholarly archives, but are available in bookstores. They have appeared systematically for at least the past 26 years.

However, this is not really very much in the current situation. We need a cohesive Marxist-Leninist concept for disseminating history, a concept free from oversimplification that takes into account the entire complex nature of the historical process and has a place for argument and discussion, but is based on class analysis. This is indispensable not only to know how the historical process took place, but also to comprehend its mechanisms, in order to see historical facts in their mutual dependence, to know how to distinguish cause from effect and to enable history to teach patriotism and love of one's own country, but also respect for other peoples. These general concepts should be adapted to the needs of the younger generation and its teachers with great care, wisdom and consistency. Unfortunately, the level of teaching of history still leaves much to be desired, as does the training of teachers, and textbooks do not encourage the independent study of history.

History education has become in Poland a key ideological and political question. What caused this is part was our neglect that was used cynically by groups inimical to socialism. Setting in order the havoc in the historical consciousness is a burning issue today.

On an Ideological Identity

It is no accident that I have given so much attention to the problem of history and the historical consciousness of society. The importance of history education is never valued enough among us. Meanwhile, various "experts" make the rounds of the various periodicals, twist the facts, make tendentious assessments of the past imposing primitive analogies with the present upon the reader and--encounter no polemics. The limits set on this article do not allow for making extensive use of quoted material as evidence, but there are many examples of the above. These include the way that the November and January uprisings are treated in some publications, including the stating of the slogans of continued struggle with the system and authority under the pretext of pseudo-objective analyses of the possibilities that existed following the defeat of both of these liberation uprisings. Journalists

polemicize over issues of secondary and tertiary importance while the main spheres are without interest for them. They are not real discussions, but polemic window-dressing.

It is not only history that is the issue, but the entire sphere of the social consciousness. During 1982, the initial steps were taken to repair the damages wrought by the work of rightist-counterrevolutionary groups. The imposition of martial law paralyzed the base of the opposition and halted damaging propaganda activity. The situation in the mass media was put in order. The activism of constructive, prosocialist social forces is increasing gradually. The changes are apparent; the progress being made in restoring the Marxist-Leninist character of activities that form the consciousness of society is obvious. Anarchy in economic and public life has stopped, dignity and respect for work are being revived and social discipline is being rebuilt. The premises have been created for stepping up the processes of restoring the position of socialism in the sphere of the social consciousness as well.

Sometimes it appears that these processes are taking place too slowly. Undoubtedly, the generally difficult situation, the constant struggle with everyday problems and crisis fatigue are factors here. These are important elements for forming society's frame of mind.

However, we cannot ignore the impact of the destructive effects of the activities of oppositionist groups before December (which effects are far from overcome) or the consequences of their continued work, and not only in the propaganda sphere. As a result of traditional circumstances, there has arisen in the Church a group that is unable to comprehend the changes occurring in modern Catholicism, is not open to dialogue, maintains the spirit of a crusade and often tries to organize public opinion against socialism.

A disturbing situation continues to exist among some of the intelligentsia, where attitudes that must be defined as messianistic are held. There are also specific attempts to interpret traditions of the active work of the intelligentsia against national and social oppression as a justification of current oppositionist attitudes. In contemporary Polish conditions, both attitudes are becoming the foundation of reactionary tendencies. Of course, this controversial remark concerns only some circles of the intelligentsia. While on the one hand emotions are subsiding, giving way to realistic positions and to getting back on the right track, on the other hand, one observes in these same milieus a relapse into rightist views (to put it mildly), despite the apparent external calm.

The situation among the young part of the working class, that part that represents the first generation of workers, requires separate consideration. It is a group that is not yet formed, that has neither traditions nor experience and is not integrated with the rest of its class milieu. In many plants, especially new plants, the majority of the workforce is represented by first-generation workers. Is this not the reason for the easy giving in to workers' demands in 1980, and later, for the demagogic slogans that were camouflaged by alleged class spirit, but were at odds with basic worker interests? Is it not because many Polish working class forces are only starting their class

struggle that alien ideology penetrated these milieus relatively easily and rightist Solidarity leaders quickly gained their support?

These questions merely skim the surface. They require deeper analysis and study. But we can already express our doubts about the overly frequent use of the phrase "working class protest" as a formula that currently offers the master key to unlock every door; we can wonder whether it is an overly simplistic understanding of a very complex phenomenon. Perhaps the time has come to begin to do serious study of the whole picture of the tendencies that occurred in the summer of 1980. What was the impact of real deformations and errors and what were their consequences? What was the role of the political adversary that took advantage of working class discontent? When and how did the forces of the internal opposition and Western anticommunist centers become involved directly in the unmistakable worker ferment? In what ways were they interrelated and interdependent? What link was there between the appearance of KSS-KOR activists at the striking dockworkers' base and the crystallizing of demands to create new trade unions? Where did KPN activists penetrate Solidarity and what were their motives?

I am writing about all of this because I believe that it is time to embark upon solid, comprehensive, unemotional analyses of what happened in the summer of 1980 in Poland--events that were the beginning of instability in the first stage and of counterrevolutionary processes in the second stage. These analyses must distinguish what was healthy in the July-August protest movement from what was alien, brought in from the outside and aimed toward antisocialist goals planned out in advance. As a sidenote it is worthwhile pointing out the appearance of several extensive monographs (not merely journalistic articles) in recent months whose authors discuss vital problems linked with the work of Solidarity, KSS-KOR, KPN and other antisocialist groups. They are helping us to understand the genesis of those difficult months in 1980 and 1981.

The influence of the Right upon the consciousness of Polish society is deep and the role of counterrevolutionary forces at various points of postwar history is greater than in other socialist countries. We have much to say about crises in People's Poland and we look for causes in our own mistakes. We are correct to do so, but let us be fair: reactionary groups and centers were crisis-producing factors both in 1956 and 1980. At first they took advantage of our mistakes; later they became an autonomous driving force of the crises. But let us not leave any "blank spaces" this time either: difficulties in the building of socialism in Poland, which were greater than in other countries, were not only the result of the incompetence of decision-making centers, but likewise were the result of the greater resistance of antisocialist forces than occurred elsewhere. And, incidentally, it is likewise worthwhile to study what was common and universal to the counterrevolutionary movements in postwar Europe, especially in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and what emanated from the specific national character.

Now that the backbone of the opposition has been broken, the party's political and ideological activism and the increase of its influence on society will decide the course of the struggle against attempts to relapse into rightist

and reactionary tendencies. After the stormy internal events that occurred 18 months ago and later, the PZPR is undergoing a process of gradual strengthening, real renewal and the return to its Marxist-Leninist origins and to the Leninist norms of domestic life. While this continues to be a difficult and slow process, perhaps it is this that guarantees the permanence of the changes that are taking place. The rightist-opportunistic current that began to threaten the party at the end of 1980 and during the first half of 1981 in the form of so-called horizontal structures--although it was eliminated and ultimately repudiated by the party--left traces that still have their mark on the daily life of some PZPR elements. I wrote about this extensively in my sketch "About Quarrels over the Character of the Party," in *NOWE DROGI*, Nos 7-8, 1982.

Let us recall that it was not long ago that the demand was stated publicly that the party should abandon its monopoly on authority; agitation was conducted in favor of pluralism. And today Marxism is used in various circles for their own ends; these groups interpret Marxism as they see fit.

The editorial staff of *NOWE DROGI* correctly takes a clear position in its argument with this concept, counting on a further exchange of ideas within its columns. The problem of pluralism, and also of related or derivative concepts, such as "socialist pluralism," requires fundamental disputation and class assessment.

In various periodicals and at scientific sessions and conferences, attempts are sometimes made to discredit Marxism as a noble ideology, but utopic and thereby harmful. This time we are dealing with a deep, very subtle and camouflaged attack on Marxism. This is so because we have never really carried our struggle with revisionism to its conclusion within our party, for various reasons, whose analysis exceeds the bounds of this article.

This line of reasoning may be reproached in this way: times are different now than they were in the 1950's, when the revisionist trend arose. The current relapse into opportunistic tendencies was caused by other conditions and other factors. While this is true, the roots of the rightist and opportunistic tendencies in the workers movements are always the same: conciliation, fear or confrontation and withdrawal from the adversary. In 1899, when the international Social Democratic Party experienced its first difficulties, Lenin wrote: "(...)what did the noisy 'renewers' who raised such a stir in our times and were grouped around the German socialist Bernstein really add that was new to this [Marxist--author's note] theory? Absolutely nothing. They did not move one step forward with the teachings of Marx and Engels, which they ordered us to develop, they did not teach the proletariat any new methods of struggle, they only held us back, accepting the shreds of backward theories and proclaiming to the proletariat not the theory of struggle, but the theory of conciliation (...)"

Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the Seventh KC [Central Committee] Plenum: "Opportunism is above all vacillation, using devious methods to achieve one's ends and passive adaptation to the current situation. It is bad when party members, aware of the social consequences of opportunism, do not know

how to counteract it. It is still worse when they revise Marxist-Leninist principles. The worst is their conciliation with the political opposition. As experience shows, the opportunist current causes destruction in party ranks, becomes an objective ally of antisocialist forces and represents a real threat."

When I say that at present the political activism of the party will decide the success of the struggle against the relapse into rightist tendencies, I have in mind making its impact on society's consciousness a hundred times more effective, so that the party can mold society's views. In order to achieve this goal, we need above all the ideological explicitness of party work. Meanwhile, it is often the case that both in intraparty work and in public statements and sometimes in the press as well, ideas are still present about the possibility of neutralizing views ideologically and of the rightness of reducing assessments of party-mindedness to criteria fitting within the tactical framework, without taking into account the party's program goals that emanate from a sober analysis of current phase of social-systemic changes in the PRL [Polish People's Republic] far from the grossly premature idea of a "highly developed socialist state." It is true that forestalling or getting the jump on these stages carries the threat of overt doctrinairism. But the lack of ideological perspective carries the threat of the loss of goals and the paths leading to them. The danger lies in the fact that, over the long term, such ideological neutralization of criteria can effectively "purge" policy of all features of socialism. The blurring and obliterating of the lines of ideological division, the lack of skill to educe policy from ideology and the failure to demonstrate the separateness of our ideological assumptions may lead to the recurrence of opportunistic tendencies within the party and may facilitate the penetration of rightist and counterrevolutionary forces and groups outside the party.

We should not confuse the fronts of struggle; we must perceive the enemy where he is most dangerous, on the right. The experience we gained between August 1980 and December 1981 reminded us brutally of this. This is especially so since the antisocialist opposition in Poland is not a myth: it is real and is not abandoning its ambitions. Its primary goal was and is to bring down socialism in our country, to draw Poland out of the socialist community and to break the alliance with the Soviet Union. We must remember this today as well, when the direct threat of counterrevolution has been eliminated.

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CSO: 2600/834

DECREE ON ILLEGALLY ACQUIRED GOODS AMENDED, SUPPLEMENTED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 30, 29 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Decree of the Council of State modifying and supplementing Law No 18/1968 on the monitoring of the source of goods belonging to physical persons, which have not been acquired legally]

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

Article 1--Law No 18/1968 on the monitoring of the source of goods belonging to physical persons, which have not been acquired legally, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 29 of 19 March 1979, is amended and supplemented as follows:

1. Article 2 paragraph 2 will read as follows:

"The monitoring covers goods acquired in the last 15 years prior to the report, both those inherited by the person and those transferred with certain obligations or with clear title. If there is clear evidence that goods acquired after this period have an illicit origin, the monitoring will also be extended to them."

2. A new paragraph, with the following content, is added to Article 2, after paragraph 3:

"In justifying the source of goods, all income obtained as a result of productive activity which is useful to society, as well as income acquired by legal juridical acts, will be taken into consideration. In the case of income for which the appropriate legal fees or taxes have not been paid, the financial organs will be notified so that these fees and taxes can be set and collected within the legally prescribed deadlines."

3. A new paragraph, with the following content, is added to Article 3, after paragraph 2:

"The management of socialist units, financial organs, organs of penal prosecution, as well as of the courts, must play an active role, taking measures to discover and report all cases in which there is an obvious disproportion between the value of the goods and the legal income of a person."

4. Article 5, paragraph 3, will read as follows:

"If there is information or an indication that there is an obvious disproportion between the value of the goods and the licit income of the person the commission orders an inventory of his possessions. The inventory is read and the person is given a deadline for filing a statement in regard to all goods stipulated in Article 2 and for justifying their source."

5. Article 6, paragraph 4, will read as follows:

"Those who, in the period under investigation, have acquired goods from the person in question will be heard in an obligatory manner."

6. Article 8, paragraph 5, is abrogated.

7. Article 9, paragraph 1, will read as follows:

"The commission decides, within 45 days, by a majority of votes, stating the reason for the decision:

a) to send the case for resolution to the court within whose jurisdiction the person resides, if it finds that the source of some goods cannot be justified and their value is greater than 50,000 lei;

b) to close the case, when it finds that the source of the goods is justified and the conditions specified in a) are not present;

c) to suspend the investigation and send the case to the appropriate unit of the prosecutor's office, if an infraction has been committed in connection with the goods whose source is not justified."

8. Article 13, paragraph 2, will read as follows:

"In cases where goods or other material assets which have been taken or hidden, dishonestly, by the person under investigation have been subsequently discovered, or in cases where a person who has taken part in the investigation has received a final sentence for an infraction in connection with the case, as well as in instances where the case has been closed on the basis of a false document, the county tribunal commission will order, on the basis of a new notice or ex officio, within a year of the discovery of these situations, that the investigations by the commission specified in Article 4 be resumed."

Article II--The provisions of the present decree also apply in cases in process of investigation or of judgment on the date that it goes into effect.

Article III--Law No 18/1968 on the monitoring of the source of goods of physical persons, which have not been acquired legally, with the modifications and additions made by the present decree, will be republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 28 April 1983
No 141

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REVIEW OF HUNGARIAN ANTHOLOGY OF ROMANIAN POETS

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 31 Mar 83 p 20

[Article by Gabriela Tepelea]

[Text] In his study on "The Misery and Splendor of Translations," Ortega y Gasset shows the natural barrier which languages, amounting to certain genetic structures, a special past, other mythologies, other mentalities and so forth, place in the path of communication among individuals and peoples. But precisely from these realities incorporated in language--which sometimes are hard to decode, as sometimes is the case with poetry--and precisely from the "misery," that is, from the difficulties, we have the "greatness" of the translation and its role in the movement of ideas and feelings and in creating some bridges drawing people closer together. So the translation appears as a work of integration in humanity. As a result, it cannot be considered a minor, routine work; it must tend toward the supreme aspiration of transubstantiation of the universe of ideas from language A into language B, of artistically recreating in other vocabularies, with all the world's important writers being called on to achieve this.

The recent anthology of Romanian poets which appeared in Budapest* under editorship of Bela Kopeczi in the collection entitled "Anthology from World Literature" has as its point of departure the historical-geographic realities of being neighbors and living together and intends to make a contribution to a deeper knowledge and collaboration between the two nations. The author of this selection previously published two anthologies of Romanian poetry, one in 1951 in collaboration with Istvan Vas and the second in 1961, with no collaborators, added to which are two Eminescu anthologies published in 1967 and 1974. The tributary of the previous collections which appeared in Budapest and Bucharest, this anthology proposes to present a more complete and balanced picture of the evolution of our poetry and to take into account the reconsiderations which have taken place and to give a greater portion than in the past to the Romanian poets of the 20th century. With the specification that, bearing in mind the specific nature of the anthologies, only those representatives of the generation following 1960 could be included, those who have had a sustained and more clearly formed profile in the last 15 years. A specification which must be understood objectively by those who later asserted themselves, since both the selection as well as the translation require a certain period of gestation and balancing.

* "Roman Koltok Antologiaja," Kozmosz Konyvek, Budapest, 1982, editor Bela Kopeczi, 553 pages.

A summary of the anthology is noteworthy. After reproduction of Brancusi's work "Adam and Eve," on the cover, the reader meets the 57 translators alphabetically listed--Hungarian poets from Romania and from the People's Republic of Hungary--in order to enter together with New Year's wishes of "Plugusor" in the area of popular literature. Continuing, there are "Oratie de Nunta" (Zoltan Jekely, translator), three carols, which include "Cantata Profana" reworked musically by Bela Bartok, three ballads and historical legends ("Miorita," Gyula Illyes, translator; "Minastirea Argesului," "Toma Alimos"); 12 doinas, songs, popular verses ("Doina," "Cit o Post Horea-mparat," "A Plecat Motu," "Hora Pacii," and so forth). A judicious selection of popular literature, combining the aesthetic criterion with the historical-social one and illustrating the organic link between popular literature and cultured literature.

For an integral view of the structure of the anthology and the criteria which guided it, we shall continue giving the authors' names, indicating how many poems have been included and, in some cases, the title of the works and the translators. Dosoftei, "Psalm 132"; Miron Costin, a fragment from "Life of the World"; Ienachita Vacarescu--3; Budai Deleanu, a passage from "Gypsyiade"; C. Conachi--1; G. Asachi--1; Iancu Vacarescu--2; Anton Pann--1; Heliade Radulescu--1; V. Cirlova--1; Gr. Alexandrescu--3 ("The Year 1840" and "A Satire on My Soul," translator Lorinc Szabo); C. Bolliac--2; D. Bolintineanu--1; V. Alecsandri--10 ("Hora of the Union," "Doina," "Pohod na Sibir," Ferenc Szemler, translator; M. Eminescu--29 (Letter I, translator Lajos Aprily, "The Morning Star," Berde Maria, Letter III-- Zoltan Franyo, "Venece," Laxalo Galdai); Al. Macedonski--13 ("A May Night"--Gabor Garai, "A December Night," Ferenc Szemler); Al. Vlahuta--3; D. T. Neculuta--2; G. Cosbuc--7 ("We Want Land," Attila Jozsef, "Winter on the Street," Zoltan Jekely; "Three Ladies and All Three," Zoltan Jekely; "Fulger's Death," Gyorgy Raba); D. Anghel--2; O. Densusianu--1; St. O. Iosif--3; T. Arghezi--17 ("The Will," Gyula Illyes; "Psalm," Lajos Aprily; "Return to the Earth," Jeno Dsida); P. Cerna--3; O. Goga--3 ("La Noi," Ferenc Szemler; "Clacasi," Andras Fodor; "A Man," Zsuzsa Rab); I. Minulescu--2; G. Bacovia--7 ("Pastel," "Dies Irae," Jen Kiss); V. Voiculescu--3; G. Topirceanu--3; E. Isac--1; I. Pillat--7; A. Maniu--3; L. Blaga--27 ("Nu Strivesc Corola de Minuni a Lumii," Jeno Koss; "The Stalactite"--Lajos Aprily; "Dati-mi un Trup Voi Muntilor," Zoltan Jekely; "The Poet," Peter Zirkuli); I. Vineanu--7 ("War," "A Remembrance," Janos Szasz); I. Barbu--4 ("Miss Hus," Erno Salamon; "Uvedenrode," Gyorgy Mandics); D. Botez--2; B. Fundoianu--3; Al. Philippide--3; Ilarie Voronca--3; M. Beniuc--9 ("The Apple Along the Road," Zoltan Majtenyi; "Gelu and Tuhutum"); Geo Bogza--2; E. Jebeleanu--11 ("The Meeting With Hiroshima," Jozsef Meliusz; "Balcescu," Erik Majtenyi); M. R. Paraschivescu--3; E. Botta--5; M. Banus--2; G. Naum--2; Magda Isanos--2; D. Stelaru--4; C. Tonegaru--1; Geo Dumitrescu--2; Radu Stanca--1; V. Porumbacu--2; St. Aug. Doinas--7 ("The Ship's Log," Domokos Szilagyi); Nina Cassian--3; A. E. Baconsky--7 ("The Wind," Sebastian Brant," Sandor Kanyadi); L. Dimov--1; Dan Desliu--1; Nichita Stanescu--6 ("The Seventh Elegy," "Myth," Domokos Szilagyi); N. Labis--2; Marin Sorescu--10 ("Chess," Myhaly Ladanyi; "Seneca," Peter Zirkuli); Cezar Baltag--2; Ioan Alexandru--4; Cezar Ivanescu--2; Ana Blandiana--4.

One may state that the main goal has been reached. Participating in this transfer--in the meaning of the desirable expressed by Ortega Y Gasset--are several important representatives of Hungarian literature in the neighboring country and in Romania, among which it is enough to mention Attila Jozsef, Lorinc Szabo,

Gyula Killyes, Laszlo Galdi, Lajos Arrily, Zoltan Jekely, Jozsef Meliusz, Kanyadi Sandor, Domokos Szilagy, Janos Szasz and so forth. But, as any anthology, it can be improved. First, by completing the scenery of modern poetry which, due to sometimes objective reasons, remains behind literary reality in nearly all anthologies. Dating of the works--for example, in the case of Bacovia--and the chronological order given to the poems are not consistently followed for all the poets in the anthology. Just as the evolution of a literature is of interest, so, too, are a poet and the main stages in his creation of interest. The social-political criterion prevails in selecting the two poems by Bolliac. However, we feel that, along with Bolliac's enthusiastic invocation alongside Bem, other 1848 revolutionaries could have been invoked, as well, so as to provide a total view of the agitated revolutionary moment.

Among the poets we feel were somewhat left behind are Heliade Radulescu and, closer to us, Al. Philippide. The rhythms of A. Cotrus' verses would have found special reflections in the Hungarian vocabulary, as we found in the translations from around 1935-1939, and we can only regret that I. Dodu Balan's edition appeared too late. In an anthology based on translations, two value selections are operating: one of the original and the second, of the transfer; however, the latter may lack the original or, sometimes, it happens that it decants it, diluting it so that any omissions seem to be justified. Clearly, the editor also has his formation, his options. We could reproach the editor for what depends exclusively on him, for example, the summary bibliographic notes. They indicate one or two works; however, the bibliography could have been brought up to date in the case of the modern writers, too.

But these are considerations which do not affect the background of the work, or the selection criteria either for the original authors or for the translators. Here we find combinations of translations of true artistic recreation, with the successes prevailing. "Roman Koltok Antologiaja" offers a panoramic view of Romanian poetry. It took a long time to compile and is very valuable; it contributes greatly to the study of our spiritual heritage and to the two nations' rapprochement through art.

Through their efforts, the editor and the translators have demonstrated what was emphasized on the book's jacket--that, without the Romanian writers from Dosoftei to Marin Sorescu, the history of European poetry would have been not only lacking but also diminished in significance.

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UNEMPLOYED 'SPECTATORS,' GYPSIES DRAIN RESOURCES OF VILLAGE

[Editorial Report] An article by Tudor Octavian in the 7 January 1983 issue of the Bucharest weekly of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, FALCARA, page 6, entitled "Who Is Actually Working in the Village?", describes the labor situation in the "non-typical" village of Galbinasi, a locality with 3,000 residents and only 266 workers in the agricultural production cooperative. According to one of the workers, chief engineer Lucian Spireanu; "The rest of the people of the village are old, children or spectators." The author says that a "spectator eats just the same as a worker." The harvests are below the plan. "One of the causes of the poor harvests is the fact that 2,000 gypsies live in Galbinasi. About 1,000 of them are employed and only 19 of them work in the agricultural production cooperative," reports Octavian.

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BRIEFS

USSR JEW WRITES RABBI ROSEN--To His Eminence the Beloved and Esteemed Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen: On the eve of Passover I am sending you the warmest thanks and my deep respect. As always, I have been reading, with great pleasure, everything I can read, in Yiddish and Hebrew, in REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC, especially your sermons, the articles of Rabbi Zeev Gotlieb and news from the Jewish world. I am very happy that there are Jews who are fully benefitting from a Jewish life and are able to drink from the well of our ancient Torah, our culture and art. I am trying as hard as I can to live a Jewish life and my successes in this endeavor are the result of your activity, through the sermons and articles published by you in REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC. Your actions are invaluable not only for the Jewish community in Romania but also for Jews throughout the world. Thanks to the Lord, we have received some matzo and, with God's help, we will celebrate the Seder and will recall not only the Exodus from Mitzraim (Egypt) but also our dreams and we will pray for the deliverance of all the people of Israel. May your activity be blessed and accept our wishes for a Hag Pesach Sameah [Happy Passover], together with all your loved ones and all the people of Israel--With sincere respect, Hertzl Klebanov, Chelyabinsk, USSR. [Text] [Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Apr 83 p 8]

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